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The old northern Runic monuments of Scandinavia and England.

By

George Stephens

Vol. I

London.
1867-68

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TO THE READER.

As this work has swollen so enormously, in fact has become about *twice* the size at which it was *last* fixt, and as nearly or quite *one half* (perhaps more!) yet remains to be printed, I think it best to issue these sheets — as a First Part — now. The remainder, I hope, will appear in the spring of 1867. It will contain the Chapters ENGLAND, THE BRACTEATES, WANDERERS, the APPENDIX of Scandinavian-runic Monuments (about 120 in number, most of them either engraved for the first time or first publisht with correct readings), the WORD-ROW of the Scandian-runic words on pieces here given, the WORD-ROLL of all the words occurring on the Old-Northern runic objects, ERRATA AND ADDENDA, and a copious Alphabetical INDEX to the whole volume. Hereto will be added the Title, Dedication, Foreword, &c. At the end of this last part will also be repeated all the chief *Metallic pieces*, but printed in GOLD, SILVER, BRONZE, COLORS, &c., according to their workmanship and material, as only in this way can we obtain any real idea of the wonderful skill of our ancestors in this department of the arts.

While waiting for the many "Errors and Additions", the reader is requested to correct *at once* with his pencil the following misprints:

page 17, line 31, *for* pronouns sing. *read* pronouns sing. fem.
„ 101, „ 10, „ ᛒ *read* ᛒ.
„ — „ 12, „ ᛉ *read* ᛦ.
„ 107, „ 27, „ ᛘ, ᛈ *read* ᛈ (P), ᛘ (Q).
„ 111, „ 5, „ c, d, *read* c, , d.
„ 112, „ 34, „ pert, *read* p, pert.
„ 114, „ 8, „ Oriosus, *read* Orosius.

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At page 67, *add*: The name HENGIST or HENGEST still lives in England in the forms HINCKS and HINKS.

Add also, that the SIGDAL stone has now reacht Christiania, and entirely *overturns* (as I expected it might) my "combination or guess". The actual reading is still more interesting than the one proposed at p. 272, which was founded on materials now shown to have been incorrect.

Add also, that a new O. N. Runic stone has just turned up in Norway. This monument is apparently as old as the Tune stone, and the inscription is remarkable.

Both these monoliths will be given in the next Part, together with whatever else may be found in the mean time.

This First Part *should not be bound*, except perhaps in a slight and temporary manner.

As far as I know at present, the price of the Second Part will be the same as that of the First.

Both Parts together will contain not far from 500 Illustrations, besides the many thousands of loose Runic Types cut in wood especially for this work.

Any Corrections, or accounts of fresh Runic Finds, will be thankfully received and duly acknowledged. They can be sent direct to my address, or to that of my English or Danish Publishers.

G. S.

CHEAPINGHAVEN. DENMARK. JUNE 1. 1866.

INTRODUCTION.

WAYSIDE HINTS.

"Not only, however, was the ancient language English, but as naturally would follow, the whole race of people, whether Angles, Saxons, Jutes or Frisians, were, when spoken of as one, Angel-cynn, English-kin; and the whole country, wherein they dwelt, from the Grampians to Dover was called England."

Seinte Marharete þe Meiden ant Martyr in Old [= Early] English. Now first edited from the skin books. By the Rev. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M. A. *London 1862. 8vo. p. 75.*

"If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines."

CAMDEN.

"Many a noble heart,
Many a noble head,
Labours for our native land
Harder than the horniest hand
For its daily bread."

CHARLES MACKAY. *Hornyhand.*

"In offering these translations, I am conscious that I am somewhat gratuitously laying myself open to criticism. Still, it is better to help those who want helping, than to ensconce oneself in silence, merely for fear of being sometimes caught tripping. Thus, — who ever heard of such a name as »Mercuranetis«? and yet, since I am sure the word is copied accurately, what else can the nominative be? It is a satisfaction to find that Gruter, or his editor, was perplexed by a similar form, — „Diogenetes"."

Rev. J. W. BURGON. *Letters from Rome. 8vo. London 1862. p. 197.*

"Abzustehen, schien mir nicht räthlich, da man einen Autor der Eitelkeit zeihen müsste, wenn er in dem Glauben ein Scherflein zur bessern Aufhellung irgend einer archäologischen Untersuchung beitragen zu können, aus Furcht, die nächstfolgende Zeit könnte durch neue Funde seine Ansichten widerlegen oder sein ganzes Gebäude über den Haufen werfen, die Feder aus der Hand fallen lässt. Es kann uns vielmehr freuen, wenn neue Entdeckungen, oder fernere Untersuchungen unsere Ansichten wesentlich modificiren sollten."

It seemed to me unadvisable to abandon my task. That author must surely be open to the charge of vanity who lets his pen drop, where he otherwise hopes to contribute something to the better elucidation of any branch of Archæology, merely from the fear that the future, from fresh finds, may possibly refute his conclusions or altogether overturn his building. On the contrary, it should be a pleasure to us if new discoveries or wider researches should considerably modify our views.

Dr. M. A. LEVY. *Geschichte der Jüdischen Münzen. Leipzig 1862. 8vo. p. VI.*

"Die auffallende Ähnlichkeit der Runen mit den Pelasgischen oder ältesten Griechischen, Lateinischen und Hetrurischen, so wie mit den Keltiberischen, Ägyptischen, Phönikischen, Samaritischen und den übrigen Morgenländischen Buchstaben offenbart zwar genugsam ihren gemeinsamen Ursprung, so wie all dieser Sprachen selber."

FR. H. von der HAGEN. Briefe in die Heimat. I Band, 12mo. Breslau 1818. p. 156.

"On a rattaché jusqu'ici toutes les runes à deux alphabets, connus des savants sous le nom de *scandinave* ou *marcomann*, et d'*anglo-saxon*. L'ordre insolite dans lequel les lettres s'y suivent également, leurs rapports de forme et de nom, toutes les analogies possibles, montrent avec la dernière évidence que, si l'un des deux n'est point le type primitif de l'autre, ils ont au moins une origine commune."

Edélestand du Méril. Essai sur l'origine des Runes. 8vo. Paris 1844. p. 14.

"Indessen ist so viel auch gewiss und ausdrücklich zu sagen, dass wir bis jetzt noch kein unbezweifeltes Denkmal mit deutschen Runen in Deutschland selbst entdeckt haben."

Meanwhile, one thing is certain, and this must be said emphatically, that in Germany itself NO confessedly genuine piece bearing German [OLD-NORTHERN] Runes has as yet been found.

W. GRIMM. Ueber deutsche Runen. Göttingen, 1821. p. 162.

"Es ist nichts wahrscheinlicher, als dass es angelsächsische Priester waren, die diese Runenalphabete herüber brachten. Auch sehen wir im Hildebrands-Lied das angels. w eingeführt und im Wessobruner Gebet die angels. Abbreviatur für UND gebraucht."

Nothing is more probable, than that these [Old Runic] alphabets were brought over to us [Germany] BY ANGLOSAXON PRIESTS. And in the "Hildebrands-Lied" we find the Anglo-Saxon w introduced, as in the "Wessobruner Gebet" we have the Anglo-Saxon contraction for UND.

Id. p. 134.

"Sannolikt hafva vi runskriften att tacka för bevarandet af Nordens äldsta sånger. Ett af skälen man anfört emot dessa sångers ålder har varit, att man ej skulle kunna minnas dem utantill. Detta förfaller naturligtvis om runskriften är gammal. ..... Således se vi huru skaldekonsten, liksom runorne, utgår ifrån Åsarne och utbreder sig åt söder och vester."

We have probably to thank Runic Writing for the preservation of the oldest Songs of the North. One reason advanced against the antiquity of these Songs has been, that they could not be learnt by heart. But this of course falls away, if Runic Writing is old. ..... Thus we see how Poetry, like the Runes, springs from the Asar, and spreads to the south and the west.

C. A. AGARDH. Försök till Statsekonomisk Statistik öfver Sverige. Part 1. 8vo, Carlstad 1832. pp. 76. 7.

"Nec ignotum volo, Danorum antiquiores conspicuæ fortitudinis operibus editis, gloriæ æmulatione suffosos, Romani styli imitatione, non solùm rerum à se magnificè gestarum titulos exquisito contextus genere, veluti Poëtico quodam opere perstrinxisse; verùm etiam majorum acta patrii sermonis carminibus vulgata, LINGUÆ SUÆ LITERIS, SAXIS AC RUPIBUS INSCULPENDA CURASSE. ..... Quibus tametsi Romanæ vocis notitia abesset, tanta tradendæ rerum suarum memoriæ cupido incessit, ut voluminum loco VASTAS MOLES amplecterentur, codicum usum à CAUTIBUS mutuantes."

Saxo Grammaticus. Historia Danica. Præfatio.

"In general it may be laid down as the first and most indispensable rule of interpretation, that the inscription, wherever legible, is to be considered inviolable and sacred: and this I hold particularly applicable to the case of all rudely executed Runic monuments, be the Runes Oriental, Etruscan, Greek, Latin or Teutonic. Once admit a looser system, a habit of substituting for what really is, that which we think *might be* or ought to be, and there is no limit to the extravagance of fancy: the legend then becomes just what the investigator chooses to make it, and the result is finally determined solely by the amount of his knowledge and the strictness of his honesty. I might easily, remind you of instances which would justify stronger remarks than these."

J. M. KEMBLE. Additional Observations on the Runic Obelisk at Ruthwell. 4to. London 1843. p. 15.

"Quamquam paucissimi tituli integri supersunt, tamen magna pars eiusmodi est, ut certâ viâ queant restitui; in quo haud raro fieri solet, ut etiam mutilae quaedam inscriptiones altera ex alterâ restituantur, aut aliae partes eiusdem ex aliis, quemadmodum praesertim in tabulis quaestorum Atticis a Boeckhio factum videmus."

IOANNES FRANZIUS. Elementa Epigraphices Graecae. 4to. Berolini 1840. p. 5.

"Lucius una quidem, geminis sed dissita punctis
Littera; prænomen sic L . . nota sola facit.
Post M. incisum est: puto sic M, non tota videtur.
Dissiluit saxi fragmine læsus apex.
Nec quisquam, Marius, seu Martius, anne Metellus
Hic jaceat, certis noverit indiciis.
Truncatis convulsa jacent elementa figuris,
Omnia confusis interière notis.
Miremur periisse homines? monumenta fatiscunt,
Mors etiam saxis, nominibusque venit."

AUSONIUS. Epigrammata. XXXV.

"It may perhaps be thought that a spell has been cast over the learned, and that some sportive Puck yet lurks about the Runes, and seduces the grave antiquaries into these interminable wanderings. Let me be allowed, however, to observe, that I doubt whether, in these and similar instances, any true reading can ever be obtained, unless the object itself (or a cast from it) [OR RUBBINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS] be inspected by those who undertake the task of interpretation. No draughtsman's copy, however skilful he may be, will ever be accurate, unless he can read the inscription, and his mind guides his pencil. If he be ignorant of its meaning, he may mistake an accidental indentation or flaw for a letter: — he will omit the line, nearly effaced by time, which joined the parts — he will lengthen a curve that has been broken, — and shorten a limb which has been partly filled up: — and the aggregate of these errors, though each may be trifling in itself, will cast an impenetrable veil over features, which, under the most favourable circumstances, were sufficiently obscure."

Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE. History of England. Vol. 1. Anglo-Saxon period. London 1831. p. 147.

"Mit grösserem Recht als womit Lepsius wegen der auffallend reichen Vocalisation dieser Inschriften dieselbe den Etruskern absprach, hat später Steub (die Urbewohner Rätiens, München 1843, S. 12) dieselben als Hauptbeweise dafür benutzt, dass die ältere etruskische Sprache einen ungemeinen ausgiebigen Vocalismus hatte, der freilich später einem widerwärtigen und harten Contractionssystem hat weichen müssen. Es fehlt bekanntlich auch sonst nicht an Beispielen hiefür."

THEOD. MOMMSEN. Die unteritalischen Dialekte. Leipzig 1850. p. 18.

"Die meisten Klassiker sind nach *späten* Handschriften zuerst erschienen. Abweichende Schreibarten der *älteren* Handschriften wurden kurzweg als barbarisch verworfen und oft stillschweigend beseitigt, indem bis zur Stunde die Editoren, in gewiss löblichem Bestreben sogenanntem schlechteren Texte das klassische Gewand umwarfen."

HENR. WUTTKE. Cosmographia Aethici Istrici ab Hieronymo. Lipsiae. 1854. 8vo. p. CXXXIII.

"Die Schriften haben Aehnlichkeit mit den Pflanzen. Denn auch auf sie wirkt Clima und Boden bey einer Versetzung. Sitten und National-Begriffe, selbst Sprache, und über dieses manchmal Einfluss der Angrenzenden, alles trägt zur Veränderung bey. ..... Man kann nie eine Ton-Schrift zur Zufriedenheit der Sach-Verständigen erklären, ohne die Sprache zu kennen, in welcher sie geschrieben worden. ..... Nur darf er sich bey einer ungeregelten Sprache, und das sind die ältesten fast immer, nie sclavisch an die Orthographie einer geregelten halten. Eine solche Pedanterey würde dem glücklichen Fortgange paläographischer Forschungen sehr im Wege stehen."

U. FR. KOPP. Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit. 2ter Band. 8vo. Mannheim 1821. pp. 106. 107.

"Or quand une langue s'altère, il se passe quelque temps avant que le dialecte qui en dérive s'arrête à l'emploi fixe et régulier de quelques formes parmi le grand nombre de celles qu'a produites l'idiome maternel."

E. BOURNOUF et CHR. LASSEN. Essai sur le Pali. 8vo. Paris, 1826. p. 173.

"Upon language, also, the mind impresses its own individuality, and but for artificial restraints against multiplication there would be almost as many languages as individuals. A thousand distinct languages are said to be spoken upon the earth. The number of dialects is immensely greater. There are places even in Europe where the inhabitants of each hamlet or small district speak such different dialects of one language, as to be almost unintelligible to each other. The uneducated inhabitants of one county in England, in some cases, deem the language of the next county strange and almost barbarous. The people of Lancashire and those of Hampshire, both speaking genuine English, would be almost unintelligible to each other."

Rev. T. CLARK, M. A. The Student's Handbook of Comparative Grammar. 8vo. London 1862. p. 4.

"The Greek furnishes us with striking examples illustrative of the effect accomplished in a certain length of time by the influences which are continually producing phonetic decay in living languages. The language of Homer may be regarded as five hundred years later than that of the Vêdas; and this difference of time corresponds with the difference of form in the one language as compared with the other. For instance, the genitive case singular of the *a* stems in Sanskrit ends in *a-sya*. In Homer it is *o-io*, in which we see that every element has undergone a change; for *a* the lighter vowel *o* is substituted in both cases, for *y* the vowel *i*, and *s* is lost altogether. Five hundred years later, again, the Attic dialect presents to us the same form reduced to *ou:* that is, *oo* is reduced to the weaker form *ou*, and *i* is lost altogether. These changes are not sporadic instances which might be owing to accident. They affect the entire mass of the language to which they belong, and rest upon general principles. There is no example of the older *a-sya* in the language of Homer, nor any instance of the Homeric *o-io* in the Attic dialect. These effects appear as if they were accomplished at once and therefore artificially, but this only results from our not possessing literary records during the time which intervened between these epochs to illustrate the gradual approaches towards the final result. Any one will see how gradually such modifications are effected who examines the change which is going on from *th* to *s*, from *hath* to *has*, for instance, in the third person singular of the present tense in English verbs. It is long since it began, and it is not yet completed; but if when *hath* is exterminated and *has* is universal, all the intervening literature between the first employment of *s* and the last use of *th* were to disappear, we should have an instance similar to those noticed above."

Id. pp. 21, 22.

"Thus the genitive singular, which appears in Sanskrit as *a-sya*, in Homer as *o-io*, and in Attic Greek as *ou* (from *oo*), is in Latin, two or three centuries later, reduced to *i* (from *oi*). — — — — the letters *s*, *w*, *y*, are generally either lost or disguised in certain positions in Greek, but are more or less fully preserved in Latin. On the other hand, the aspirates, which are numerously represented in Greek, are generally lost or altered in Latin. Again, the Greek preserves short vowels when final, but the Latin drops them, whilst final consonants, lost in Greek, are preserved in Latin. So, also, the Greek distinctly preserves the important aorist forms, but has greatly obscured the reflexive pronoun in verbs, whilst in Latin the latter is unmistakable and the former almost absent."

Id. pp. 24, 25.

"Skjaldene vare ingen Folkedigtere, de vare fribaarne Helte og færdedes med Konger, men ikke med Folkeclassen, der heller ikke forstod dem."

The Scalds were no folkpoets, they were free-born Helts (heroes) and fared with kings, but not with the folkclass (common people), who indeed did not understand them.

BENEDICT GRÖNDAL. Hrungnersmythen. Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1860, p. 257.

"I should unhesitatingly place the Icelandic at the head of these subsidiary philologies, because, from its close relationship to Anglo-Saxon, it furnishes more abundant analogies for the illustration of obscure English etymological and syntactical forms than any other of the cognate tongues."

G. P. MARSH. Lectures on the English Language, 2nd ed. 8vo, London 1863, p. 72.

"Almost every sound which is characteristic of English orthoepy is met with in one or other of the Scandinavian languages, and almost all their peculiarities, except those of intonation, are found in English, while between our articulation and that of the German dialects most nearly related to Anglo-Saxon there are many irreconcilable discrepancies."

Id. p. 338.

"Few subjects belonging to the study of languages are more difficult of investigation than the successive changes in their pronunciation. ....., but whence these tendencies, what are their laws, and what connexion have they with changes in the signification of words, or their combination in periods? ..... The people of Iceland ..... their pronunciation appears to have undergone considerable changes. In Norway ..... there has been a great revolution in the pronunciation ..... and this observation applies with no less force to Sweden, which is almost equally secluded from foreign influences."

Id. p. 336.

"Persons not familiar with the civil history of the middle ages, are generally not aware of the confusion of tongues which prevailed throughout Christendom as late as the beginning of the fourteenth century. The fine old Catalan chronicler Ramon Muntaner, who lived at that period, and had extensive opportunities of observation in Europe and in Asia, testifies that small as were the numbers of his countrymen, yet no other single language was spoken by so many. "Yee will have marvaile," says he, "of what I shall telle you, but natheless, if yee marke well, yee shal finde that I telle you the trouthe: that is to saine, there be nowhere so moche folke that speketh one same tongue as of the Catalans. For in the reaume of Castille, there be many provinces, and everie of them useth his owne proper speche. Ye shalle finde the lyke diversity in Fraunce, in Englonde, in Almayne, and in all Rumelie: and in lykewise in thempiry of Constantinople, the Morea, and Vlaquie, and Natolie, and other marches, and it is even so with as manye other peoples as bee in the worlde. Now some menne may bee abashed hereat, and wene it is but an olde wyfe's tale, but thinke what ye liste, wete ye wel, it is the veray trouthe"."

Id. p. 260.

"Il faut joindre ensemble les differens dialectes de tous les peuples Teutoniques, pour expliquer les vieux livres."

C. KORTHOLTUS. Viri illustris G. G. LEIBNITII Epistolae. Lipsae 1738, Vol. 3. p. 359.

"But in all enquiries into the grammatical history of early English, it must be borne in mind that such was the dialectic confusion, and such the irregularity of orthography, that we are not warranted in affirming of scarcely any one form, or any one spelling, that it was normal for its time. It is as true of orthography and grammar as of literary form, that there is no unity until great authors arise and become generally recognised as authoritative standards. The founders of a national literature, therefore, conform not to previously settled and acknowledged canons of national speech, for none such exist, but to some particular dialect, or they perhaps frame a more or less eclectic diction, and by their authority establish a grammar, first for their literary followers, and, after some time, for the nation. ..... Now the tendency of a popular written literature is to harmonise the discordances of language, and we have sufficient evidence that, for many centuries, the dialects have been dying out, and that German has been both spoken and written with constantly increasing uniformity; and yet, in spite of all this, we find in Firmenich's collection examples of some hundreds of Germanic dialects alleged to be actually spoken at the present day, and Stalder has given us the parable of the Prodigal Son in forty-two German and twenty-seven Romance patois employed in Switzerland alone. In all this no doubt there is an enormous exaggeration. ..... There are shades of difference in the articulation of almost any two members of the same family. ..... Until, however, the smaller states and com-

munities of mediæval Europe were absorbed into the larger political organizations, and until national literatures had been created, and a greater fixity and universality given to linguistic forms by the invention of printing, the real local differences of speech were constantly augmenting. ..... It must be remembered that Anglo-Saxon also had not only its local dialects, but its general colloquial forms, which, in all probability, differed very widely from the written tongue."

G. P. MARSH. The Origin and History of the English Language. 8vo, London 1862, p. 18-23.

"According to the present views of the ablest linguists, grammatical structure is a much more essential and permanent characteristic of languages than the vocabulary, and is therefore alone to be considered in tracing their history and determining their ethnological affinities. This theory, I think, is carried too far, when it is insisted that *no* amalgamation of the characteristics of different speeches is possible; for though languages often receive and assimilate a great amount of foreign material without much change of structure, yet, on the other hand, there are cases of the adoption of more or less of foreign syntax while the vocabulary remains in a good degree the same, and even while the people who employ it continue almost wholly unmixed in blood with other nations."

Id. p. 45.

"The people who inhabit the coasts of the North Sea have now been Christianised for a thousand years, and brought under the sway of two or three governments. During all these ten centuries, all religious and all political influences have powerfully tended to the extirpation of local differences of speech, and to the reduction of the multiplied patois, if not to one, to two or three leading dialects. Yet, though all known external causes of discrepancy have long since ceased to act, we find that, in spite of the harmonising influences to which I have alluded, every hour of travel, as we advance from the Rhine to the Eider, brings us to a new vernacular. Within the space of three hundred miles, we meet with at least a dozen, mostly unwritten, dialects, not only so discrepant as to be mutually unintelligible to those who speak them, but often marked by lexical and grammatical differences scarcely less wide than those which distinguish any two Gothic or any two Romance tongues. There is not a shadow of proof, there is no semblance of probability, that the inhabitants of these coasts spoke with more uniformity fourteen centuries ago than to-day, but every presumption is to the contrary. Jacob Grimm, indeed, observes that all dialects and patois develope themselves progressively, and the further we look back in language, the smaller is their number and the less marked are they. This is in accordance with all linguistic theory, and if human annals reached far enough back to exhibit to us earlier stages of divergence of speech, the proposition would probably be found historically true; but if we take the different linguistic families of Europe, and follow them up as far as documentary evidence can be traced, the reverse appears, in very many cases, to be the fact. The dialects diverge as we ascend. ..... But between the poem Heliand and the Krist of Otfrid — both of the ninth century and therefore nearly contemporaneous — the former being taken as the representative of the Low, the latter as that of the High German, there is a much more palpable difference than exists at the present day, or at any intermediate period, between the dialects which stand in the place of them. ..... It is not proved that any modern High-German or Low-German speech is derived from the Mæso-Gothic of Ulfilas, or from the dialect of Otfrid, or of the Heliand; and it is just as probable that all the Germanic patois are descended from parallel old dialects, the memory of which is lost because their written monuments have perished, if any such ever existed."

Id. pp. 50-53.

"Inquiries into ancient modes of articulation are extremely difficult, not only from the uncertainty which must always exist, first as to the extent to which any particular system of orthography was regularly phonographic, and secondly, as to the normal force of single letters, the standard sound of which is only traditionally known; and besides this, we are embarrassed by the confusion that attends all phonological discussion in consequence of the different appreciation of familiar sounds by different persons who hear and use them. We wrangle about the identity or diversity of vowels, and even of consonantal sounds in our vernacular, which we have heard and employed every day of our lives; and pronunciation itself is so fluctuating that we cannot rely upon the traditional articulation, even of those

sounds which seem most constant, as sufficient evidence of the ancient utterance of them. There is something surprising in the boldness with which philologists pronounce on the orthoepy of dialects which have been dead for a thousand years, or which are known to them only by written notation. ..... We find between the Swedish and Danish, for example, closely allied as they are in vocabulary and structure, not merely discrepancies in the pronunciation of particular words, for which an explanation might sometimes be suggested, but radical and widereaching differences of articulation, which no known facts connected with the history of either throw much light upon, unless we adopt the theory of a greater ancient diversity between those dialects than exists in their present condition."

Id. pp. 63, 68.

"In fact, in the present linguistic school, British as well as Continental, hastily generalized conclusions and positive assertion are so often substituted for sufficient documentary proof, that he who studies the early philology of modern Europe only so far as it is exhibited in grammars and dictionaries, and speculative essays, is very frequently accumulating unsubstantial theories, instead of acquiring definite truths which can be shown to have ever had a real existence."

Id. p. 141.

"Critical writers speak of particular works as marked by Northern, or Southern, or Western, or Northumbrian, or Anglian pecularities; but these terms are, from our ignorance of the local extent of such peculiarities, necessarily used in a vague and loose application, and it would be very hazardous to suppose that they have any precise geographical or ethnological accuracy."

Id. p. 151.

"Every part of nature, whether mineral, plant, or animal, is the same in kind from the beginning to the end of its existence, whereas few languages could be recognized as the same after the lapse of but a thousand years. The language of Alfred is so different from the English of the present day that we have to study it in the same manner as we study Greek and Latin. We can read Milton and Bacon, Shakespeare and Hooker; we can make out Wycliffe and Chaucer; but when we come to the English of the thirteenth century, we can but guess its meaning, and we fail even in this with works previous to the Ormulum and Layamon. The historical changes of language may be more or less rapid, but they take place at all times and in all countries. ..... in the few instances where careful observations have been made on this interesting subject, it has been found that among the wild and illiterate tribes of Siberia, Africa, and Siam, two or three generations are sufficient to change the whole aspect of their dialects."

MAX MÜLLER. *Lectures on the Science of Language. 3rd ed., 8vo. London 1862, pp. 34-35.*

"What we are accustomed to call languages, the literary idioms of Greece, and Rome, and India, of Italy, France, and Spain must be considered as artificial, rather than as natural forms of speech. The real and natural life of language is in its dialects, and in spite of the tyranny exercised by the classical or literary idioms, the day is still very far off which is to see the dialects, even of such classical languages as Italian and French, entirely eradicated. About twenty of the Italian dialects have been reduced to writing, and made known by the press. Champollion-Figeac reckons the most distinguishable dialects of France at fourteen. The number of modern Greek dialects is carried by some as high as seventy, and though many of these are hardly more than local varieties, yet some, like the Tzaconic, differ from the literary language as much as Doric differed from Attic. In the island of Lesbos, villages distant from each other not more than two or three hours have frequently peculiar words of their own, and their own peculiar pronunciation. But let us take a language which, though not without a literature, has been less under the influence of classical writers than Italian or French, and we shall then see at once how abundant the growth of dialects! The Friesian, which is spoken on a small area on the north-western coast of Germany, between the Scheldt and Jutland, and on the islands near the shore, which has been spoken there for at least two thousand years, and which possesses literary documents as old as the twelfth century, is broken up into endless local dialects. I quote from Kohl's *Travels*. 'The commonest things', he writes, 'which are named almost alike all

over Europe, receive quite different names in the different Friesian Islands. Thus, in Amrum, *father* is called *aatj*; on the Halligs, *baba* or *babe*; in Sylt, *foder* or *vaar*; in many districts on the mainland, *tāte*; in the eastern part of Föhr, *oti* or *ohitj*. Although these people live within a couple of German miles from each other, these words differ more than the Italian *padre* and the English *father*. Even the names of their districts and islands are totally different in different dialects. The island of *Sylt* is called *Söl*, *Sol*, and *Sal*.' Each of these dialects, though it might be made out by a Friesian scholar, is unintelligible except to the peasants of each narrow district in which it prevails. What is therefore generally called the Friesian language, and described as such in Friesian grammars, is in reality but one out of many dialects, though, no doubt, the most important; and the same holds good with regard to all so-called literary languages. It is a mistake to imagine that dialects are everywhere corruptions of the literary language. Even in England, the local patois have many forms which are more primitive than the language of Shakespeare, and the richness of their vocabulary surpasses, on many points, that of the classical writers of any period. Dialects have always been the feeders rather than the channels of a literary language; anyhow, they are parallel streams which existed long before one of them was raised to that temporary eminence which is the result of literary cultivation. ..... Here, however, lies the difficulty. How are we to trace the history of dialects? In the ancient history of language, literary dialects alone supply us with materials, whereas the very existence of spoken dialects is hardly noticed by ancient writers. We are told, indeed, by Pliny, that in Colchis there were more than three hundred tribes speaking different dialects; and that the Romans, in order to carry on any intercourse with the natives, had to employ a hundred and thirty interpreters. This is probably an exaggeration; but we have no reason to doubt the statement of Strabo, who speaks of seventy tribes living together in that country, which, even now, is called 'the mountain of languages'. In modern times, again, when missionaries have devoted themselves to the study of the languages of savage and illiterate tribes, they have seldom been able to do more than to acquire one out of many dialects; and, when their exertions have been at all successful, that dialect which they had reduced to writing, and made the medium of their civilising influence, soon assumed a kind of literary supremacy, so as to leave the rest behind as barbarous jargons. ..... We read of missionaries in Central-America who attempted to write down the language of savage tribes, and who compiled with great care a dictionary of all the words they could lay hold of. Returning to the same tribe after the lapse of only ten years, they found that this dictionary had become antiquated and useless. Old words had sunk to the ground, and new ones had risen to the surface; and to all outward appearance the language was completely changed. ..... If we turn our eyes to Burmah, we find that there the Burmese has produced a considerable literature, and is the recognised medium of communication not only in Burmah, but likewise in Pegu and Arakan. But the intricate mountain ranges of the peninsula of the Irawaddy afford a safe refuge to many independent tribes, speaking their own independent dialects; and in the neighbourhood of Manipura alone Captain Gordon collected no less than twelve dialects. 'Some of them,' he says, 'are spoken by no more than thirty or forty families, yet so different from the rest as to be unintelligible to the nearest neighbourhood.' ..... In the north of Asia the Ostiakes, as Messerschmidt informs us, though really speaking the same language everywhere, have produced so many words and forms peculiar to each tribe, that even within the limits of twelve or twenty German miles, communication among them becomes extremely difficult. Castrèn, the heroic explorer of the languages of northern and central Asia, assures us that some of the Mongolian dialects are actually entering into a new phase of grammatical life; and that while the literary language of the Mongolians has no terminations for the persons of the verb, that characteristic feature of Turanian speech had lately broken out in the spoken dialects of the Buriates and in the Tungusic idioms near Njertschinsk in Siberia. ..... Robert Moffat ..... *Missionary Scenes and Labours in Southern Africa.* ..... 'On such occasions fathers and mothers, and all who can bear a burden, often set out for weeks at a time, and leave their children to the care of two or three infirm old people. The infant progeny, some of whom are beginning to lisp, while others can just master a whole sentence, and those still further advanced, romping and playing together, the children of nature, through their livelong day, *become habituated to a language of their own*, ... and *in the course of one generation the entire character of the language is changed.*' ..... Only let us clearly see what we mean by Latin. The classical Latin is one out of many dialects spoken by the Arian inhabitants of Italy. It was the dialect of Latium, in Latium the dialect of Rome; at Rome the dialect of the patricians.

It was fixed by Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Nævius, Cato, and Lucretius, polished by the Scipios, Hortensius, and Cicero. It was the language of a restricted class, of a political party, of a literary set. Before their time, the language of Rome must have changed and fluctuated considerably. Polybius tells us (iii. 22), that the best-informed Romans could not make out without difficulty the language of the ancient treaties between Rome and Carthage. Horace admits (*Ep.* ii. 1. 86), that he could not understand the old Salian poems, and he hints that no one else could. Quintilian (i. 6, 40) says that the Salian priests themselves could hardly understand their sacred hymns. If the plebeians had obtained the upperhand instead of the patricians, Latin would have been very different from what it is in Cicero, and we know that even Cicero, having been brought up at Arpinum, had to give up some of his provincial peculiarities, such as the dropping of the final *s*, when he began to mix in fashionable society, and had to write for his new patrician friends. After having been established as the language of legislation, religion, literature, and general civilization, the classical Latin dialect became stationary and stagnant. ..... The sources of Italian are not to be found in the classical literature of Rome, but in the popular dialects of Italy. English did not spring from the Anglo-Saxon of Wessex only, but from the dialects spoken in every part of Great Britain, distinguished by local peculiarities and modified at different times by the influence of Latin, Danish, Norman, French, and other foreign elements. ..... Hindustani is not the daughter of Sanskrit as we find it in the Vedas, or in the later literature of the Brahmans: it is a branch of the living speech of India, springing from the same stem from which Sanskrit sprang, when it first assumed its literary independence. ..... Dialectically we hear *I be*, instead of *I am*; and if Chartism should ever gain the upper hand, we must be prepared for newspapers adopting such forms as *I says, I knows*."

Id. p. 49-68.

"Languages may have a common origin, and yet the words which they originally employed for marking case, number, person, tense, and mood, having been totally different, the grammatical terminations to which these words would gradually dwindle down could not possibly yield any results if submitted to the analysis of comparative grammar. A genealogical classification of such languages is, therefore, from the nature of the case, simply impossible, at least, if such classification is chiefly to be based on the grammatical or formal evidence. It might be supposed, however, that such languages, though differing in their grammatical articulation, would yet evince their common origin by identity of their radicals or roots. No doubt, they will in many instances. They will probably have retained their numerals in common, some of their pronouns, and some of the commonest words of every-day life. But even here we must not expect too much, nor be surprised if we find even less than we expected. You remember how the names for father varied in the numerous Friesian dialects. Instead of *frater*, the Latin word for brother, you find *hermano* in Spanish. Instead of *ignis*, the Latin word for fire, you have in French *feu*, in Italian *fuoco*. Nobody would doubt the common origin of German and English; yet the English numeral 'the first', though preserved in *Fürst, princeps*, prince, is quite different from the German 'Der Erste'; 'the second' is quite different from 'Der Zweite'; and there is no connection between the possessive pronoun *its*, and the German *sein*. This dialectic freedom works on a much larger scale in ancient and illiterate languages; and those who have most carefully watched the natural growth of dialects will be the least surprised that dialects which had the same origin should differ, not only in their grammatical framework, but likewise in many of those test-words which are very properly used for discovering the relationship of literary languages."

Id. pp. 175, 6.

"Thus we see that we can follow the High-German as well as the Low-German branch of Teutonic speech, back to about the seventh century after Christ. We must not suppose that before that time there was *one* common Teutonic language spoken by all German tribes, and that it afterwards diverged into two streams — the High and Low. There never was a common, uniform, Teutonic language; nor is there any evidence to show that there existed at any time a uniform High-German or Low-German language, from which all High-German and Low-German dialects are respectively derived. We cannot derive Anglo-Saxon, Friesian, Flemish, Dutch, and Platt-Deutsch from the ancient Low-German, which is preserved in the continental Saxon of the ninth century. All we can say is this, that

these various Low-German dialects in England, Friesia, and Lower Germany, passed at different times through the same stages, or, so to say, the same latitudes of grammatical growth. We may add that, with every century that we go back, the convergence of these dialects becomes more and more decided; but there is no evidence to justify us in admitting the historical reality of *one* primitive and uniform Low-German language from which they were all derived. This is a mere creation of grammarians who cannot understand a multiplicity of dialects without a common type. They would likewise demand the admission of a primitive High-German language, as the source, not only of the literary Old, Middle, and Modern High-German, but likewise of all the local dialects of Austria, Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia. And they would wish us to believe that, previous to the separation into High and Low German, there existed one complete Teutonic language, as yet neither High nor Low, but containing the germs of both. Such a system may be convenient for the purposes of grammatical analysis, but it becomes mischievous as soon as these grammatical abstractions are invested with an historical reality. As there were families, clans, confederacies, and tribes, before there was a nation; so there were dialects before there was a language."

Id. p. 179, 80.

"The language of Ulfilas, the Gothic, belongs, through its phonetic structure, to the Low-German class, but in its grammar it is, *with few exceptions*, far more primitive than the Anglo-Saxon of the Beowulf, or the Old High-German of Charlemagne. These few exceptions, however, are very important, for they show that it would be grammatically, and therefore historically, impossible to derive either Anglo-Saxon or High-German, or both, from Gothic. ..... Gothic is but one of the numerous dialects of the German [= Scando-Gothic] race; some of which became the feeders of the literary languages of the British Isles, of Holland, Friesia, and of Low and High-Germany, while others became extinct, and others rolled on from century to century unheeded, and without ever producing any literature at all. It is because Gothic is the only one of these parallel dialects that can be traced back to the fourth century, whereas the others disappear from our sight in the seventh, that it has been mistaken by some for the original source of all Teutonic speech."

Id. pp. 189, 90.

"It is commonly supposed that, as late as the eleventh century, identically the same language was spoken in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and that this language was preserved almost intact, in Iceland, while in Sweden and Denmark it grew into two new national dialects. ..... But though one and the same language (then called Danish or Norrænish) was understood, I doubt whether one and the same language was spoken by all Northmen, and whether the first germs of Swedish and Danish did not exist long before the eleventh century, in the dialects of the numerous clans and tribes of the Scandinavian race. That race is clearly divided into two branches, called by Swedish scholars the East and West Scandinavian. ..... This division of the Scandinavian race had taken place before the Northmen settled in Sweden and Norway."

Id. pp. 191, 2.

"We have thus traced the modern Teutonic [Scando-Gothic] dialects back to four principal channels — the *High-German*, *Low-German*, *Gothic*, and *Scandinavian*; and we have seen that these four, together with several minor dialects, must be placed in a co-ordinate position from the beginning, as so many varieties of Teutonic [= Scando-Gothic] speech. This Teutonic speech may, for convenience' sake, be spoken of as one — as one branch of that great family of language to which, as we shall see, it belongs; but it should always be borne in mind that this primitive and uniform language never had any real historical existence, and that, like all other languages, that of the Germans began with dialects which gradually formed themselves into several distinct national deposits."

Id. p. 195.

"Though in a general way we trace these six Romance languages back to Latin, yet it has been pointed out before that the classical Latin would fail to supply a complete explanation of their origin. Many of the ingredients of the Neo-Latin dialects must be sought for in the ancient dialects

of Italy and her provinces. More than one dialect of Latin was spoken there before the rise of Rome, and some important fragments have been preserved to us, in inscriptions, of the Umbrian spoken in the north, and of the Oscan spoken to the south of Rome. ..... Oscan was still spoken under the Roman emperors, and so were minor local dialects in the south and the north. ..... French is provincial Latin as spoken by the Franks, a Teutonic race; and, to a smaller extent, the same *barbarising* has affected all other Roman dialects. But from the very beginning, the stock with which the Neo-Latin dialects started was not the classical Latin, but the vulgar, local, provincial dialects of the middle, the lower, and the lowest classes of the Roman empire."

Id. pp. 197, 8.

"No two men speak the same language alike. With a good stock of broad Scotch [North English] a dairy-maid goes to Sweden, and in a few months she makes herself understood. The thing has happened repeatedly, as the author was informed at Götheburg, with English and broad Scotch and some other tongues. The author himself had travelled in Norway, and set off without an interpreter. From the first day he began to use familiar words picked up at the inn; and he was satisfied that English, with all its dialects, is to be classed with Norse. For like reasons he included Swedish, Danish, German, and Icelandic with all their dialects. Travelling from place to place, speaking always with peasants, passing rapidly from dialect to dialect, and learning by ear alone, he found that each language (so called) helped him to the next. He found words, forms of speech, grammar, and tone crossing and recrossing till the difficulty of speaking consists in shunting the cognate dialect."

Notice of the Paper redd by J. Campbell, Esq., in the Ethnological Society, April 28, 1864: communicated in The Reader, London, May 14, p. 626.

"Der Riesenbaum England hat seine Wurzeln auf der ganzen Länderstrecke zwischen der Bretagne und Norwegen liegen. Ueberall, wo man an irgend eine Stelle dieser Küsten kommt, glaubt man Spuren von den Vorvätern dieses Riesen zu entdecken. Und in der That sind deren auch noch so viele, dass, sollte England seine Einwohner einst sämmtlich verlieren, diese Länder, wenn sie ihre Bevölkerungselemente wieder zusammenthäten, noch einmal eben solche Engländer hervorbringen könnten.

"Wenn die Bretagner, die Normannen, die Flamländer, die Friesen, die Sachsen und Jüten noch einmal ihre Colonisten nach der grossen Insel schickten und ihre Söhne und Töchter sich unter einander verheirathen und vermischen liessen, so würde nach ein paar Jahrhunderten wieder eine englische Nation daraus entstanden sein."

The Giant-tree England hath its roots in the whole stretch of land from Brittany to Norway. Wherever we come all along these coasts, we feel that we discover traces of the forefathers of this Giant. In fact so many are they that, if England once more lost its inhabitants and these lands once again threw together the elements of their population, they could a second time produce exactly the selfsame Englishmen.

If the men of Brittany, the Northmen, the Flemings, the Frisers, the Saxons and the Jutlanders were once more to send their colonists to the great iland, and their sons and daughters were there to intermix and intermarry, after a couple of centuries we should again see an English Nation spring from their loins.

J. G. KOHL. *Die Marschen und Inseln der Herzogthümer Schleswig und Holstein. 8vo. Dresden 1846. Vol. 1, p. 290.*

"Buttmann has truly said of many such matters, "The idiom of language admits only of being observed; let no man ask 'Why?'" We cannot explain why one form should be current in Ireland and Scotland and another in England, any more than why the Athenians did not speak the same Greek as the Thebans."

Sir Edmund W. Head, Bart. "Shall" and "Will". 2nd ed., London, 8vo. (1862), p. 7.

RUNIC LITERATURE.

The number of works in which Runes are treated, either incidentally or at large, is very great. This is not the place to enumerate them. But many of my readers will be glad of a list, for reference, of the principal among them. I therefore give the titles of those referred to in my text, or of the chief collectanea, and *particularly* of those in which *Old-Northern* Runes are more distinctly handled. I do this once for all, to avoid prolixity and polemical discussion. As my Old-Northern interpretations usually differ from those of my predecessors, — and necessarily so, from the extreme incorrectness of most of the older copies and consequently of the readings founded upon them, and from my fresh identification of some among the O. N. Runes —, I refer to these works for the opinions of others in those *very few* cases in which they have treated the same monuments.

J. BUREUS. Runa Känslones Lärospån. Upsaliæ 1599. With drawings of monuments, &c. Is only one engraved sheet, folio.

OL. WORM. Danicorum Monumentorum Libri Sex. Hafniæ 1643, fol.
„ „ Additamenta. (1650). fol.
„ „ Danica Literatura Antiquissima. Hafniæ 1636, 4to; 1651, fol.
„ „ Fasti Danici. Hafniæ 1626, fol. — All these works abound in wood-cuts of monuments.

H. CURIO. Monumenta Lapidum aliquot Runicorum. Upsaliæ 1664, 8vo. (Appendix to Verelii Gothrici et Rolfi Historia). With wood-cuts and readings.

O. VERELIUS. Runographia Scandica. Upsalæ 1675, fol. With wood-cuts and readings.

G. HICKES. Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus. Oxoniæ 1705, Vol. 1 & 2. With many plates of Alphabets and Inscriptions. — (To this belongs, as Vol. 3, H. WANLEY's Catalogue of Manuscripts, Oxoniæ 1705, fol.).

J. G. ECCARD. De Origine Germanorum. Gœttingae 1750, 4to. At p. 192 is a folio plate of Alphabets.

J. GÖRANSSON. Bautil, Det är: Alle Svea ok Götha Rikens Runstenar. Stockholm 1750, folio. With nearly 1200 wood-cuts of monuments.

N. R. BROCMAN. Sagan om Ingvar Vidtfarne och hans son Sven, från gamla Isländskan öfversatt, och undersökning om våre Runstenårs ålder. 4to, Stockholm, 1762.

W. C. GRIMM. Ueber deutsche Runen. Göttingen 1821, 8vo. With 11 plates of Alphabets and Inscriptions.

J. H. BREDSDORFF. Om Runeskriftens Oprindelse. Kjöbenhavn 1822, 4to. With plate of Alphabets.

N. H. SJÖBORG. Samlingar för Nordens Fornälskare. 3 vol., 4to, Stockholm 1822-1830. Text, and a great number of Runic and other monuments.

L. D. KLÜWER. Norske Mindesmærker, aftegnede paa en Reise igjennem en Deel af det Nordenfjeldske. 4to, Christiania, 1823. With 35 lithographs, including several Rune-stones.

J. G. LILJEGREN och C. G. BRUNIUS. — Nordiska Fornlemningar. Stockholm, 1823, 8vo. — Contains 100 plates and text, including many Rune-stones.

Rev. JAMES RAINE. Saint Cuthbert: with an account of the state in which his Remains were found upon the opening of his Tomb in Durham Cathedral in the year 1827. Durham 1828, 4to. With plates.

WILHELM GRIMM. Zur Literatur der Runen. Nebst Mittheilung runischer Alphabete und gothischer Fragmente aus Handschriften. — In "Jahrbücher der Literatur", Vol. 43, Vienna 1828, 8vo.

J. G. LILJEGREN. Run-Lära. Stockholm 1832, 8vo. With plates of Alphabets and Inscriptions.

" " " Monumenta Runica. Stockholm 1834, 4to. Printed as Appendix to "Svenskt Diplomatarium", Vol. 2, but also publisht separately in 8vo. Readings only, no plates.

H. DUNCAN. — An Account of the Remarkable Monument in the shape of a Cross, inscribed with Roman and Runic Letters, preserved in the Garden of Ruthwell Manse, Dumfriesshire. By the Rev. Henry Duncan, D. D. Minister of Ruthwell, Corr. Mem. S. A. Scot. Read to the Society 10th December 1832. — Appended is:

T. G. REPP. — Letter from Mr. Thorleif Gudmundson Repp, A. M., F. S. A. Scot. to the Hon. Mountstewart Elphinstone, Honorary Member S. A. Scot. regarding the Runic Inscription on the Monument at Ruthwell.

H. K. RASK (Prof.). — The Glavendrup, Tryggevælde, two Greenland, the Jellinge and the Tirsted stones are discust by him in the 3rd volume of his "Samlede tildels forhen utrykte Afhandlinger", 8vo, København 1838.

J. M. KEMBLE. The Runes of the Anglo-Saxons. Archæologia, London 1840, (Vol. 28, pp. 327-372, 4to). With 6 plates of Alphabets and Inscriptions. — Continued, "Additional Observations", in the Archæologia, Vol. 30, pp. 31-46.

FINN MAGNUSEN. Runamo og Runerne. Kjöbenhavn 1841, 4to. With many Alphabets and plates of Inscriptions.

EDÉLESTAND DU MÉRIL. Essai sur l'origine des Runes. 8vo, Paris 1844.

P. WIESELGREN. Ny Smålands Beskrifning. Wexiö 1844, 5, 8vo. Pp. 54-60, some few Readings.

[Rev. D. H. HAIGH]. — Notes on the Monumental Stones discovered at Hartlepool in the years 1833, 1838, 1843. — Printed in the Journal of the British Archæological Association. October 1845, pp. 185-196.

J. J. A. WORSAAE. Blekingske Mindesmærker fra Hedenold. Kjobenhavn 1846, 4to. With plates of monuments. — Om Nye Opdagelser af Runer i Frankrige og England. 8vo, Kjöbenhavn 1856.

R. v. LILIENCRON und K. MÜLLENHOFF. Zur Runenlehre. Besonders abgedruckt aus der Allgemeinen Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur. 8vo, Halle, 1852.

[Rev. D. H. HAIGH]. — Notes on the History of S. Begu & S. Hild: and on some Relics of Antiquity discovered in the sites of the Religious Establishments founded by them. 8vo, Hartlepool. — No date, but publisht about 1854.

A. KIRCHHOFF. Das Gothische Runenalphabet. 2te Auflage, Berlin 1854, 8vo.

R. DYBECK. Svenska Run-Urkunder. Stockholm 1855—7, 8vo. Plates and Readings.

" " Sverikes Runurkunder, Part 1, Stockholm 1860, folio. Plates and Readings. — Up to the close of 1864 *five* parts of this folio series have appeared.

N. M. PETERSEN (Prof.). — Danmarks Historie i Hedenold, 3 vols. 1855, 8vo, Kjöbenhavn, 2nd ed. — In the 3rd vol. of this work, in the section on Runes, pp. 256-283, some few Runic Inscriptions, both Old-Northern and Scandinavian, are handled.

C. J. THOMSEN. — Om Guldbracteaterne og Bracteaternes tidligste Brug som Mynt. — In "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie", Kjobenhavn 1855, 8vo, pp. 265-347, 381, 2. — This is Councilor Thomsen's descriptive text to the Bracteates engraved in the following "Atlas". It is printed in French in "Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord", 8vo, 1850-60, Copenhague 1861, pp. 203—293.

JULIUS ZACHER. Das Gotische Alphabet Vulfilas und das Runenalphabet. Leipzig 1855, 8vo. With plate of Alphabets.

Rev. DANIEL H. HAIGH. The Saxon Cross at Bewcastle. — In "Archæologia Æliana", New Series, Part 3, November 1856. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 8vo. — Contains accounts of most of the Old-Northern Runic monuments in England (and at Ruthwell) together with a lithograph plate of inscriptions.

C. C. RAFN. Inscription Runique du Pirée. Copenhague 1856. 8vo. With many additional Runic Inscriptions.

C. J. THOMSEN. Atlas for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, fremstillende Prover fra Bronzealderen og fra Jernalderen. — Atlas de l'Archéologie du Nord, représentant des échantillons de l'age de Bronze et de l'age de Fer. Publié par la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. Copenhague. 1856. Large folio. — With 15 plates including some hundreds of objects, among them all the Bracteates discovered up to the year of publication. Danish and French text. — See the text to the Bracteates under the year 1855.

J. G. CUMMING. The Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man. By the Rev. J. G. Cumming, M. A. F. G. S. London 1857. 4to. With many Plates. The inscriptions more correctly given than in P. A. Munch's Chronica Regvm Manniæ et Insvlarvm (Christiania 1860. 8vo. p. XX-XXIV and plate).

Rev. DANIEL HENRY HAIGH. On the fragments of Crosses discovered at Leeds in 1838. — Printed in "Report of the Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire. 1856-7. Leeds 1857". — With Runic facsimiles.

F. J. LAUTH. Das Germanische Runen-Fudark. München 1857. 8vo. With a plate of Alphabets and Inscriptions.

Rev. JOHN MAUGHAN, A. B. A Memoir on the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle. With an Appendix on the Roman Inscription on Caeme Craig, and the Runic inscription in Carlisle Cathedral. 8vo. 1857. London, Groombridge and Sons.

A. UPPSTRÖM. — De Lapide Runico Tunensi. 4to. Upsaliæ 1858. With engravings of the stone. — This is an overprint from the Acta Reg. Soc. Scientiarum Ups. Ser. III. Vol. II. Fasc. II.

C. C. RAFN. — De sydslesvigske Runestene. In "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed". 1859. Kjöbenhavn. 8vo. Pp. 126-215.

CARL SÄVE. — Gutniska Urkunder: Guta Lag, Guta Saga och Gotlands Runinskrifter språkligt behandlade. Stockholm 1859. 8vo. — Contains all the Runic Inscriptions up to that date found in Gotland, 204 in number, in Roman characters.

C. L. GROTEFEND. Die neuesten Goldschmukfunde im Königreich Hannover. (Zeitschrift d. hist. Vereins für Niedersachsen, 1860. 8vo). — With 2 plates of the Golden Bracteates.

FRANC. DIETRICH. Disputatio de inscriptionibus duabus runicis [*the Gold-horn* and *the Buzeu Gold-ring*] ad Gothorum gentem relatis. (Indices Lectionum. &c. Marburgi 1861. 4to).

Rev. DANIEL H. HAIGH. The conquest of Britain by the Saxons. London 1861. 8vo. With 6 plates of Alphabets and Inscriptions.

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FRANZ DIETRICH. Die Blekinger Inschriften, der Stein von Tune, und andere deutsche Runen in Skandinavien entziffert und erläutert. 4to, Marburg 1863. — With a plate of inscriptions.

P. G. THORSEN. — De danske Runemindesmærker, forklarede af P. G. Thorsen. Forste Afdeling: Runemindesmærkerne i Slesvig. Kjobenhavn. 1864. Royal Octavo. With many Runic Illustrations engraved by J. Magnus Petersen.

U. W. DIETERICH. — Enträthselung des Odinischen ᚠᚢᚦᚨᚱᚲ durch das semitische Alphabet. 8vo. Stockholm und Leipzig, 1864.

THE LANGUAGE OF THESE MONUMENTS IS OLD, AND IT IS NORTHERN.

Much of the argument in these pages depends on the occurrence of forms and words unknown to the Dictionaries and the Grammars. But this is the most shining proof, in my eyes, of the correctness of my readings. An *opposite* result would at once have been *incredible*. The farther back we go, the more and the greater the archaisms. No language ever becomes fixt, until it is mummied, "dead". It is always undergoing changes, developments, passing by stages from the older to the old, from the old to the later. On the one hand it preserves fragments and forms belonging to a previous organization, on the other it admits neologies, fresh words and fresh forms. This has always been the case everywhere. It is so at this moment, altho habit so dulls our eyes that we cannot see it. Our own tung, for instance, in spite of "the Schoolmaster" and centralization and the thousand edicts of pedantry, is still full of life. We have things new and old at every step. The WHILOM and WOE WORTH, the KINE and EYNE for COWS and EYES, and hundreds such, the TH in the 3rd person singular of verbs present, the EN of participles, BOUNDEN for BOUND, DRUNKEN for DRUNK, and so on, stand side by side with the BUS and CADDY, the DAMPER and the NUGGET, the SHUNTER and the RAIL, together with all the riches of modern Slang, much of which is only — old friends in a new dress.

But modern linguists have usually ignored all this. They have tried to reduce everything to a "standard", what they call a "normal orthography", a thing usually confined to the book-learned coteries of a local capital. During this process numbers of ancient forms have entirely disappeared, or have taken refuge in shire-speech. When we open an old manuscript, or even one comparatively late, down to the 16th or 17th century, nay even printed books as late as the age of Dr. Johnson himself, we find abundant traces of floating unfixt dialects, a struggle between sounds and how to represent them, the influence of local speaking and more general or more school-taught tendencies. Often guided chiefly by the ear, the same "educated" and highborn man, down almost to the last yearhundred, spells his own name in half-a-dozen different ways. The same word in the same sentence or page assumes many shapes. Each copyist or editor tries to alter this. He "corrects", brings everything down to his own standard, just as do the Lindley-Murray-taught compositors and readers in our own printing-offices. Most of our modern editions of *old* writers — particularly in Germany, where this system has been carried on regularly and with a shameful and most impertinent ruthlessness —, are therefore *waste-paper* for all scientific purposes. These people have invented "accents and marks", and with more than Papal infallibility apply true or false "sound-laws", and "harmonize" the vowels and "adjust" the consonants, more or less silently obliterating old forms, which they often do not understand, — and then boast that they have produced what they facetiously call a "correct text". In many instances the original author or scribe would not recognize or comprehend his own work. "Professors" in the 19th century of course understand his language much better than the writer himself in the 9th. Against all this learned rubbish real students must emphatically protest. It is unmitigated snobbishness, shallow-minded insolence, half-learned stupidity and pragmatical Vandalism!

We must also remember that the *names* we give to the *old* dialects are nearly, often entirely, arbitrary. Commonly they are founded on a few lines or pages, mostly of far later date. Men have fixt on 3 or 4 or 5 dialects, and everything has been violently prest under those distinctive heads, the most break-neck contrarieties to the theory being either called "exceptions" or entirely ignored. But in older days the Northern lands, as all others, were *full* of dialects, if we choose to call them so. The language was clannish. Every dale or hill or stem, every little stategroup or family-caste, had its own speech more or less, and this was in a continual flux and reflux, influenced by personal faults of tooth or tung or lip, by a drawl or a nazal twang or a listless laziness of enunciation, by marriage, by migration, by conquest, and what not. We have, so to speak, *no* materials, no remains, from these early times; and yet men persist in building up conclusive and authoritative systems — and then call them *facts*. Suppose that some mythical navvy should dig up some mythical stone-kist containing a Saga — for instance in Gotlandish, or Uplandish, or Scanian, or any any other speech — from the 3rd century, some lyrics from the 6th, an epic from the 9th, a chronicle or some laws from the 12th:

we should then have 4 distinct dialects if not languages, tho belonging to the same folk-group. In the 15th age and in the 18th, we should have two new developments of the language. Some of these might offer vast differences of structure and sound, and even of syntax.

Besides this, book-monuments often give us the language of a court or a caste, not of the people generally. Let us take an example. In Lithuania we have scarcely anything in the vulgar tung. The official speech became White-Russian, and in this was its "Statutt Litovskoi" (Lithuanian Statute) edited and publisht by its Grand-dukes. But in 1569 Lithuania and Poland melted into one state, and accordingly, at the close of the 16th century, this "Statute" was edited and publisht in *Polish*. Just so in Great Britain. After the Union of the Crowns, the official language became "South-English" in its gradually North-Englishized shape, notwithstanding the multitude of Lowland and Highland dialects in the Scottish kingdom.

From the antiquity and comparative fulness and regular succession of our own written remains, we can follow all this best in England.

The Old-English of the North and the South of our iland differs in a remarkable degree. That of the Ruthwell Cross and its kindred pieces contrasts considerably with the Northumbrian Gospels — even these, in their *two* manuscripts, are very different from each other when we come to minutiæ —, and again fresh peculiarities meet us in the middle-age remains of Northumberland and the Lowlands, the old Northumbria.

So, coming to niceties, the language of our day is far from being that of SHAKESPEAR[1]; and how different is he to Middle-English, to CHAUCER and WYCLIFFE and PIERS PLOUGHMAN; and this how changed, to that Early English which meets us in LAYAMON (whose 2 codices differ so widely) and ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER; while he again strangely swerves from the Old-English of our oldest Laws and Epics and Homilies, — which differ surprisingly among themselves in spite of all the doctoring of the Editors! But *before them* a still older language existed. Our few Runic fragments offer precious archaisms. If we had a bundle of Champion-lays, or some English Edda-songs, or some Tales about the Heathen Kings, from the FOURTH to the SIXTH century, they would again largely vary from the oldest written pieces we at present possess. Successive linguistic characteristics are very much a question of CHRONOLOGY, of mere lapse of time, gradual change and development, and not of any considerable difference of RACE.

Not only is this so, but *antiquity* of dialect by no means depends on the mere *age* of the document. In some districts the written or spoken language may be scores or hundreds of years earlier or later than their neighbors, sometimes the same local speech may be ahead in some forms and phrases, old-fashioned in others. Dialects may stagnate for centuries, or may rapidly change, according to circumstances. Of this we have many proofs, not a few in these pages. The excessively old TUNE stone, for instance, has the infinitive in -A, but on other stones *centuries later* we have occasionally the infinitive in the older -AN.

And this holds good not only of "English" and "Dansk" and "Swedish" and "Norse-Icelandic", but of every folk-land in these regions as elsewhere. In North-England, Mid-England, South-England, East-England, West-England, Sealand, Jutland (both North and South), Fyn, Bornholm, Sconé, Gotland, Swealand, Gota-land, North-Norway, South-Norway, and so on, there would be "dialects" plenty — if we only had a store of skin-books or of carved tablets or inscribed stones from the 1st or 2nd century downwards. In those days there *was* movement endless, and there *was not* the Dictionary and Grammar of the centralized Academy or Book-speech teacher. Everything was comparatively free to form itself in obedience to local and psychological laws of internal development and external contact.

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[1] "Tantum n. vel quadringentorum annorum curriculo, a pristinâ suâ & pronuntiatione, & idiotismo, illud quod jam tenemus degeneravit idioma, ut qui vel legum codices vetustiores, vel alia volumina, non usq; adeò magnam præ se ferentia antiquitatem inspexerit, non potest non tantam discrepantiam admirari. Atq; id quidem, si nobis solis contigisset, majori res digna esset admiratione: nunc vero cum nullam penè lingvam [iis exceptis quibus divina ad nos defluxere eloquia] fatalem hanc mutationem effugisse videamus; quid mirum & nostræ id usu venire. Gallicam respice, Latinæ Italicæ & Germanicæ est mistura: Germanica Latinis, Gallicis & Italicis est inquinata: Anglica Danica est & Gallica. Vicinorum commercia, populorum migrationes, elegantiæ studium, quæ sibi in Idiomata imperium vendicarunt, hæc primas obtinuerunt. Qui igitur veteris lingvæ nostræ rudis planè ad monumentorum accesserit enucleationem, haud pauca inveniet, quorum sensum vix ac ne vix quidem assequetur." — *Olai Wormii Danica Literatura Antiquissima*, Hafniæ 1636, 4to, p. 148, 9.

But we have scarce anything left from these early periods. And what we have we can seldom absolutely localize, much less rigorously fasten on to a local folk. The "folks" and tribes themselves were largely migratory. A Runic stone *may* now and then have been carved by a stranger. We know not when or where the Bracteates were struck, except that both letters and dialect show them to be of Northern make. The Jewels and other loose pieces may have wandered far and wide; some of them, we know, have done so.

It is therefore with great hesitation that I have attempted "to read the runes". In the WORD-ROW I have tried to show my meaning — that we must not split hairs — by bringing together the chief floating forms of the nearest dialects. The reader *cannot but* be struck with their diversity. He *must* acknowledge that other variations also, forms older or as old, may have existed in one part or period or other of the many and wide Northern countries.

The old forms found on these Old-Northern monuments are highly instructive. They show transitions from previous systems of language, systems which partly meet us in Old-English and Mæso-Gothic, and consequently that most of the distinctively "Scandinavian" peculiarities were only provincialisms struggling up, but not fixt.

The Accusative singular of masc. strong nouns in *a vowel*, must now be registered as a striking fact in the oldest Scandinavian, as now and then in the oldest English.

The sparing occurrence of Accusative plurals neuter also in *a vowel* at once illustrates the same use in Old-English. Even in our lexicons some examples are entered, such as ÆG(ER), pl. nom. ac. ÆGRU, eggs; WÆTER, pl. n. ac. WÆTRU, waters; WOLCEN, pl. n. ac. WOLCNU, welkins, clouds; but others might be added: as BEALU, pl. n. ac. BEALUWA, bales, woes; GUÐ-SEARO, arms.

In Norse-Icelandic such archaisms as GLÍKJA, GLÍKUR, GNAGA, GNEISTI, GNÓGUR, still exist, the G (or K) having mostly fallen away both in that and in the other Scandinavian dialects. This guttural prefix is now most kept up, in certain words, in Swedish.

So W (V) has disappeared at the beginning of a word in many Scandinavian dialects, particularly those of the written speech, while it is kept in others, sometimes only in certain words or word-forms. In English it has been mostly preserved, but it is no longer pronounced; in Jutlandish it is still largely sounded. — Of course I mean W before a consonant, as in WRITE.

In Gotlandish and Old-Swedish we can still trace the old N at the end of the present and past plural conjunctive, HAFIN, QUAMIN, (Mæso-Gothic HABAINA, QEMEINA), and this form even still lives in certain Swedish law-phrases. These Swedish dialects again show this N in pronouns sing. and pl. neuter, ÞAUN, ENGUN, Middle-Swedish ÞÖN, *they*; INGIN, *none*; in the plurals of certain comparatives, LENGRIN, *longer*, FLAIRIN, *feler*, *more*. These have already been pointed out by Prof. C. Säve; and other similar tendencies might be added, such as BAÐEN, BAÐIN, fem. sing. and nom. ac. neut. pl. *both*, dropt in the later Swedish. In fact he is the only Scandinavian scholar who has yet dared to lift the corner of this veil. See his observations[1] on another of these old terminations, the gradual change in certain feminine nouns from -ONS in the gen. sing. to -OS, -US, -UR, -U.

A number of distinct forms, some of them of high antiquity, might be pointed out in *each one* of the Old Northern dialects, which have *never gone beyond their own local limits*. — forms used in Norway or Iceland or both, but not in Sweden or elsewhere; in Denmark, but not in Norway or elsewhere; in England, but not in Denmark or elsewhere; and so on of Mæso-Gothic and the rest. The same thing holds good of the Flemish (Saxon) and the German dialects, and of course of all others. All dialects are overgangs, transitions. Some of these peculiarities are so old that they are never found in prose, and they may disappear as noiselessly as they came.

But, as if in anticipation of these olden remains, Prof. Säve has even gone farther: — "As a proof how long-lived an antique form may sometimes be on the lips of the people, I would mention that in the neighborhood of Upsala, and north towards Roslagen, and even in a part of Gestrikland, the plural [of the old Scandinavian nomin. SUNR, *son*] is there pronounced SYNJER, which goes far back, beyond even the oldest Scandian book-form SYNIR, and approaches the M. Gothic pl. SUNJUS."[2]

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1 C. Säve. Gutniska Urkunder, p. XV. — See also my chapter headed DIALECTS.

2 See Säve's masterly paper on the Rune-stone at Fjuckby in Upland, in "Nordisk Universitets-Tidsskrift", Vol. 3, p. 11, Upsala 1858.

Such changes have their analogies in all other languages. To speak only of what we are most familiar with, it is in this way the Romance dialects were gradually formed out of the old Book-Latin, the Lingua Rustica, and the infused foreign or "barbarous" elements. Still older was the Old-Italic (the Old-Oscan and other dialects). What the Italian is to the Latin and this to the Old-Italic, that is modern Danish or Norse or Swedish to the Old-Scandinavian, and this to the Old-Northern, — in which, as far as we can see, and of course subject to the influences of intermixture and civilization, were latent and inherent all the English and Scandinavian dialects, as these again were latent and inherent in that still older prehistoric speech from which sprung both the Northern, the Flemish (Saxon) and the German tungs.

One characteristic element of change in Scandinavia, apparently a little before and after the emigration from south and west Scandia to England, is the softening of the S into R. In Scandinavia largely, in England partially, this S either became a lisping consonant or vowel which hardened into R, or else it was vocalized and fell away altogether[1]. — Let us take a popular example, the 3rd person singular Past of the verb to BE. The Scandinavians say VAR (WAR in some dialects). In various of our provinces, particularly in North-England, we also, by the same process, say WAR or WAUR; but on the oldest Scandinavian-runic stones it is still UAS (WAS). In one Old-English Charter (Kemble, Cod. Dipl. I, 114) between the years 743 and 745, we have *both* WAES and WAER. In England generally we have retained the S, WAS. In the plural (Engl. WERE, Scand. VORO, &c.) both we and the Scandinavians have gotten the R for S.

This R, the usual mark of the 3rd person sing. present of Scandinavian verbs in general, is a singular example of crumbling of forms. It answers to the M. Goth. and O. South-English Þ (TH), to the Old-Fris. TH or T, the Old-Sax. T or D, the Ohg. T, but *to the Old North-English S*, thro which stage it may have past. Then this S, become R in Scandia, goes on decaying, till, in some of the "vulgar" Scandian dialects it becomes E, and at last this E frequently altogether falls away, the 3rd person being thus the same as the first. Yet, by a singular inconsistency, of which all folk-speeches are so full in spite of the system-makers, the Scandinavian tungs have preserved in certain expressions the antique ST, as in EST (M. Goth. IS), thou-ART (the O. North-Engl. ARÞ, O. South-Engl. EART), while, with one or two exceptions, the Norse-Icelandic has always R, (like the English), þú ert. In the Gotland dialect, as C. Säve informs us, both forms are used, JÄRT, JÄRST and JÄSST.

During the last 2 or 3 centuries S has had a movement in England in another direction, unknown in Scandinavia at present, to Z. After all but the sharp consonants, and even in some cases after vowels, it has been entirely superseded by Z, often drawing with it the change of F to V. Thus IS is now sounded IZ, WAS is WOZ, &c.; LIFE has its plural LIVEZ, like as the verb to LIVE makes its 3rd pers. pres. LIVEZ, while GO makes GOEZ, SAY makes SAYZ, READ makes READZ. The nouns follow suit, PEN pl. PENZ, HAND pl. HANDZ, TOE pl. TOEZ, GLASS pl. GLASSEZ, HOUSE pl. HOUZEZ, &c. It has even become a distinction between the noun and the verb: — a HOUSE, to HOUZE; a USE, to UZE, &c., (tho we still say ICE [O. Engl. IS] to ICE), the GRASS, to GRAZE, &c. So TH *sharp* is the noun, but *flat* the verb: BREATH, to BREATHE, &c. Vulgarisms always show popular tendencies. Thus we may often hear UZ for US, and so on. RAZE is now fixt for RASE, RAZOR for RASOR; while we say to ERASE, yet pronouncing the substantive ERAZHURE!

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[1] Let us compare, for instance, the personal pronoun I, in 4 dialects:

	M. Goth.	*O. Engl.*	*N. Icel.*	*O. H. Germ.*
Sing. n.	ik	ic	ek	ih
" g.	meina	min	min	min
" d.	miS	me	méR	miR
" ac.	mik	mec, meh, me	mik	mih
Dual. n.	vit	wit	vit, mit	? wiz
" g.	(ugkara)	unčer	okkar	unchar
" d.	ugkiS	unc	okkR	unch
" ac.	ugkiS	uncet, unc	okkR	unch
Plur. n.	veiS	we	vér, méR	wiR
" g.	unSara	uSra, uSer, uRe	váR	unSar
" d.	unSiS, unS	uS	oSS	unS
" ac.	unS, unSiS	uS	oSS	unSich

So the 3rd sing. of the verb to BE. The Scandinavians now say ER, but on the oldest runestones we always find IS, ES. We have kept the original S and write IS, but, by the above-named tendency to make S into Z we pronounce it IZ. In the "popular" dialects in Scandinavia, the R having crumbled away as already remarkt, the actual talk is — for ARE and IS* — *I, thou, he, we, you, they*. E or Æ, Á.

In like manner as to our nouns plural in S; in Scandinavia this S has become R, or has fallen away. Compare the Latin in similar development from the Old-Italic:

aSa,	*altar*,	became	aRa,
auSum,	*gold*,	,,	auRum,
soSor,	*sister*,	,,	soRor,
(f)aSena,	*sand*,	,,	(h)aRena,
muSes,	*mice*,	,,	muRes,
quæSo,	*I ask*,	,,	quæRo,
eSam,	*I was*,	,,	eRam,
eSas,	*thou wast*,	,,	eRas,
eSat,	*he was*,	,,	eRat.

The remarkable tendency of the Scandian dialects to vocalize and cast away N, will be spoken of farther on.

In one word, the language before us is Old-Northern, but with dialectic peculiarities and tendencies according as the monument is found in England or Scandinavia. All is Northern, but not tied down to any distinct book-speech. Of German forms there is no trace.

THE LETTER N.

It is a valuable argument in defence of these readings of the *Old-Northern* runic monuments, that similar forms, or peculiarities equally old, or "exceptions" equally strange, also occur on the *Scandinavian*-runic inscribed stones. On these last a rich store of facts of this kind will be found, now that the ice has been broken. It has hitherto been the general fashion to ignore these forms, to pronounce them mere barbarisms or mis-cuttings. It is to be hoped that they will now be examined in a different spirit. Without passion of any kind, let what is *antique* on these monuments be cheerfully acknowledged as such, what is *phonetic* registered accordingly, what is *provincial* accepted as really dialectic. In this way we shall find, as might be expected, not the sudden leap from a very old stage to the middle age, but a series of gradations and overgangs. We shall often recognize on *Scandinavian*-runics the same features as on *Old-Northern*, — the same accumulation of vowels or diphthongs, the same diversity of terminations, the same absence of later developments, the same examples of plain archaisms. The language of the *Old-Northern* runics will then appear less strange, and we shall be able in some degree — considering the extreme paucity of our materials — to follow the stream of our Mother-tung from a period not far below the Christian era down to the middle age, when greater unity and regularity is at last obtained by the 3 or 4 Scandian and the 2 or 3 English dialects, and they begin to flourish side by side as now distinctive and acknowledged speeches, — which in a certain sense, but not in this sense and to this degree, they were one or two thousand years before.

One interesting feature in language is the bent to liquidize and slur on the one hand, or to sharpen and staccato on the other, certain letters, such as N, M, L, &c. in certain positions. We will here speak chiefly of the nasal N. We all know how M may be sharpened or weighted into MB, MP, FM, &c., L into LT, LD, &c.; GAMLA becoming GAMBLA, the B again falling away in most dialects, as in COMB, LAMB, &c., it is now silent; ALRA becoming ALTRA, ALDRA, still left in our English ALDER-MOST, ALDRE-MOST, ALDRE-MOST, ALLER-MOST, *most of-all* (gen. pl.). Hence such vulgarisms, to be found in Shakespear and still older writers, as VILD for VILE. But the N deserves some further notice.

N may be strengthened or sharpened. It then becomes NT or ND, just as ND becomes NDT or NT. We can often scarcely decide whether the D or T is a part of the stem[1]. In some cases we can trace it to later times. But in others this false T or D is of high antiquity. We have it everywhere, particularly in the Scando-Gothic dialects. In English we can follow it far back. The same pronunciation which gave us END-LEOF for EN-LEOF, *eleven*, has given us SOUND (Latin SONUS) for SOUN (the older book-form and still provincial English), as well as such universal vulgarisms as GOWND for GOWN. As our Old-Engl. YNTSA, YNDSA = OUNCE (Lat. UNCIA) and MIST-LIC for MIS-LIC, *mis-like*, *un-like*, so our WHILST for WHILES, and such vulgarisms as WUNST for ONCE and VARMINT for VERMIN. The Old-Engl. ÆMTIG, from ÆMETTA, leisure, became EMPTY, tho the P is now silent. In Wycliffe's Bible SIMON is spelt SYMOND and SYMOUNT;—and in the middle of the 17th century ALIANT for ALIEN had crept into an edition of the Authorized Bible, and into other books. In many English dialects the ND is pronounced NDT.

This false T has obtained a firm footing even in some modern Swedish words. I will only mention one glaring example, which has puzzled many word-smiths. The Swedish FLINT-SKALLIG means SCALD (bald) *on the* FLIN (the front of the head upward), and of course has nothing to do with a FLINT, as some have supposed! Many dialects still resist the false T; thus Danish FLEEN-SKALDET; Vesterbotten FLEN-SKALLI; Helsingland FLENSKALLIG; Gotland FLAINSKALLUGUR.

Known everywhere exceptionally, found in Scandinavia from the earliest times, this ND or NT became in the middle age a characteristic orthographical mark almost exclusively Danish, and is so to this day, tho in hundreds of words the N alone is *heard*. In Danish it is even very frequently found (as in the word IND for IN) where all must see that the D is a mere spellingsign[2]. In older Danish manuscripts and books, to ensure the sharp or hard sound of the N, we have even NDT, NNDT, &c. Happily a tendency exists in modern Danish to lay aside this unnecessary D. As yet very few words — DEN, HAN, KAN, &c. (a year-hundred since spelt DEND, HAND, KAND) — are now written without it; but it is to be hoped that a vigorous effort will be made in this direction, thereby at once removing an eyesore, and harmonizing the written language with the Swedish-Norse[3] as well as with the English in such numbers of words.

Now so old in Scandinavia is this ringing N, this NT or ND for N, that we have several Runic examples; the D wanting in the oldest *Scandinavian*-runic alphabet, of course T was used in its stead. Thus on the Brynderslef stone, N. Jutland, we have MISKUNTAR, the usual MISKUNNAR. On the Sigtuna stone, Upland, stands DENTSA for DENSA. On the Ekala stone, Upland, we have FAÞUR SINT for SIN (his). On the Skrämstad stone, Upland, STAIN ÞINTSA (stone this). On the Langå stone, N. Jutland, now destroyed, we have it twice, FAÞUR SINT (SIN), and BRUÞUR SINT (SIN). In the name HALLSTENN (sing. nom. Liljegren No. 1632), the sharp N is merely doubled.

The T or D is sometimes placed *before* the N, and for the same sound-purpose. Thus in the modern Swedish SEDNARE and SEDNAST (later, latest), comp. and sup. of SEN, late, the N. I. SEINN, SEINNI, SEINASTR, SEINST. Rydqvist (Den Historiska Språkforskningen, 8vo, 2nd ed., Stockholm 1863, p. 14) doubts whether this D be older than the middle of the 18th century. Yet, and altho unknown elsewhere in Scandia, this sednare, sednast, is now apparently fixt in the language!

But this N may also become a singing nasal: something as in French, with greater or less sharpness. And this will give rise to many phenomena. In English the Old present participle termination -ENDE (in Early North-Engl. -ANDE, in Early South-Engl. -INDE) has gone this way, and has become ING. In various English place-talks it is sharpened or softened into INGK or INK and IN. We will take one example for a hundred of this N in North-England. In the Inventory of Margaret Pudsay[4], drawn up in 1552, we have:

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[1] Siegenbeck, in his "Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche Spelling", 8vo. Amsterdam 1804, p. 232-9, has two whole chapters on this false T after N, and D after N, L, R. — See also K. J. Lyngby, "Om inskud af R og D imellem medlyd på gammel Svensk og tildels på gammel Dansk", i Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik, 8vo, Vol. 1, Kjobenhavn 1860, pp. 21-31.

[2] So the Frisic tungs have the usual Gerundial-Infinitive in -AN-E (TO FAR-AN-E, TO GUNG-AN-E, to fare, to go); but the (Frisic) Rüstring dialect adds the D (TO FAR-AND-E, TO GUNG-AND-E).

[3] Some excellent remarks on this head will be found in a practical Essay by H. Knudsen, "Er Norsk det samme som Dansk?" 8vo, Kristiania 1862, p. 109.

[4] Archæologia Æliana, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Feb. 1858, p. 179 and fol.

BASYNG for BASIN,
BRASYNG ,, BRASEN,
HAPPYNG ,, HAPPIN,
LYNNYNG ,, LINEN,
NAPKYNG ,, NAPKIN,
WULLYNG ,, WOOLLEN.

Another specimen from a Scottish writer, King James I, in his King's Quair:

"Ah! suete are ze a warldly creature,
Or HEVINGLY (= heavenly) thing in likenesse of nature?"

In the Early Swedish Dialogue of the Virgin (written *in Runes* on vellum early in the 14th century, twice publisht, now in the National Library, Stockholm), we have the same tendency, EHING for EHIN (= EGIN, own), ENING for ENIN (now ENE, ENDE[1], only).

If we now put together what has been said on the ease with which for instance IN may become INK (or ING) and vice versa, and how the N may be sharpened and produce INT or slurred and produce IK (or IG)[2] or IT where the intermediate N of the sharpened NT has fallen away, we shall be able to explain at once a remarkable formula which occurs on a couple of Danish stones. On the Tillidse stone, Lolland, we have

E MUN STANTA,
MED STEN LIFIR,
UITRINT SU
IAR UAN ESKIL.

There can be little doubt that Prof. Thorsen is right in his happy suggestion (Danske Runemindesmærker, Vol. 1, p. 116) that this UITRINT answers to the Norse-Icelandic VIRDING, *WORTHING, worship, honor, glory, fame.* The form here has therefore been UITRIN not UITRINK, but the N has been sharpened producing UITRINT in the regular way. We must therefore translate:

AYE MUN (*shall, will*) *STAND,*
MITH (*while, long as*) *STONE LIVETH,*
WORTHING (*glory*) *SU* (*that*)
AS (which) WAN (gained) ESKIL.

But this is remarkably confirmed by the fragmentary and hitherto unredd Sandby stone, Sealand. At the corresponding place on the carving several letters are gone, and we now have only

I MUN SAN . .
. . . . . LIF
UITRIK SUSI
IR UAN SIL . .

As this stone prefers I to E, and as the name of the hero is mentioned at the beginning (SULFA), and as U and I continually interchange, it is likely enough (the SUSI being exactly the same as SU, SU with SI as enclitic) that we must read:

I MUN SAN (vera,
med stain hauir) LIF,
UITRIK SUSI
IR UAN SIL(fa).
AYE MUN (*shall, will*) *SOOTH* (*true*) *WARE* (*be*),
MITH (*while, long as*) *STONE HATH LIFE,*
WORTHING (*glory*) *SU* (*that*)
AS (*which*) *WAN* (*gained*) *SILFA.*

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[1] The false D comparatively modern, introduced by a wrong analogy, as tho the word were a numeral.

[2] Compare a passage in Sir Walter Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, Vol. 1, — "There lived at no great distance from this stronghold [near Linlithgow or Lithgow in Scotland] a farmer, a bold and stout man, whose name was BINNOCK, or, as it is now pronounced, BINNING."

In Swedish this singing of the N has also spread to GN, which is now usually sounded NGN. Thus REGN (*rain*) is now pronounced nearly as RENGN, VAGN (*waggón, wain*) nearly as VANGN, and so on. In old documents &c. this N is sometimes *written*, thus SIGNET (*signet, seal*) is spelt SINGNET, and so with other words. So also often in Norway.

Thus UITRINT and UITRIK are absolutely identical.

The Thordrup stone, North-Jutland, as given by Worm, is evidently in many places quite correct and in others as clearly miscopied. The passus: IS UARD UIKINK A UFU-HIDI, which I take to mean *as (who) worth (was) wiken (slain) on Ove-heath*, may perhaps have so stood on the stone. If so, it is an instance of this singing K sometimes added to the N. — See the stone in Worm. Mon. p. 293 (Lilj. No. 1507), and the remarks and amendments by N. M. Petersen (Danmarks Hist. i Hedenold. 3. 279) and C. C. Rafn (Pirée p. 217).

It was perhaps this singing sound of the N, in certain words and districts, which gave the usual foreign shape to the Scandinavian wiking HASTEIN, namely HASTING or HÆSTING or HASTENC. This scourge of the west and the south, in the last half of the 9th century, is found in both English and French chroniclers as HÆSTEN, HASTENG, &c. Even the Old-English Chronicle has both HÆSTEN and HÆSTING, but usually the former.

So on a Gotland stone (Vallstaina) of the year 1326 (Säve No. 58), in both runes and Latin, the former carving has the name AULAIF (ac. s.) AF BOTLINI, but the Latin text AUTLEUS (nom. s.) BOTLINGIS.

In Old-Engl. Charters, between the years 969 and 977, "CYNEDEGN clericus" also signs himself CYNEDEN, KYNEDENG and CYNEDENG. And in undated Boundaries (Kemble, Charters, 3. pp. 428, 436) we have INGTO for INTO.

So in the Danish newspaper "Dagbladet" for March 1, 1864, a correspondent speaks of the letters sent to the Danish soldiers on Als, and the strange spellings of the addresses. As an example he mentions that the word *Train-konstabel* is spelt *Tran-konstabel*, *Train-konstabil*, &c. but also *Trand-konstabel* and *TranG-konstabel*. This is exactly the continuation of the same law, — N in certain cases ND (or NT), in others NG.

But when we once *begin* to sing the N, it soon melts away. Sometimes we cannot even determine whether it is there or not. In many dialects all over Scandinavia HON, she, has become HO, thus, whether the same word or no, agreeing in form with our old and provincial HIO, HO, she; and, on Rune-stones we have HA for HAN, he. But not content with this, the Dalecarlian speech further rejects the H, and Prof. Säve informs me that in the Dales it is hardly possible to know how to spell such a word as HANS (Johannes, John). For the S keeps somewhat of the N-sound back, so that it is only *half* or *three-quarters* swallowed. In this way — the H elided and the N nearly gone — such a word as HANS is written, no one can tell how, between AS and ANGS.

I have before me a striking example of how this N may be elided in a local dialect, in a copy of the Middle-English „Moral Ode", as given in a finely written vellum manuscript of the 13th century in a dialect of Warwickshire (Nuneaton). Here, besides the usual infinitives, plurals of the past tense and of the subjunctives, pronouns &c., almost without exception *without* N, notwithstanding the early date of the skinbook, we have it slurred *also* in past participles, adjectives, nouns, prepositions, &c., to a wonderful degree. Thus we here regularly find such words as

BIȝETE, begotten;
FORȝETE, forgotten;
IWRITE, written;
IBEO, been;
IDO, done;
ȝEVE, given;
ISPEKE, spoken;
OȝE, own;
SEVE, seven;
ME, men, people, one;
DRIHTE, Drihten, Lord, (only once with the final N);
BUTE, buten, be-out, without;
A, sometimes ON, for ON;
ORE for ONRE, *one*, gen. sing. fem.
ENDIGGE, ending;
ERNIGGE, earning;
ERNIGGES, earnings;
GINNIGGE, (be)ginning;
EUENIGGES, evenings, (equals);
WONIEGGES, wonings, (dwellings);
IMEGD for IMENGD, mingled.

This brings us then to the third stage of this S, its *entire* slurring or elision, also excessively common everywhere. We have it largely in English, the regular book-speech, from GOOSE (the Scandian GÅS, but German GANS, Latin ANSER) to MOUTH (Old-Engl. MUÞ, Norse-Icel. MUNNR, Swed. MUN, Dan. MUN(D), M. Goth. MUNÞS, Ohg. MUNT). In Old-North-English this slurring was still more prevalent, even be-

fore R. We there have BEO for BEON, SEVE for SEVEN, ME for MEN, MIRE for MINRE (of my, gen. sing. fem.)[1]. But it has played an immense part in Scandinavia especially in the early Runic period. As may occasionally be the case with other letters, it was evidently often *understood* by the Carver and the Reader, at the end of a word or syllable. But it is impossible to suppose that its absence in so many thousands of instances on the older stones can *always* be explained by assuming it to have been "omitted for shortness". On the contrary there can be no doubt that it was *usually* or *frequently* omitted because *it was not pronounced.*

This is so much the more evident as it is connected with two Scandian peculiarities, the rapid casting away of the N in the infinitive, and the similar disappearance of N from the nasal nouns, so that nouns of the Simple order (g. d. ac. in AN) have, in Scandinavia, the gen. in S or AR. The N in these nouns has similarly evaporated in O. Netherlandish, as it has in O. Frisic[2], while in Old N. Engl. there is a strange mixture, the Weak (or Nasal) and Strong nouns being confounded, the N very largely disappearing, and the AN very often replaced by S in the genitive, reminding us of the M. Gothic -NS. As these Nasal nouns are numerous in the M. Goth., O. Engl., O. Fris., O. Sax. and Ohg., they have doubtless been found in Scandinavia also. But I have as yet only met with one example in Scandinavia, the very old rune-stone at Alfvelösa, Öland, (which see in the Appendix). But a solitary instance is always comparatively doubtful; may it soon be clincht and confirmed by a second![3]

As we have said, this exclusion of N sweeps largely over the old Scandinavia. It even sometimes occurs where we should not expect it. Thus on the Fogló stone, Södermanland, the N is absorbed in the following Þ. The words are: HAN UAR MIÞA BESTR, *he was of-men the-best.* Here MIÞA stands for MINÞA and this for MINTA, the N sharpened or staccatoed, thus for MINA, = MENNA or MANNA, *of-men.* Other examples will be found in the Appendix. In all our Old-Northern dialects final Þ for NN is common, and we thus see that N. Icel. MAÐR, Swed. and Engl. MAN, Dan. MAN(D) are only slight variations in form of originally one and the same sound, whose oldest shape is MAN or MANN[4].

But this elision of the N has, like everything else, been most capriciously carried out. No two dialects agree[5]. It has, however, reacht its extreme limit, been carried to its greatest excess, in the Norse-Icelandic; tho we have great differences there also, at different times and in different landscapes.

Sometimes N is replaced by a kind of half-nasal, ere it falls away. Thus on the Norby stone, Upland, (Dybeck fol. No. 105), TRIHK (*dreng*, soldier, brave) stands for TRINK. It was not yet quite gone in some expressions, tho in others, *of the same time*, it was. As so usually in Old-Engl. &c., the former presence of the N is often markt by the change of the foregoing vowel into O or U. Thus on the Högby stone, Upland, (Lilj. 1180, revised by C. Säve), we have EOTAÞIS (he died) for ANTAÞIS. So we have AUT for ANT, &c.

Occasionally the former presence of the N is shown suddenly and strikingly. Thus the Scandinavian negative prefix, answering to our UN-, is U- (or O-). It is never found otherwise in manuscripts or talks. One of these compounds is the mans-name UFAIKR or OFAIGR or UFIKR, &c., the Norse Icel. OFEIGR, signifying the UNFEY, one who was not FEY, one not destined or afraid to die, the charmed-life-bearer, the gallant, fearless. Yet on the Stärkeby stone, Upland, the first name is UNFAIKR, with the N. This, then, goes to prove the existence of this original N, at one time, in the whole class. And accordingly I have since found other instances of this prefix UN-, for which see the Appendix[6].

Again, OLAF (in England now commonly spelt OLAVE) is a well-known Proper name. It is never found with the N in common documents. — Yet we have now an ONLAF on the Runic Cross at

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[1] See some valuable remarks on the falling away of N or M in English, in the Rev. O. Cockayne's "Seinte Marharete", p. 77 & fol.

[2] Compare the note of J. S. Vater, on the N in the Westerwald dialect: — "Das N am Ende ist ebenfalls ein blosser Hauch, wie etwa das Französ. MON; und A und O laufen in AMEN und NAHME in einander, so dass es kein rechtes A und auch kein rechtes O in der Aussprache ist". — Proben Deutscher Volks-Mundarten, 8vo, Leipzig 1816, p. 26.

[3] Since the above was written I have found example No. 2 on the Granby stone, Upland, which see in the Appendix, and perhaps others.

[4] For remark's on Þ instead of an older NR in the N. I. *book-dialect*, see B. Gröndal, in Án. for Nord. Oldkyndighed, p. 265, 6. — So we have in Mid. N. Engl. BEGOUTH for BEGUN, and other such.

[5] Nay, even the same dialect does not always agree with itself. The same word swings up and down, backward and forward, in obedience to invisible language-currents. The Norse-Icel. HUNANG is in good Old-Danish HUNUGH, Old-Engl. HUNIG. But in the present orthodox Book-Danish it is always HONNING, while in the South-Jutland dialects it is HUNNEG, HUNNE, the English HONEY. And so of other words.

[6] For the elision of N in ANS and in ON, with instances of the N still left in those words, see the WORD-ROW, s. v.

Leeds in England: and on the *very oldest* Scandian Coins, from the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century, we usually find the name OLAF spelt ONLAF, ONLAFR, UNLAFI. The N is seldom omitted, and was doubtless at that early period still more or less sounded. We now see that this spelling is *not* a "barbarism", still less an "Anglicism". Tho the first Scandian moneyers were Englishmen, they would soon have Scandinavian journeymen and pupils; and at all events a moment's thought will convince us, that the Court officers would never permit "a parcel of workmen", whether foreigners or natives, such a strange impertinence as to spell the name of the reigning monarch in a barbarous manner. These minters would quickly have lost their hands for their pains, or their ears, or worse.

In the middle of the 12th century this N and NG, tho not *written*, was still partly *heard* in Iceland in the nasal vowel. This is distinctly pointed out in the Icelandic orthographical treatise printed in the Younger Edda (Vol. 2, 8vo. Hafniæ 1852), pag. 2 and fol. section 3[1].

We have thus seen N sharpened into NT: or singing, NG; or weakened, H or O, &c.: till it finally falls away.

But we may imagine yet another case, — that the N disappears while the T remains. And of this, among others, we have one glaring example, which, for want of attending to this peculiarity, has hitherto remained unredd — the Gåsinge stone, Södermanland. Here it occurs FOUR TIMES: there is consequently no doubt or debate about it. We have SUIT, *nom. sing.*, for SUINT, the usual SUIN, SUAIN, SUAN, SUEN, &c., Swed. SVEN, Danish SVEN(D), English SWAIN: while in another place on this same stone this name is given *in the accus. sing.* as SUIN; we have also BUTA SIT for BUNTA SINT (SIN), *Bonde* (*husband*) *her*, and AT SIT (SINT, SIN) FAÞUR, *at* (*to*) *their father*, and HATS for HANTS (HANS), *his*.

Occasionally this T becomes Þ, as so often elsewhere; so the N = NT = NÞ is found — the N gone — as Þ, as in the above mentioned MIÞA, and as in OÞSMUNTR for ONSMUNTR (the usual OSMUNTR, ASMUND, &c.) on the Alsike stone, Upland.

The Scandian EN, EIN, ÆN, &c. (Norse-Icel. n. s. m. EINN, n. s. f. EIN, n. s. n. EITT) has its neuter ET, assimilated from an older lost ENT or EINT, everywhere the N gone. Yet we have a rare Danish ENT, neuter, *one, a*, with the N. So the N in the pronominal demonstratives has everywhere disappeared; masc. MINN, fem. MIN, neut. MITT, not MINT, the N becoming T by assimilation; SINN, f. SIN, n. SITT (*his, her, their*, our old *SIN*); m. HINN, f. HIN, n. HITT, *that, the, yon*. Yet the Danish dialect has kept the peraptique and otherwise unheard-of N in HINT, neuter: and SINT, neut. is sometimes found in old Danish manuscripts. The South Jutland dialects, while sharing in the usual Scandian development and thus casting away the N, so as to use the regular, MIT, DIT, SIT, as neuters of MIN, *my*, DIN, *thy*, SIN, *his, her, their*, *have also preserved the N*! Thus these districts have double forms, both MIT and MINT, DIT and DINT, SIT and SINT. This has given rise to a peculiarity in their use, answering to the English MY and MINE, THY and THINE, &c. Commonly MIT, DIT, &c. are employed when the noun is expresd, MINT, DINT, &c. when it is omitted. The South-Jutland DET ER MIT HUS is, *that is MY house*; but ER DET DINT is, *is it THINE?* In North-Jutland MI, DI, SI are used both for MIN and MIT, DIN and DIT, SIN and SIT, just as if we had only MY (no MINE), only THY (no THINE), &c. So much for iron "uniformity of dialect". — We have a good popular instance of this T or D for NT or ND, and thus for NN, in our insect the SPIDER (= SPINDER, = SPINNER). This is a comparatively modern English form, tho now so universal, its older shape being alway's SPINNER, the Norse SPINNEL, Swedish SPINNEL and SPINDEL, Danish SPINDEL. But even in M. Gothic we have several examples of ND for N and N for ND, &c., as well as a crowd of other variations, transpositions and omissions, both consonantic and vocalic, and of which only a few can be "errors of the scribe".

And this leads us to another observation. In Sanscrit, Zend and Latin the mark of the accusative singular, generally speaking, especially in the masc. and fem., is M; in Greek and Old-Russian N; in O. and Mid. H. Germ. we have still some few instances of accusative nouns in this N. In Pâli and Pracrit, which preserve this M to the eye, it in fact disappears, this "niggahitaM" mark merely *nazalizing* the preceding vowel, like the French final N in MO(N). It is therefore generally reckoned among *the vowels*, by the grammarians. So in Lithuanian this M has become a dull nasal N, or has fallen away altogether.

[1] With regard to one of the examples cited by the old Icelandic author, Prof. K. J. Lyngby ("Den oldnordiske udtale", Tidskrift for Philologi, 8vo. Vol. 2, Kiob. 1861, p. 318) observes: "The form ORE [= YNGRE, *younger*] is not Icelandic only, for the Jutland Law has THEN YRE (den yngre) 2, 22, and in Fjolde Parish I have heard YR or Y'R (accent held on). = YNGRE."

One step further, and we should have the sing. accusative ending in *a vowel* or *a vocalic consonant*.

But on the oldest Runic monuments, both Old-Northern and Scandian, we have many instances of this very stage of development in masculine accusatives, both nominal and adjectival, — ere the vowel or vocalic consonant fell away altogether.

Let us now add to this the tendency in Zend, in stems ending in YA and VÂ, to change these into Î and Û before the ac. M (which, as we have seen, gradually disappears); — and we shall not be surprised to find so many Old-runic accusatives masc. singular, not only *adjectives* in -AN and -ON (the Old-Engl. -NE in the definite adjective and -AN in the indefinite), — forms which were long fixt and "grammatical" in Scandinavia, but which have now nearly disappeared except in Iceland, — but also, as to *both nouns and adjectives*, in A, Æ, E, EI, I, O, OA, R, RU, Y, &c. all which afterwards, in the "grammatical" period, died entirely out.

The remaining withering-away of the N in Scandinavia is in the infinitive. In fact its existence there has never been suspected, tho Rydqvist, by analogy and comparison, observed in his "Svenska Språkets Lagar", 1852, Vol. 1, p. 352: — "still I would by no means wish to deny the possibility of a pre-historic -N in the 3rd person plural of the conjunctive, and not there alone but also in the indicative and perhaps in the infinitive." In Old-Frisic the N is absent, as in O. North-English, tho there were probably dialects in each which preserved it, for we occasionally find it afterwards in both these lands. In English it has expired; and it is already gone in Germany in large popular tungs, tho religiously kept up in that heavy and harsh and intricate High-German book-dialect which has been violently imposed on the peoples of all the German and Saxon lands, as well as on some of their unfortunate, neighboring conquered countries.

I refer to the Appendix for examples of -AN in the infinitive, which I have been fortunate enough to discover on Scandinavian-runic stones &c.

But this infinitive in -AN may sometimes be mistaken for quite a different idiom, when, after the half-auxiliary verbs LÁTA, to let, FÁ, GETA, &c. there may follow (VERÐA, to be, to become, *understood*) not only a Supine, which is usual, but a *past Participle* in the accusative, agreeing in gender with the noun. In some rare cases, this past participle may resemble an infin. in -AN. Thus in the Knytlinga Saga, ch. 80 (Fornmanna Sögur, Vol. II, p. 314):

Dróttum (*var.* Drottinn) lèt í Danmörk SETTAN
dögling grundar skamt frá Lundi
erkistól, þann er öll þjóð dýrkar,
eljun þungr, á danska tungu.

The-Driht (prince), the mighty land-ruler, LET in Denmark, not far from Lund, SET (now-become-establisht) an arch-stool (archbishopric) which all the people in the Danish tung (the Northern lands) honor.

Here ERKISTÓL is ac. sing. masc.; consequently the past participle must also be in the ac. sing. masc., and is therefore SETTAN. But this word might at first be taken as an old variation of the verb later usually spelt SETJA, which is so unlikely as to be nearly impossible. LÈT SETTAN is therefore = *had erected*, or, in one word, *erected, establisht*.

Another example of this same construction, but with the verb HAFA, meets us on a Runic stone, that at Lille Kyringe, Björkstad Parish, Vestmanland, Sweden. (Liljegren Nr. 999, Bautil No. 1084). It begins:

STEN HAFIR RITON,
ÞON STANTA MO.
STONE HATH WRITTEN,
THAT (stone which) STAND (last) MO (shall).
(= *This long-lasting stone he inscribed with runes.*)

STEN being here ac. s. masc., we have RITON (same as RITAN) in agreement with it, and thus HATH WRITTEN is = WROTE.

Let us now see how distinctly this elision of the N, as well as of other letters or of whole syllables or tenses, is often a mere question of time and place, of CHRONOLOGY, and NOT of RACE and difference of language, the *various* tungs often going more or less the *same* way, but not at the same time, local development depending on so many uncertain and often inexplicable causes. The better to follow the

endings, let us take the plurals of the strangely mixt verb TO BE, in its simple meanings plural present ARE, plural past WERE, and plural conjunctive MAY BE, MIGHT BE:

	M. G.	Ohg.	Mhg.	Germ.	N. I.	O. Swed.	Swed.
We are	SIJUM	PIRUMES	SIN	SIND	ERUM	ÆRUM	ÄRO
Ye ,,	SIJUÞ	PIRUT	SIT	SEYD	ERUÐ, EROÐ	IRUÐ	ÄREN
They ,,	SIND	SINT	SINT	SIND	ERU	ARU, ÆRU, IRU	ÄRO
We were	VESUM	WARUMES	WAREN	WAREN	VÁRUM	VARUM	VORO
Ye ,,	VESUÞ	WARUT	WARET	WARET, WART	VÁRUT	VARUÐ	VOREN
They ,,	VESUN	WARUN	WAREN	WAREN	VÁRU	VARU	VORO
We may, might be	SIJAIMA; VESEIMA	SIMES; WARIMES	SIN	SEYEN; WÄREN	SÉIM, SÉM; VÆRIM	SE; VARIM	VORE
Ye ,, ,,	SIJAIÞ; VESEIÞ	SIT; WARIT	SIT	SEYD; WÄRET	SÉIT, SÉT; VÆRIT	SE; VARIÐ, VARIN	VOREN
They ,, ,,	SIJNNA; VESEINA	SIN; WARIN	SIN	SEYEN; WÄREN	SÉI, SÉ; VÆRI	SEIN, SEN, SE; VARIN	VORE

For all persons plural the Danish has now only ERE, *are*, VARE, *were*, VÆRE, *may, would be*. The Old South-English had SYND, or SYNDON, or BEÓD or BEÓ, *are*, WÆRON, *were*, and SÝN, BEÓN, WÆRON, *should be*. But the modern English has only ARE, WERE, WERE. We have now no SYNDON or BEÓD for ARE. — Now whence this ARE?

In Scandinavia we can only go back, for want of *old* documents, as far as to the comparatively modern Norse-Icel. ERUM, ERUT (or EROÐ), ERU. But older forms, which we cannot now trace, were found farther beyond. Remembering, however, that the common Scandian R stands for an older S, that I is often elided, and that the older I is often softened down or rather let down a peg to the weaker E, we descend regularly from

[The Old M. Goth.	ISIJUM,	ISIJUÞ,	ISIND]
Common ,, ,,	SIJUM,	SIJUÞ,	SIND
[Old Norse-Icel.	ESUM,	ESUÐ,	ESU]
Common ,, ,,	ERUM,	ERUT,	ERU
To the Danish	ERE,	ERE,	ERE.

It has therefore been said that our ARE is "pure Scandinavian", and that it came into England with the Scandinavian Wikings in the 9th and 10th centuries. But, without insisting on the strange idea that this everyday word should be suddenly changed by a whole population to please enemies and strangers, and passing over the argument that the Scandinavians themselves at that early period certainly, or most probably, said ISUM or ESUM, ISUÐ or ESUÐ, ISU or ESU, with the S not the R, — the oldest North-English form, which became prevalent at the fall of the Old South-English book-speech, (that is of SYNDON or SYND or BEÓD or BEÓ), *was not* ARE at all! As far back as we can go, it was, (promiscuously with SINDUN, SIND, BEODUN, BEODON), and continued down to the close of the middle-age

ARON, or EARUN, or ARN, *we, you, they, are.*

Now this form is so peculiar and so independent and so very old, that it never *could* have been mechanically taken from Scandinavian dialects, for they *had it not*. They had no final N. This Northumbrian form is as antique as the Mæso-Gothic, tho so different, and is clearly a separately developt local dialectic "nunnation", as interesting as any other, copied from nobody as far as we know, but standing on its own legs. From this ARON, by the N becoming vocalized and falling away, in the same manner as in the nouns and adjectives and infinitives &c., we have quite naturally gotten our ARE, which became general English in the same way as the North-English or great Anglic or Northumbrian dialect as a whole became the language of all England, when the artificial supremacy of the West-Saxon book- or court-dialect was broken up and swept away by the Conquest. The revived English which then sprang up was not a daughter of the South-English, but of the Northumbrian or North-English, the mother-tung of 4—5ths of the Angle-kin. In a word, this ARON, our ARE, is an old Anglic heir-loom, not a loan from comparatively modern pirates, and (as ARN, ARNE) was also common in the Midland dialect of Early and Middle English. It was thus far too widely spread to be accounted for by modern and local immigration; and the more, as this Midland dialect usually inflected the plural Present Indicative of *all* verbs in -EN, while the Northern had that ending in -ES and the Southern in -ETH.

DIALECTS.

It will be observed that I have only been able to read the Old-Northern monuments here presented to the public, — if it be admitted that I have redd them, at least partially, with tolerable correctness, — by the help of two principles, or rather of two things. First: by identifying afresh, from all available sources, the letters themselves, so as to get at their true signification, both locally and generally; Secondly: by altogether denying that these ancient remains are to be translated into that comparatively modern and provincial dialect vulgarly called "Icelandic".

Unless we can identify the powers of the Rumes, we can read nothing. But to do this we must carefully study the various characters on all known remains, as well as in the later and partly Romanized or fanciful alphabets; and we must remember that letters may die out or modify their force, that fresh forms may be introduced — such as (unknown to the Romans) our modern U as distinct from V (the Latin V being used for both U and V [= W]), and J as distinct from I (the Latin I being used for both I and J [= Y]) —, and that provincial differences will not be absent. And, as to deciphering the inscriptions, unless we ascend to dialects far older than the middle-age Icelandic, we shall understand little as we ought. The crowd of the *later* or Scandinavian-runic stones are Christian, from a period very near to the Icelandic or still later, and are of course in speeches largely sharing the same developments as the Icelandic dialects. Here, therefore, Norse-Icelandic will render precious assistance, will be, in fact, indispensable. But on stones from the heathen time, and the more the farther back we go, the difference is striking, which is of course still more the case in the oldest of all, those bearing Old-Northern runes.

We must therefore endeavor to understand the place which the "Icelandic" (Norse-Icelandic) bears to the other Northern tungs.

All the Scando-Gothic dialects, which naturally fall into three groups — the *Northern*, the *Saxon* or *Flemish*, and the *German* — are one in origin, shoots from a common unknown centre. They are so nearly allied, that the Northern and the Saxon might be called A. 1, and A. 2, but the German B, the two former having nearly the same systems of vowels, consonants and syntax, while the last has important differences. Hence the oldest Northern traditions reckon Saxland to the area of the Northern tung, dialectic variations being of course understood. As a consequence, the word-hoard, the dictionary, the mass of stems, in all these Gotho-Scandinavian talks is more or less *in common*. At this moment there are vast differences, the result of splitting and growth and endless importations and reconstructions; but the farther back the less the disparity. The Norse-Icelandic Edda contains multitudes of words now regarded as pure "German", and the Saxon and German remains and vernaculars hold numbers of expressions now called "Scandinavian". Northmen, Saxons, Germans, all are *Brothers*, all have one common interest, all constitute one great language- and state-cyclus, and should all hold together. The modern German (High-German) movement, by which the High-German propaganda tries with fire and fraud, sword and schoolmaster, to extirpate the rights and freedom and nobler mother-tungs of all the Saxon and Northern folkships, and to steal and annex and incorporate their lands, is a revolting wickedness, a cruel infamy, a great mistake, sheer self-murder. It only plays into the hands of the Mongol Autocrat, whose policy is indeed as ruthless and heartless as the German, but — far more wily.

But with all this unity there are everywhere, and have always been, endless dissimilarities, — and these not only between the one group and the other, but in the same land and province, altho certain of these details were formerly less markt. Some words and phrases run, like the threads in the warp, the whole length of the Scando-Gothic woof, from the highest Northern North to the most southern German Germany; MAN, FATHER, SON, and such like, suggest themselves by hundreds. Others stop short half way, or a little way. Others run thro North or South or all England, but fail at the sea. Others are common to England and North or South or all Jutland, or even to all or most of Denmark or South-Sweden or Norway, and so on. Others flourish in particular provinces. Many technical terms, in religion or law or daily life, are common, others particular, and often change locally and unequally. Animals, birds, fishes, plants, tools, the simplest and most everyday things used by

farmers and fishermen and cottagers, are often different not only in the one land or kingdom but even in separate provinces or parishes of the same land. "In our Swedish language the names of Plants and Animals often change, according as we pass from the one province to the other", says the learned and honest Master Carl Linnæus[1], and this observation holds good as to all other countries. The very Grammar sometimes differs, Syntax included. Genders are unlike even in the oldest times[2]; so are the forms and formations of substantives and the conjugations of verbs. Here verbs are strong, there weak, sometimes strong or weak in a peculiar way or only for a certain time. And the localities for such forms often hop about. There are *Enclaves*, Wedges, large and small. The system of sounds shows many varieties. We everywhere see both ancient and later dialects. Even Iceland has its dialects. Of course it has! It was peopled at different times and from different districts. And then what flittings[3] and movements and changes in forms and words and phrases! What here is noble is there vulgar or filthy. And so of certain set phrases and idioms, for instance of olden Law or Medicine, in Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Denmark, Frisland, England, — how similar, how different, how perpetually changing! The "dialects" add to the multiformity. A cluster of words flourishes in England, or a part of it, but is not heard of or is only faintly spored in Scandia, while words fragmentary or unknown in England are common or universal in Scandinavia or one or other of its folklands. Words so old as to have been long lôst in the High-North, even maybe in its hoariest shire-tungs such as those of Gotland or Dalecarlia, are still found in the English book-dialect or some English County or Rape or Riding. One Scandian or English book-language has a noun, another both the noun and the verb, another the same but in varying forms or meanings, while certain dialects supply the missing links. Here a whole class of words is found, there only the stem in an old or provincial phrase or compound. English provincial words illustrate and explain the oldest Scandinavian, otherwise obscure or unknown, and vice versâ. To understand other expressions, all the Northern dialects, written and unwritten, are insufficient, and we must go to the Saxon or the German, which again are wonderfully cleared up by the dialects of England and Scandinavia. Like a smasht mirror, everywhere fragments more or less fitting into each other. Hence the more narrowmindedly we cling to our few bookstores alone, the less able are we really to grasp and follow our Scando-Gothic mother-tung. In the Old-North, in the Low-Countries, in Germany, everywhere running or raveled threads, everywhere both living and fossiled word-foliage, everywhere transition. And also in the *growth* of forms is there endless likeness and unlikeness. Some outbuddings have been more or less same-timed and even-running in all the speeches, others confined to particular shires or folk-groups; others have struggled up for a time here and there, but have again sunk back and disappeared, without affecting their next neighbors in the same speech-cluster. But all this, and a thousand other peculiarities, coupled with the perpetual change of pronunciation in one and the same land, are so much the less to be wondered at as the little "kingdoms" themselves were continually changing both hands and limits. Inroad, and conquest by individual chiefs, endlessly modified the tribal lands and "rikés". Nay, our identification of these large or petty folk-marches is often problematical, hazardous, conventional, a mere guess. What do we know of all these names and borders and movements in all the Gothic lands 1000, 1500, 2000, years ago? In spite of the dogmatic dicta which fill our books, we must answer — little or nothing.

And every 500 years we can mark great changes, produced by inward development and outward influence. North-England and South-England, East-Denmark and South-Denmark, North-Sweden

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[1] "Namnen ändras ofta uti vårt Svenska språk på Örter och Djur, efter åtskillige våra *Provincier*." — Västgöta-Resa, 8vo. Stockholm 1747; pref. p. 3.

[2] O. Rygh (Gunnlaugs Saga Ormstungu, Christiania 1862, p. 41) says of KVELD, which is *neut.* in N. I.: — "this word is used in our present [Norse] folkspeech commonly as *masc.*, and is thus one of the few words which in the lapse of time have changed their gender." — These *few* words are *many*. But why *change* their gender? The N. Ⅰ. book-dialect *neut.* and the Norse local *masc.* may be equally old. In the dialects of both Sweden and Denmark this word has also been generally *masculine* as far back as we can go, altho we have *also* some old examples of the word (Mid. Swed. QVÆLDER, QUÆLLIR) in the book-dialect as *neut.* The real history of the genders of nouns, embracing old dialects as well as local book-forms, would bring out very curious and astounding results.

[3] Of the Norse-Icel. written dialect Prof. Gislason observes (Annaler f. Nord. Oldk., 1860, p. 328): "Forms in an etymological sense comparatively original are sometimes not found in the oldest skin-books, but afterwards come back again as from a kind of banishment. Thus the oldest class of Icelandic codices has the secondary form KOM (Danish KOM [English CAME], vënit), but the next and later has the primary KVÁM, while in the third and latest reappears KOM, which is now the only form used in Iceland." — The same thing occurs in all our dialects. — So as to *meanings*. A word once elegant is often, in the *same* dialect, after only a few generations, insulting or obscene; sometimes, but rarely, *vice versâ*.

and South-Sweden, East-Norway and West-Norway, and so of the rest in manifold landgroups, how different in some things here, in all things there, from one age to another! Even the commonest words change. Every half-thousand winters a language is more or less a new one, rebuilt, remodeled. All is like a Kaleidoscope. Out of certain given elements a single turn — a small number of centuries — produces a new combination. Only, language is *still more* changeable than the Kaleidoscope. For the toyglass retains its once given elements, its beads and threads and bits of shining fragments. But a language is continually admitting new elements, both from within and without. Hence the pedantic uniformity now so often insisted on is an impossibility, and always has been so. And even if produced it could not subsist, so long as the language "lives".

The orthodox written dialect everywhere depended, as we know, on the local seat of the capital or chief centre of regular government. What would Book-English have been if our capital had been Canterbury or York or Carlisle, instead of London? How vastly different Book-Danish, if its kings had ruled from Odense or Viborg? How much nearer to English would the already half-English Dansk have been, if its Court-tung had been formed in a large capital in South-Jutland? Book-Swedish would have been, so to speak, another speech, if it had sprung and swayed from Visby or Vexiö or Vestervik, anywhere among the shires of the Goths, instead of from the Swea folk-lands. And so of Norway and the rest.

Meantime this flings us at once *in medias res.*

The great Rask has authoritatively pronounced that English *is not* a Northern dialect, and that *it is* a German dialect[1]. And this he proves by three arguments: — that our old Infinitive ended in -AN, the Scandinavian in -A; that we have no Passive, while the Scandians have the Passive in -S; and that we have the Article before, (THE MAN), the Scandians the Article behind, (MAN-EN).

But all these features in the Scandinavian tungs, even if they were more and greater, even if they were old and genuine, would be no proof at all of nationality! They would at best be marks of *dialect.* Differences as great still exist in the several speeches of Scandinavia itself, of England itself, of Germany itself, and so in other lands; and yet people persist in calling their landsfolk Swedes, Danes, Norse, Icelanders, English, French, Germans, Italians, and so on. And rightly; for so they are.

But these three features are *not* old. On the contrary, they are all of them mere modern and provincial developments[2].

When we examine a large bundle of dialects, we always find that some preserve older forms longer than others. So German long continued, and still has in some directions — for instance the infinitive in -AN —, archaisms which became extinct in Scandinavia and England. So Icelandic kept forms which died out in England and Germany. So England, in like manner, long retained certain forms which fell away in Germany and all Scandinavia.

The INFINITIVE in -AN may well have been in common to all the Scando-Gothic peoples; or it may partially have fallen away among many or most of the Scandian tribes before their arrival in their present settlements. Certain it is, that in another place of this work I have collected not a few examples of this very Infinitive in -AN, as found on ancient Scandian Runic monuments. This would seem to show that the form in question was very prevalent, if not universal, among the early Scandinavians, previous to their great folk-wanderings to Britain in the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th centuries. But some of these clans may have cast away the -N as early as this emigration. The oldest Frisic, which is a pure Northern dialect, shows that it had disappeared (at least in the formal book-dialect) in the 13th-14th century in Frisland. But this date is too modern to prove much as to the Frisic 500 years earlier. The oldest North-English, from the 7th century, proves that it was then absent in North-England, at least in the dialects wherein the monuments were inscribed, while it was in full force in Middle- and South-England.

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1 I need not add, that Rask's theory has had strange and disastrous consequences. Taken up by Jacob Grimm and his German followers, it has materially shaped and assisted the absurdities and iniquities of modern "Slesvig-Holsteinism". Admitted by Keyser, it was made the starting-point for a new theory, entirely false and ridiculous, as to the way in which Scandinavia was peopled by the Northern tribes. Further developt by P. A. Munch, it has seriously disfigured the pages and acts of many modern writers. — So much evil may flow from one rash assumption!

2 See my article "'*English*" or "*Anglo-Saxon*"", in the Gentleman's Magazine, London, April and May 1852; partly translated into Danish, with observations, by G. Brynjulfsson, "Antiqvarisk Tidskrift", Kjöbenhavn 1854, pp. 81-143.

In England, that is in our common South-English book-dialect, the same process has gone on. First (Old South-English) the -AN is normal; then (Early English) it becomes -EN; then (Middle-English) it is -E or -EN; then (later English) this -E falls away altogether, as in Jutland[1].

That is, by Rask's "Law", in Old-English times we were *Germans* — for we had the -AN; in Early English, we were *Half-Germans*; in Middle-English, we were *Danes* (infinitive in -E); but in later English we have become — *Jutlanders*! In the early ages, on the contrary, in all those Scandinavian folk-lands where we find Runic infinitives in -AN, the population was only *German*!

But in a large sweep of Germany itself this -N has altogether fallen away in a host of local dialects. All those provinces are therefore German no longer. They are either *Scandinavian* or *English*.

Can anything be more absurd?

As for the PASSIVE.

The Old-Scandinavian has no Passive. It has a Reflective or Middle form, made by adding SIK (oneself) to the verb. But this reflective is a *modern* development. In the oldest writings (and these are modern) it is almost unknown. It gradually creeps in, side by side with the common Passive constructions with the verb BE or WORTH &c.; then extends; then SIK becomes an enclitic, becomes shortened to SC, SK, SG, ST, Z, as a part of the verb; and at last it assumes its modern shape. The farther back we go, the rarer the instances of this mechanical Reflective in Scandinavia[2].

The English dialect had the pronominal form SIN, as well as the Scandinavian and the German; but it had not (that is, it had laid aside, lost) the reflective SIK. So, even if it would, it *could* not follow the Scandinavian in this development of the Reflective[3].

But the Germans always had, and still have, this SIK, as well as the Scandinavians. So far, the Scandinavians were more "German" than the English. Now why did not the Germans go the same way as the Scandians, and in like manner make a Reflective or Passive out of their SIK?

They did not, because they did not. There is no other reason. So much for iron theories!

But the ARTICLE.

There was no Article in our old dialects. By degrees it came in as a form or side-form of ONE (A), or of a Demonstrative, like the Romance LE from the Latin ILLE. As it slowly acquires individuality, it is a mere accident where it may happen to fix itself, before or behind the noun. Unknown in the oldest Scandinavian dialects, as in the oldest English, it gradually settles *before* in England, and in half West-Denmark, *behind* (but with many phraseological exceptions) in the rest of Scandinavia. So in the Hebrew and Chaldee, which we all know are dialects nearly identical, the former has the *pre*-article, the latter the *post*. So, of all the Romance-tungs, the nearest to the Latin is the Rouman (the Wallacho-Moldavian). Yet, sprung from a speech which had no article, it has developt the *postfixt* article, while the sister offshoots of the same Roman original, the Italian, French, Spanish, &c. have gotten the *prefixt* article!

But the very oldest Runic monuments show the *entire absence* of the article. Others give it indeed, but *before* the noun, as in English. In far *later* stones we see it gradually and very sparingly creeping in, *after* the noun, as in modern Scandinavian. In fact, even on later Runic stones, just as in the Edda and Old-Gotlandic, the post-article is almost unheard-of.

That is, in all the earliest ages the language was nowhere, nothing, neither Northern nor German. Afterwards, large Jutlandish districts and all England became *German*. Afterwards again, all the rest became *Scandinavian*. But England and West-Denmark remain *German*[4].

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[1] So at the other extreme corner of Scandinavia, the most northerly Sweden, some dialects have cast away the infinitive-ending (-A) altogether, while others have only got so far as to soften the A into E. Often, when the A is cast away, the preceding vowel is lengthened, as TE CO-OM (to come).

[2] Even the Germans have now given up this absurd talk about this Scandinavian bastard "Passive", and pronounce it *modern*. Thus, among others: "Das sogenannte Medium in altn. aber, das auch als Passivum verwendet wird, ist offenbar eine jüngere Bildung und durch äusserliche Anfügung des Pronomen reflexivum entstanden (vgl. Grimm Gram. IV, 39 ff. und Lüning Edda S. 113-114), weshalb ich hier nicht weiter darauf einzugehen brauche." — *C. W. M. Grein*; Ablaut, Reduplication, &c., 8vo, Cassel & Göttingen, 1862, p. 37.

[3] We have a solitary example or two of this reflective in -SC or SK in English; as in the word to BUSK (N. I. BÚASC or BÚASK), to make ready, dress, adorn, &c. But no such words exist in our Old-English. They were introduced by the later Scandinavian settlers in the Wiking-period.

[4] The changes *since* brought about in the Scandian Post-article are *as great*, as the difference between placing it *before* or *after* the noun. The orthodox Book-dialect post-article is one thing; the *actual* post-article of the great Scandian "vulgar" dialects is altogether changed — A NEW SYSTEM. Are they therefore "Scandinavian" no longer?

Good Heavens, what logic!

In all times and dialects Pronouns and Demonstratives &c. have been most liable to change. Even in the last 500 years the difference in Scandinavia (as in England) is enormous. Everywhere, especially in Denmark, a whole bunch of pronouns and article-forms &c. is used more or less unknown in early ages. But if so short a space as 500 years effects so great a change in our European tungs, what was the appearance of the Scandinavian dialects 1500 years ago?

No one can tell. We can only guess.

Let us never forget that we are reasoning in the dark, or nearly so. The *oldest* parchment writings in Scandinavia are worthless for discussions of this kind, and cannot be compared with those of England — this same Scandinavia's earliest colony. The *former* — and they are *very* few — date from the 13th century (perhaps one or two a few years earlier); the *latter* from the 7th and 8th. What a contrast; 5 or 6 hundred years! Why in that space a language may become revolutionized. Compare the language of CÆDMON to that of CHAUCER. CÆDMON is a sealed book to the few who really can read CHAUCER. And of those men who *understand* SHAKESPEAR (in his original text), how many can fluently devour the glorious "Canterbury Tales"? Few indeed. And contrast the speech and idioms of "Sweet Will" with those of TENNYSON and DICKENS; or compare the JUTLAND LAW with HOLBERG or the WEST-GOTLAND LAW with TEGNÉR! We must all admit and repeat, that in 500 years a language, especially in its earlier stages ere Schools and the Press come in to regulate and level and anchor the fleeting floating mass, is largely re-made. Hence the difficulties from the Scandinavian skinbooks being *so modern*!

Therefore, if we would find something reasonably like the dialect of North-west Scandinavia in the 9th and 10th century, we must go to Iceland. Transferred to an *iland*, political and geographical causes preserved it there for centuries with comparatively but little essential change, while everywhere on the mainland the Scandian dialects went on crumbling away, in Denmark assuming a largely modified character from immediate contact with Saxon peoples.

In like manner, if we would find something reasonably like the dialect of South-west Scandinavia in the 5th and 6th century, we must go to England. Transferred to an *iland*, down to the great Norman influx political and geographical causes preserved it there for centuries, with comparatively but little essential change, while everywhere on the mainland the Scandian dialects went on crumbling away, phonetic decay being hastened by endless warlike wanderings, by German settlers — (and afterwards by the German Lutheran Reformation).

We can plainly follow this process in Scandinavia. It chiefly consisted in a remarkable bias to vocalize and slur the N, and to weaken or reject the S. Hence this N gradually and organically falls away altogether at the end of words, as often elsewhere, while the S either becomes R (the so-called "Rhotacismus") or else disappears. In the middle-age there is apparently a reaction, so that the R, which seems to have become silent in certain positions, comes back again. Thus in what we may call Old-Northern (that speech which went from Scandinavia to England) we should have, for instance, the plural nominative RUNAS, kept unchanged in Old-English. Then in Early Scandinavian this became RUNA and RUNAR, in Early English RUNÉS, then in later Scandinavian RUNAR and RUNER, but in later English RUNES (one syllable). In this way the English has kept the S which the Old-Northern had 2000 years ago.

Of course it is not my meaning that Old-English was ever exactly and mechanically the same as Old-Swedish, or Old-Norse or West-Danish. It was a mixt speech, still more than Icelandic whose various elements were nearly all Scandian, chiefly Norse. But English resulted from the violent amalgamation of West- and South-Scandinavian with other neighboring cognate dialects, tho the former were largely and distinctively predominant. And in England itself there were and are distinct dialects, just as in Scandinavia. At this very moment the difference in the Scandian vernaculars is immense, far greater than between Old-English and Old-Scandinavian. A Northumberland man can talk with a Jutlander far better than a Jutlander with a Sconing (man from Sconé in South-Sweden, formerly — and still in dialect — a Danish province). The Jutlander cannot understand the Sconing, nor can the Sconing the Norrland man, nor can the latter the Icelander, nor can he or any one the Dalecarlian, and so on. There never has been any mechanical unity in the Northern dialects. The thing was a geographical and political impossibility. But this does not prevent them from being all called *Northern*, the differences not interfering with their general character, and the greatest differences between the Old-English and the present Scandian tungs

being a mere work of time, for they mostly grew up or spread *after* the colonization of England by the Northern peoples. *Modern* English is, *also*, infinitely more *Romanized* than the Scandinavian dialects.

We must therefore insist, that the antiquity and independence and early localization and great number and continual separate development of the manifold Northern tungs, in Scandinavia as in England, has been, to the great detriment of speechlore, far too much either overlookt or denied. People have talkt of *the one holy Scandinavian language* until they at last almost believed that such a thing had really existed! In this way, it is true, they succeeded in excluding the English, but they also excluded 9-tenths of their own citizens, 19-twentieths of the rest of Scandinavia. All written dialects are conventional. They are largely unintelligible to the mass of the people, who speak quite different but equally antique talks, sometimes even tungs still older. The Danish of South-Jutland is older, both in word-roll and in form, than the Danish of the capital. No such thing as this one holy Scandinavian language exists at this moment, after *a thousand years* of historical and commercial intercommunication, after 800 years of schools and Christianity, after *a whole generation* of Steam. Nay, these same writers cannot hold familiar intercourse with their own province-folk, much more with the peasants of the other Scandinavian lands!

But, most curious of all, this one Scandian tung was supposed to be represented by the complicated and difficult "Icelandic". In spite of facts and experience and monuments, how much has not been sacrificed to this theory! Not only has the native Danish and Swedish been grossly neglected, nay despised, but even national writings have been altered, misrepresented, disguised, to look like "Icelandic", and when still something remained which *could* not be so twisted and tortured — how people have begged the Holy Icelandic's pardon! Then they have fallen back on their acknowledged book-languages, and manuscripts have been doctored, when printed, to make them more "regular". Thus have been produced "normal tungs" in England and Sweden and Norway and Denmark, tho in the same breath these system-makers partially admitted at least the great divisions of North-English and South-English, of Jutlandish and Sealandish, of East-Norse and West-Norse, of Gota and of Swea, as if *scores* of others did not stare them in the face, tho book-monuments of course are seldom at hand. Yet again these ancient speechforms have been pronounced "barbarizations from the Icelandic", tho the mixt Norse dialect called Icelandic, with its many peculiar developments, dates only from the 10th and following centuries, and just as if the more ancient and regular olden dialects of Sweden and Denmark *could* have sprung from that modern colony and offshoot — the provincial Icelandic!

In one word, with regard to this onesided worship of Icelandic, everything being violently derived from it or reduced thereto, I would apply, *mutatis mutandis*, the observation of Rask ("Undersögelse om det gamle Nordiske eller Islandske Sprogs Oprindelse", Kjöbenhavn 1818, 8vo, p. 301, the title itself being a glaring instance of this very tendency): — "But Greek [Scandinavian] is not the old pure Thracian [Old-Northern], least of all must we when speaking of Greek [Scandinavian] confine ourselves to Attic [Icelandic]; for this is one of the latest Greek [Scandinavian] tungs, and is far from being that whose kindredship is most apparent. Whatever the superiority of the Attic [Icelandic] in development and harmony, that of Doric and of Æolian [Danish and Swedish] is as considerable in age and in importance for the philologist."

All this of course by no means lessens the value of this precious Norse-Icelandic, or our veneration for it, or our acknowledgment of the fact that it was for some centuries to a great extent the Anglo-Norman of Scandinavia, the Mandarin-dialect of the High-North, the highly cultivated book-speech chiefly used in Song and Saga, and that in it are preserved treasures inestimable for all the Northern peoples. But this is not the question. Just use does not defend unjust abuse. All honor to the Norse-Icelandic. But that dialect is *not* the mother-tung of Sweden or Denmark or England.

Once emancipated from that bugbear "the laws of Icelandic Grammar", we are straight at liberty to reflect on the *reality* of the many tribes and folk-speeches in all the Northern lands, and to translate accordingly.

The facts are plain enough[1].

[1] I will give only *one* example to how *late* a date similar forms exist on monuments in England. — On a round-headed tombstone in the yard of St. Peter's Collegiate Church, Wolverhampton, is the following inscription: — "Hear (Here) lyeth (lieth) the Boode (Body) of Walltar (Walter) Sovthäll, and he is led (laid) her (here) to tak (take) his Rast (Rest) and I Hop (Hope) his Sovl in Heaven is bläst (blest). AG. 18. 1441." — See Notes and Queries, 3rd S. vi, Dec. 17, 1864, p. 503.

Even confining ourselves to those comparatively *few* Rune-stones which have been (as we all hope and presume) *correctly* copied, publicly or privately, in the last few years, and remembering that these are not of the *older* series, they being all in Scandinavian runes, some few in Mixt, and that therefore a good deal of assimilation of dialect had already taken place, we yet find a large number of clear proofs of variety, difference, folk-speech, or by whatever name we may please to call it.

The following examples might have been doubled or trebled. But I have wearied in collecting them. And they are quite sufficient for the purpose. Nearly all the Gotland stones have been excluded, partly because that ancient iland-tung has peculiarities now generally acknowledged, and partly because most of them are of far later date than the majority of the other Scandian carvings.

For instance. *A dialectically for I.* — On the Väppeby stone[1]: AK for IK (= UK = AUK), LATU for LITU, ÞANSA for ÞINSA.

Æ for A, I, O[2]. — On the Tirsted stone[3]: Æ, ÆSRAÞR, FÆINK, FRÆNTI, FRÆÞA, LÆÞI, SUÆÞIAUÞV, ÞÆ.
On the Bro stone[4]: STÆINI, ÆFTIR, FÆÞUR, BOÆNTÆ.
On the Flemlöse stone[5]: ÆFTR, STÆIN, SÆ, UÆS, FUÆIR.
On the Snoldelef stone[6]: KUNUÆLTS, STÆIN.
On the Thisted stone[7]: ÞORÆ, HÆRÆ.
On the Thorpe stone[8]: ÆLIKR, ÆINRIÞI, RÆISTI.
On the 2nd Maeshowe stone[9]: KOLBÆINS, RÆIST.
On the Tryggevelde stone[10]: ÞÆNSI, GLÆMULAN, ÞÆI.

E for A. — On the Thorsätra stones[11]: REISA, STEIN.
On the Kolstad stone[12]: STERKAR, REJSA, EFTR, ÞEIR, HIEKU.
On the 2nd Kolstad stone[13]: STERKAR, LETU, REISA, ÞESA, STEIN, KEJRA.
On the Hanstad stone[14]: ÞEIRA, ÞEIR.
On the Ödeshög stone[15]: STEIN, ÞEIM.
On the Haning stone[16]: STEN, ÞENE, EFTIR.

E for I. — On the Agerstad stone[17]: SEREF, SEN, HIER.
On the Upsala stone[18]: EFTIR, SEN.
On the Bjursta stone[19]: MERKI, EFTIR.
On the Hätuna stone[20]: KERA; MERKI.
On the Sanda stone[21]: LETU, ÞENA.
On the Kumla stone[22]: KERÞU, MERKI, ÞESA.
On the Linsunda stone[23]: RESTI, STEN, SELFAN.

I for A. — On the Honungsby stone[24]: FIÞUR.
On the Skokloster stone[25]: IHILBI, SILU.
On the Delsbo stone[26]: STIN, ÞINI.

I for AI. — On the Gällstad stone[27]: RISA, STIN.
On the Hof stone[28]: RISTU, STIN.
On the Glenstrup stone[29]: RISÞI, STIN.
On the Grensten stone[30]: RISÞ, STIN.

O for A. — On the Lundby stone[31]: ÞINO, SINO, OSUAN, ONT.
On the Grynstad stone[32]: ÞINO, FOÞUR, ONTA, HONS, RUNOR.
On the Råby stone[33]: ONUNT, OT, ONUTAR, FOÞUR.
On the Vikbjö stone[34]: ÞENO, OSUR.
On the Härenhed stone[35]: KUÞON, OSA, SIÞON.

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[1] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 77. — [2] In a Charter in Kemble, Vol. 3, p. 127, date about 965-975, 43 lines have *65 examples* of *æ*, where we otherwise find *e*. — [3] Lolland, Denmark. — [4] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 2. — [5] Fyn, Denmark. — [6] Sealand, Denmark. — [7] North-Jutland, Denmark. — [8] Norway. — [9] Orkneys. From a Cast in the Cheapinghaven Museum. — [10] Sealand, Denmark. — [11] Upland, Dyb. Fol. Nos. 12, 13. — [12] Id. No. 20. — [13] Id. No. 21. — [14] Upland. — [15] E. Gotland. — [16] N. Jutland. — [17] Lot. Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 67. — [18] Upland, Dyb. 8vo. No. 66. — [19] Id. No. 77. — [20] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 19. — [21] Id. No. 29. — [22] Id. No. 42. — [23] Id. No. 63. — [24] Id. No. 75. — [25] Id. No. 35. — [26] Helsingland. — [27] Upland. — [28] E. Gotland. — [29] N. Jutland. — [30] Id. — [31] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 48. — [32] Id. No. 14. — [33] Id. No. 16. — [34] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 23. — [35] W. Gotland.

On the Skivum stone[1]: HON, MONO, DONMARKU.

On the Folsberga stone[2]: DINO, TUMO, KUMO, ONTA, ÞON.

On the Vaxala stone[3]: RONLI, HONS.

On the Sanda stone[4]: ONTUIT, ONUNT, OSBIARN.

On the Löfstadholm stone[5]: KOMAL, DINO.

On the Års stone[6]: OSUR, DONSI, STONTA.

On the Eistrup stone[7]: DONSI, HARÞO.

On the Ferslev stone[8]: DONSI, OSTA.

On the Sjörring stone[9]: OSA, DONSI, OUMUTA [= AUMUTA = AMUNÞ].

On the Vedelsprang stone[10]: OSFRIÞR, OFT, O.

On the Dynna stone[11]: OSTRIÞO, O.

On the Ölstad stone[12]: KUNOR, RITO, DINO, OSMUNTR.

o for A and U. — On the Balingstad stone[13]: BRO, BOTA, IORL, ÞORBIORN.

On the Skilstad stone[14]: IOKER, (UFTIR for AFTIR), ÞORKER, ÞOK, RODI.

O for U. — On the Stäke stone[15]: KROK, BRODUR.

On the 2nd Thorsätra stone[16]: FOLKI, BRODUR.

On the Viksjö stone[17]: AOK, NESBIORN.

On the Gran stone[18]: KOLAUK, BONTA.

On the Gidsmark stone[19]: ÞORTERF, BOANTA.

On the Hemstad stone[20]: ARBION, BRODUR, KODAN.

U for AI. — On the Osby stone[21]: HALSTUN, STUN.

Ú for I or Y. — On the Hjermind stone[22]: IFUR, TRUK.

Ú for U. — On the Folsberga stone[23]: IKÚL, ÚK, ÚKIÞ.

On the Bred stone[24]: ÞIKBORN, ÚFTI.

On the Gran stone[25]: AUNAR, RYKIÚ.

Y or Œ (Ø) for I. — On the Great Ängeby stone[26]: ÞYIRUTR, LYT, IFTYR, YKIKRIÞAR, IRFYKR, RYTU.

Diphthongic and broken vowels. — On the 1st Jellinge stone[27]: KAURUA, ÞIURUI, IAS, NURUIAK.

On the Seddinge stone[28]: UIAR, IAN.

On the Honungsby stone[29]: ÞIANSA, SIRIAK.

On the Löfstalund stone[30]: AIRNFAST, KAIRÞI.

On the Skemby stone[31]: HIALÞI, SIALU.

On the Bjudby stone[32]: SIALFAN, HIALÞI, SIALU.

On the Solna stone[33]: ÞORKÝSL, LŒTU.

On the Bägby stone[34]: KIARÞI, SIALFR.

On the Bustorp stone[35]: IAS, ION.

On the Vedelsprang stone[36]: IAS, TREKIAR, HAIÞABU, IAN.

On the Odensåker stone[37]: IAN, HAITA.

On the Valby stone[38]: KUÞFYASTR, RÓASA, STOIN.

Various vowel peculiarities congregated on one block. — On the Tillidse stone[39]: RESA, EFT, EFTIR, EK MEÞ, STEIN, SIOL, TOKI, KOÞA, STIUÞMOÞUR, AOK, SIALFAN.

On the Norby stone[40]: STENO, TUO, EST, SEN, SILFON.

On the Viggby stone[41]: SNIÞORN, FRÆIKAIR, RASA, HIULMFAST, BRODUR.

On the 2nd Viggby stone[42]: RASA, AÞORN, KODAN.

On the Brunna stone[43]: IARUNTR, STEIN, AIFTIR.

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[1] N. Jutland. — [2] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 76. — [3] Upland, Dyb. 8vo. Vol. 2, p. 17. — [4] Södermanland. Id. No. 10. — [5] Upland. — [6] N. Jutland. — [7] Id. — [8] Id. — [9] Id. — [10] S. Jutland. — [11] Norway. — [12] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 129. — [13] Id. No. 138. — [14] Id. No. 150. — [15] Id. No. 9. — [16] Id. No. 13. — [17] Id. No. 24. — [18] Id. No. 41. — [19] Id. No. 54. — [20] Id. No. 81. — [21] E. Gotland. — [22] N. Jutland. — [23] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 76. — [24] Id. No. 94. — [25] Norway. — [26] Upland, Dyb. 8vo. No. 64. — [27] N. Jutland. — [28] Lolland, Denmark. — [29] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 75. — [30] Södermanland, Dyb. 8vo. No. 4. — [31] Id. No. 27. — [32] Id. No. 41. — [33] Upland, Id. No. 50. — [34] Öland. — [35] S. Jutland. — [36] Id. — [37] E. Gotland, Dyb. 8vo. No. 58. — [38] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 123. — [39] Lolland. — [40] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 89. — [41] Id. No. 56. — [42] Id. No. 57. — [43] Id. No. 87.

On the Björnsnäs stone[1]: HAUKUA, HAILI, ÞAISI, KAIRÞU, ÞAISI, AIFTIR.

On the Bred stone[2]: ÞIKÞURN, AKUA, STIN, UFTI, SUNI, SINO.

On the Högby stone[3]: RISÞI, STIN, EFTIR, IAR, EOTAÞIS.

On the Århus stone[4]: STIN, EFTIR, FELAKA, IAR, TUÞR, Þ.

On the Glavendrup stone[5]: ÞONSI, AUFT, SAULUA, UIAR, AIÞUIARÞAN, ÞIAKN, HONS, ONON.

On the Bykirk stone[6]: ÞUORN, KERÞAR, RASA.

On the Fjuckby stone[7]: SIMS (= SUM'S), IUFUR, AN, HAFNIR.

On the Grönhögsvad stone[8]: KIARUA, EFTIR, ÞORKISL, ÞONTA, ÞORKUN.

On the 2nd Grönhögsvad stone[9]: SIKSTEN, RASTI, ÞENA, EFTIR.

On the Styrstad Stone[10]: KIARA, EFTIR, SILU.

On the Tidan stone[11]: STEIN, ÞINO, UTUR (= I(F)TIR), ÞORIR.

On the Hobro stone[12]: ÞONSI, AUFTI, TRYK.

On the Great Kirkeby stone[13]: STIN, HAFT (= AFT), IAN, TUÞR, Þ.

On the Söndervissing stone[14]: IAFT, UHIMSKON.

On the Stenalt stone[15]: OSUR, AUFT.

On the Åkirke stone[16]: ÞKMUNT, FRUÞIORN, ÞESTU, STÆIN, ÆFTR, ÞSÞIORN, HLÆÞI, SIOLU, HÆNS.

On the Vänderstad stone[17]: LIÞSMOÞR, STIN, AUFTI, IULIÞIRN.

So as to consonantic peculiarities. For instance, *Þ for F.* — On the Kyngsby stone[18]: UÞTIR (= UFTIR, = AFTIR).

On the Gunnerup stone[19]: ÞABT, USULÞ.

On the Ballaugh stone[20]: ÞORLAIÞR, ÞORIULÞ, ULÞ.

H omitted. — On the Fitja stone[21]: AKUN, AKUA, AUK, ANS, IALÞI.

H retained and omitted. — On the Värfrukyrke stone[22]: HANS and AN.

On the 2nd Värfrukyrka stone[23]: ANS and HAN.

On the Nible stone[24]: HAN and IALÞI.

On the Sjustad stone[25]: AN and HULMKARÞI.

On the Tingvold stone[26]: ÞT and HUS.

On the Vinje stone[27]: AN and HIGAT.

On the Långthora stone[28]: AN and HAN.

TS for ST. — This dialectic lisping, which occurs so frequently, particularly in East-Gotland, is found 3 times on the E. Stenby stone, E. Gotland: TSIN (the mansname STIN, n. s.), TSINAR (the mansname STINAR, ac. s.), and TSINAR (the same, gen. s.) — Again twice on the Högtomta stone in the same province, ITSIN (for ISTIN) and ÞURTSIN (for ÞURSTIN).

Þ for T. — On the 2nd Sundra stone[29]: MARÞA, LIÞ, SÞAN, ÞINNA.

In the same landscape the same word or phrase is differently spelt. — On the Gidsmark stone[30]: I HARUISTAM, but on the Nopsgärde stone[31]: I HERFISTAM.

On the Botkyrka stone[32]: UNTI STENI ÞEIMI. — On the Uglum stone[33]: UNÞIR ÞÆMMÆ STENE. — On the Långthora stone[34]: UNTIR ÞÆMÆ STEN.

On the same stone earlier and later forms are intermingled. D and T, G and K, &c. — On the Lärbro stone[35]: bonÞan olafr i aGHnaÞo liGr hier unTir . han a miK.

On the Bergemoen stone[36]: mærGi, sotranGe, miK, oaK (= auk).

On the Kirigtörsoak stone[37]: soNR (n. s.), soN (n. s.), TaK, DaG.

On the Gran stone[38]: uiKiGr, amiKr, kuÞriK.

On the 2nd Bägby stone[39]: GuÞbratr, KuÞ.

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[1] E. Gotland. — [2] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 94. — [3] E. Gotland. — [4] N. Jutland. — [5] Fyn. — [6] Södermanland, Dyb. Sve. Vol. 1. p. 37. — [7] Upland. — [8] E. Gotland. — [9] Id. — [10] Id. — [11] W. Gotland. — [12] N. Jutland. — [13] Falster, Denmark. — [14] N. Jutland. — [15] Id. — [16] Bornholm, Denmark. — [17] Upland. — [18] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 72. — [19] N. Jutland. — [20] Ile of Man, Cumming, pl. I, fig. 2. — [21] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 118. — [22] Id. No. 83. — [23] Id. No. 84. — [24] Södermanland, Dyb. Sve. No. 82. — [25] Upland, Id. No. 89. — [26] Norway. — [27] Id. — [28] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 108. — [29] Gotland, C. Säve, No. 197. — [30] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 54. — [31] Id. No. 111. — [32] Södermanland. — [33] W. Gotland. — [34] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 108. — [35] Gotland, C. Säve, No. 28. — [36] Norway. — [37] Greenland. — [38] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 39. — [39] Öland.

On the Bykvik stone[1]: siGfast, Kerþar, uiKiK.

On the Århus stone[2]: auGuti, Kunulfr, ahK, felaKa.

On the Bäling stone[3]: uK, asKun, haKua, Kuþ, siG, Guik.

On the Honungsby stone[4]: KiGumantr, auK, arnKer, siriaK.

Variations in the same word on the same block. — On the Glavendrup stone[5]: STAIN ÞANSI, STAIN ÞONSI: AUFT, AFT.

On the Furby stone[6]: STAIN ÞINSA, STAIN ÞISA.

On the 2nd Clemensker stone[7]: LUS, LIUS?

On the 1st Hangvar stone[8]: SIN and SIIN (both ac. s. m.).

On the 2nd Lärbro stone[9]: FEM, FIM, KUS, GUS.

On the 3rd Lye stone[10]: KÆIRUATR, KAIRUAT, I LYUM, II LYOM.

On the Orsunda stone[11]: STAIN, STAEN.

On the Hanstad stone[12]: ARFI, ERFI, ÞEIR, ÞIR.

On the Årsunda stone[13]: OK, UK.

On the Great Grönhögsvadsbro stone[14]: EFTER, EFTIR.

On the Källa stone[15]: KUÞAN, KOÞAN.

On the Öleshög stone[16]: IFTIR, EFTIR.

On the Sandby stone[17]: AFTIR; IFTR.

On the Tierp stone[18]: AUK, UK.

On the Vrigstad stone[19]: OK, AUK.

On the Viggby stone[20]: UFTIR, ITIR.

On the Svingarn stone[21]: UK, UK.

On the Vaxala stone[22]: AUK, UK.

On the Lid stone[23]: AUK, AK.

On the Svingarn stone[24]: UK, UK.

On the Ullstämma stone[25]: UIKBIURN, KIRBIORN, UIBIORN.

On the Härenhed stone[26]: IFTIR, IFT.

On the Eneberga stone[27]: AUK, UK.

On the Orsunda stone[28]: STAIN, STAEN.

On the Alsted stone[29]: USTIN (ac.), YSTIS (g.).

On the Alstad stone[30]: HULFASTR, STURFASTR, KUÞFAST, all nom. sing. masc.

On the Ryda stone[31]: SEN, SIN, ac. s. m.

On the Fitja stone[32]: STAN, STIN, ac. s.

On the Mysinge stone[33]: AUK, AK.

On the Fockstad stone[34]: AUK, UK.

On the Ingle stone[35]: AUK, AK.

May peculiarity of spelling in the SAME word on the SAME stone occasionally point to some curious internal differencing of the nominative and the accusative? Thus we have:

On the Gunnerup stone[36]: nom. AUSTAN, ac. STUN.

On the Tillidse stone[37]: nom. STEIN, ac. STIN.

On the Agerstad stone[38]: nom. STAN, ac. STAIN.

On the Ryda stone[39]: nom. STAIN, ac. STAN.

On the Söderby stone[40]: nom. BIRN, ac. STIRBIUN.

On the Alsted stone[41]: ac. USTIN, gen. YSTIS.

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[1] Södermanland, Dyb. Svo. Vol. 1, p. 37. — [2] N. Jutland. — [3] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 195. — [4] Id. No. 75. — [5] Fyn. — [6] Upland, Dyb. Svo. No. 54. — [7] Bornholm, Denmark. — [8] Gotland, C. Säve, No. 1. — [9] Id. No. 22. — [10] Id. No. 124. — [11] Upland. — [12] Id. — [13] Gestrikland, Sweden. — [14] E. Gotland. — [15] Öland. — [16] E. Gotland. — [17] Öland. — [18] Upland. — [19] Småland. — [20] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 74. — [21] Id. Svo. 79. — [22] Id. Vol. 2, p. 147. — [23] Id. No. 43. — [24] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 99. — [25] Id. No. 60. — [26] W. Gotland. — [27] Upland. — [28] Id. — [29] Scaland. — [30] Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 114. — [31] Upland. — [32] Id. Dyb. Fol. No. 118. — [33] Id. No. 120. — [34] Id. No. 147. — [35] Id. No. 148. — [36] Denmark. — [37] Id. — [38] Upland. — [39] Id. — [40] Id. Dyb. Fol. No. 78. — [41] Scaland.

Sometimes there are DOUBLE inscriptions on the SAME stone, carvings on the same block by different persons to different kinsfolk. The one rising is perhaps sometimes later than the other. However this may be, they differ in spelling. Thus:

On the East-Stenby stone[1]: first scoring, RISDI, STAIN, DANSA, EFTIR; second, RISTI, STIN, DASA, AFTR.

On the Alstad stone[2]: first carving, STAIN DINA, AFTIR; second, STEIN DANA, EFTIR.

But we have also a couple of Instances of TWO SEPARATE STONES raised in or near the *same* place at the *same* time by the *same* man to the memory of THE SAME PERSON, and in words more or less identical. Yet they vary in spelling! Thus:

On the Hummelstad stones[3]:

1st stone.	2nd stone.
AUKAIR	AUKAIR
DAR	DIR
RAISA	REISA
STAUN	STAN
SIN	SIN

On the two Klistad stones[4]:

UFTIR	UFTR
KUNBIRN	KUNBRN

On the two Kyngsby stones[5]:

IFTIR	UBTIR
BRUÞR	BRUÞUR
IALIBI	HIALUBI

On the two Gran stones[6]:

ARATR	ARUATR
RISTU	RAISTU
KUNLIF	KUNLAIF

So as to the *order of words*, about which so much has been said. We have SUN SIN, BRODUR SIN, &c. *before* the name or *after* it. And on the Glavendrup stone both RAIST RUNAR ÞASI and UIKI ÞASI RUNAR. The Glavendrup stone says, AT RITA SA UARÞI, the Tryggevelde stone SA UARÞI AT RITA. — We have usually KUBL ÞAUSI, STAIN ÞINA, &c., but also ÞAUSI KUBL, ÞINA STAIN, &c.

But these Scandinavian-runic stones have often a great fulness and richness of vowels, sometimes a sign of antiquity, sometimes merely a mark of local speech[7]. Thus, among others:

ANUAITR	for	ANTUITR	HIALUBI	for	HIAEBI
BARUÞR	,,	BRUÞR	IALIBI	,,	IALBI
BEREÞR	,,	BRUÞR	IFTIRR	,,	IFTIRR
BIRUNIULFR	,,	BRUNIULFR	KAIRFIRÞR	,,	KAIRFRÞR
BIRUTI	,,	BRUTI	KIRIKIUM	,,	KRIKIUM
BIRUÞR	,,	BRUÞR	KIRIMR	,,	KRIMR
BORUÞUR	,,	BRUÞUR	KIRIMS	,,	KRIMS
BURO	,,	BRO	KIRIST	,,	KRIST
BURU	,,	BRU	KRIMULUF	,,	KRIMULF
BURODUR	,,	BRODUR	KUÞUMUT	,,	KUÞMUT
ERINBIUN	,,	ERNBIUN	PIRIM	,,	PRIM
ERINKAR	,,	ERNKAR	SIMIÞR	,,	SMIÞR
FULIKI, FULUHI, FULUKI	,,	FULKI	TEREBINA	,,	TREBINA
GARASIA	,,	GRASIA	TURUTIN	,,	TRUTIN
HALFATAN	,,	HALFTAN	UISITARLA	,,	UISTARLA.

[1] E. Gotland. — [2] Norway. — [3] Upland, Dyb. Fol. Nos. 65 and 66. — [4] Id. Nos. 85 and 86. — [5] Upland, No. 1, Bautil No. 613 a; No. 2 Dyb. Fol. No. 72. — [6] Upland, Dyb. Fol. Nos. 37 and 46. — [7] Similar "help-vowels for the sake of euphony" are found in many of our modern dialects. But the Grammarians call them all, by a short and summary phrase, "more modern barbarizations".

SATI (set, placed, this stone) is usually taken with AFTAR or AT or IFIR, all followed by the accusative. But it is also found with the genitive! Thus on the Hune stone, N. Jutland, SATU STIN RUNULFS; and on the Skivum stone, N. Jutland, KARÞU STIN HUÞSKA.

At this very moment, in each of the Scandinavian book-dialects, the sound of many words is by no means settled; just as in our own tung, at the same table in spite of "Walker", we may still hear educated people saying (YEAST) YEEST, YEST, YIST, EAST; (DOUGH) DO, DOW, DUFF; (EAR) EER, EYER; (DUE) DYU, DOO; and so on with hosts of familiar words. Many well-taught English people *write* differently also; but when their papers come into the printers' hands, those learned gentlemen make a point of "showing off" by impertinently reducing everything to their own "vulgar" standard.

This continual difference and development appears most strikingly in certain letter-changes, assimilations, &c., of which I will give specimens shortly and rapidly:

A for R. — BAANNE for BARNNE, IFTIA for IFTIR.

B for F. — ÞORLAIBR, ÞURLABR, LIBA, ABTIR, IBIR.

Bþ for B. — BÞIÞUSK for BIRÞUSK.

Þ (or T) elided. — OSSON = ODSSON; BUNA = BUNTA.

F elided. — SUARTHAÞA = SUARTHAFÞA; ULKIL = ULFKIL; KUÞASTR = KUÞFASTR; ATI = AFTI; ITIR = IFTIR; UTIR = UFTIR.

FN for F. — HALFNTAN; ALFNTAN.

F for P. — IAKAUFS = IAKAUPS.

G elided. — HELA = HELGA; ÞURILS = ÞURGILS.

H. — HRRITA and RITA; HUAÞUM and UAÞUM; RHAFNUKA and RAFNUKA; RHUULFR and RULFR; HUAKR and UAKR; HRUALTR and RUHALTS; AIM and HAIM; HIBTIR and YFTIR; HUARU and UARU; IKHUAR and IKUAR; HUT and UT; HRISTI and RISTI; HRITI and RITI; SUTHI and SUTI; HONT and ONT; INKIHUALTR and INKIUALTR, &c. &c.

H for F (see F elided). — KUÞHASTR = KUÞFASTR.

H for G. — MAHISTER = MAGISTER, &c. &c.

H for K. — SHIALDOLFS.

H for N. — TRIHK = TRINK; HLFTAHAR = HLFTANAR.

H for þ. — HENNA = ÞENNA; GOHA = GOÞA[1].

K elided. — ILATI (= IKLATI = INKLANTI); UIUM = UIKUM; UIU = UIKU; SIHTRIS = SIHTRIKS; BERSIN = BERKSIN; ÞIN = ÞIKN; TRIR = TRIKR (= TRINKR).

KI (GI) traces of[2]. — HRISTI, HRITI, HRITA, ISTAIN, ISTIN, IHILBI, ISOLU, IRAISA, ISI.

L elided. — HARATS = HARALTS; HUM = HULM; HUMBIURN = HULMBIURN; HABI = HALBI; HIABI = HIALBI.

M cut off. — HUL = HULM.

MB for B or M. — HIALMBI = HIALBI; HILMBR = HILMR.

MN for M. — HULMNFASTR, HULMNLAUK, HULMN.

MTN for M. — HULMTNTIS.

N elided[3]. — FIUUIÞR = FINUUIÞR; AUT = AUNT; I = IN; STAILTR = STANILTR; AMUR = AMUNR; HAS = HANS; RUA = RUNA(R), and *thousands* of others.

NN for KN. — SINNE for SIKNE.

NR for N. — OSMUNRT, OSMUNRNT, for OSMUNT.

NT for N. — ÞENTSA, &c. &c.

O for W. — OARTÞIOL; ÞALOI-OAISAI.

P for B. — AUSTARPÛ = AUSTARBÛ; POTOLBAR = BOTOLBAR.

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[1] In an O. Engl. Charter (Kemble, 3, p. 359) we have, in 6 lines, 2 examples of CYMH for CYMþ. In the O. Engl. and Early Engl. Psalters (Surtees Soc. Vol. 2, London 1847, pp. 70, 71) the O. Engl. text translates "Castigans castigavit" by „ðregende ðreade", but the E. Engl. by the guttural H- sign ȝ, "ȝraihand (Ms. H. ȝrayhed, Ms. E. þraghand) ȝrahed (Ms. E. þragh). The Danish St. Knud's Guild-law for Flensborg, South-Jutland, (date about 1350-1400) spells the word NITHING (cowardly wretch) both NITHÆNG and NITHING, NIGHEN and NIGHENG.

[2] This G or K is still found in many words both in Scandia and England. In the latter province it is silent before N, as it is in some words in the Scandian provinces. Otherwise we have in Scandia such words as GLIDA from LIDÀ, GNIST from NIST, GRANNE from RANNR, &c. besides the common KNÄ, KNIF, &c. The I-prefix (shortened from KI, GE) is sometimes clearly emphatic. Thus in the O. Engl. Charters (Kemble, 3, p. 397) we have "ðanen be suðe Scaftesbury on ðane HLINC; of ðat IHLINCHE on ánne castel at Swindúne; . . . . on ánne stán CASTEL; of ða ICASTELE on Bleomannes BERGE; of ða IBERGE on landscarlinc".

[3] Doubtless, as I have said elsewhere, this N was often *understood*, omitted in the carving for shortness, as some other letters may sometimes have been. So the same letter was often carved once, but redd twice.

R in the root elided. — KUNAS = KUNARS; TUGUTA = TURGUTA (= ÞURGUTA); ÞUSTAIN = ÞURSTAIN; MEKI = MERKI; MIKI = MIRKI; KADU = KARÐU; ÞULFR = ÞURLFR (= ÞURULFR); IALS = IARLS; KALS = KARLS; ÞURKAL = ÞURKARL; ÞOS = ÞORS; ÞOS-DAHINOM = ÞORS-DAHÍNOM; MAIU = MARIU; FADU = FAÐUR; ÞUKIR = ÞURKIR; ABIUN = ABIURN; SIBIUN = SIBIURN; STIRBIUN = STIRBIURN; ARBION = ARBIORN; KLBINS = KULBIRNS; ASKIS = ASKIRS; BEON = BEORN; BIANAR = BIARNAR; KUÞI = KURÐI; HULMKIS = HULMKIRS; ÞOSTAIN = ÞORSTAIN; RODMAS = RODMARS; ÞOKRIM = ÞORKRIM; BUÞUR = BRUÐUR.

False R. — ROLUTR = ROLANT.

R inserted, or kept from the nominative. — GUÞRS = GUÐS.

R flitted. — BAURÞUR = BRAUÐUR; BURÞUR = BRUÐUR; KRULIFS (= KUÞRLIFS = KUÐLIFS).

R assimilated. — ROBBENN = RODBERN.

R for Þ. — MIR = MIÞ. See Þ elided.

B for ÞR. — HULMFRIR = HULMFRIÐR.

SÞ for FS. — UIÐLESÞ for UIÐLEFS; HUHLESÞ for HUHLEFS.

S elided. — RODFOAR = RODFOSAR; ÞORFATR = ÞORFASTR.

T for F. — HUSTRU = HUSFRU.

T for Þ. — TORTAR = ÞORÐAR; TURLAK = ÞURLAK; TUGUTA = ÞUGUTA; STATUM = STAÐUM; FATRAN = FAÐRAN; TORBIARN = ÞORBIARN.

T elided. — ALMAKAN = ALMATKAN; MESR = MESTR; FASLUH = FASTLU; BONA = BONTA; HARALS = HARALTS; OSKAUS = OSKAUTS; EKLANS = EKLANTS; ON = ONT; STANR = STANTR; SUÞRIANA = SUÞRLANTA; HANARST = HANTARST; AFLAS = AFLATS; IKIALR = IKIALTR; KUNILR = KUNILTR; KRISNUM = KRISTNUM; GAIRUALR = GAIRUALTR; UESKINI = UESTKINI; FRINKUNU = FRINTKUNU; UNIR = UNTIR; RISA (= RISSA = RISTA); RISI (= RISSI = RISTI); LANMANNA = LANTMANNA; RASA (= RASSA = RASTA); SAIN = STAIN; SIN = STIN; SAEN = STAEN; SUKRUKS = SUKTRUKS; ANUIT = ANTUIT.

TR elided. — KETILFAS = KETILFASTR; ULFAS = ULFASTR.

TS = ST. — TSIN = STIN; ÞURTSIN = ÞURSTIN; RITSI = RISTI, &c.

Þ assimilated. — ROBBENN = RODBENN.

Þ softened to H. — See H.

Þ for G. — In the Swedish Runic Dialogue of the Virgin we have ELSKUÞH for ÆLSKUGH, DRAÞÆN for DRAGEN, ENIÞ for ENIG, MÆÞ for MÆG, NAHÞLA for NAHGLA. In several instances this curious substitution has even become the orthodox form in the orthodox N. I. dialect, in such words as BAÐMR, the M. G. BAGMS, O. Engl. BEAM, Swed. and Dan. BOM, Germ. BAUM, a *beam*, tree. This same N. Icel. has sometimes both forms, as SYNÞUÐR and SYNÐUÐR.

Þ for T. — ÞIL = TIL; RISÞI = RISTI; KUÞMUÞ = KUÐMET (KUÐMUNT); RAISÞU = RAISTU; FECIÐ (Latin FECIT); SIÐ (Latin SIT); EÞ; EÐ (Latin ET); SANCÞE (Latin SANCTE); KAÞ = KAT; FYRLAÞIN = FYRLATIN; SKRIFAÐ = SKRIFAT; ÞRIÞIN = TRIÐIN; MALAÐ = MALAT; LIÐ = LIT; AUFÞIR = AUFTIR; ARNFASÞ = ARNFAST; RAHNUALÞR = RAHNUALTR; RIÐ = RIT; SÞAN = STAN; UNÞIR = UNTIR.

Þ vocalized. — FEIGA = FEÐGA.

Þ elided. — BRUR = BRUÐR; GORÆ = GORÐÆ; GUS = GUÐS; KOSUNR = KOÐSUNR; SMIS = SMIÐS; FAUR = FAÐUR; KOLAUK = KOÐLAUK; KOAN = KOÐAN; MIR = MIÐR; SIRI = SIÐR; KUFAST = KUÐFAST; IR = IÐR.

ÞS for SÞ. — RIÐSI = RISÞI (RISTI).

ÞT for Þ. — HARÐTSTAIN; ETINA; RESÐTU.

ÞU elided. — HARUISTAM = HARUISTAÐUM; GURSTAM = GURSTAÐUM; BRUR = BRUÐUR.

Ð elided. — FINIR = FINÐR; SEIK = SÆIÐR; ORÞI = UORÐI; URÞU = UURÐU; BERSIN = BERSUIN; SIKU = SUIKU; SIHAT = SIHUAT; KRONTARI = KRONTUARI.

U for E. — ULUEÞIN = ULFEÐIN (= ULFETIN).

U for I. — RUSTI = RISTI.

Ú for U. — ÚAS; ÚIFTIR; TÚ; IÚK; STÚÐBALTIR; AÚBIARN; AÚTISI.

UU = U = W. — UUAR; FULUUA.

But let us take a common word — say the commonest of all, STAIN, *a stone*, with the verbs which run with it — and see how charming and regular and "grammatical" (in the lower and local and pedantical sense of "Icelandic grammar") is the uniformity of the shapes and formulæ. These variations, which are not complete, would be largely increast if we were to add the formulas for *carved* followed by RUNAR, KUML, MIRKI, &c., and those in which STAIN, &c. are *omitted*.

1. With FA. *to* FAW. *fashion.*

3 sing. past. He fawed: FAM STIN DINA.

2. With HAKUA, *to* HEW. *carve.*

3 s. p. He hewed: AUK STIN DINO.
HIOK STIN.
HIOK STINI.
HUK STIN.
TAŒ STIN.
IOK STENI.
IUK STAIN.
IUK STIN.
IUK STEN DINO.

3 pl. p. They hewed: HIAKU STAIN.
HIAKU STAIN DENA.

3 s. pr. with Inf. He lets hew:
LITR STAIN HŒA DINA.

3 s. p. with Inf. He let hew:
LIT ÆKUA STAIN.
LIT STAIN ÆKUA.
LIT AKUA STAIN.
LIT AKUA STEN.
LIT AKUA STENO TUO.
LIT AKUA STIN.
LIT HAGA TISAN STAIN.
LIT HAKUA STAIN.
LIT HAKUA STAIN DINA.
LIT STAIN HAKUA.
LIT HAKUA STAN.
LIT HEKUA STAIN.
LIT HKUA STAIN.
LIT HUKUA STAN DUS.
LIT STAIN HUKUA.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They let hew:
LETU HAGA AN STAIN.
LITO HAKUA STIN.
LITU AKUA STAN.
LITU AKUA STEN.
LITU AKUA STINA.
LITU AUKUA STAIN DNA.
LITU HAKUA STAIN.
LITU HAKUA STAIN DINSA.
LITU HAKUA STEN.
LITU HAKUA STIN.
LITU HKUA S.

3. With KAURUAN, KIRUA, *&c. to* GAR. *make, fashion.*

3 s. p. He made: STEIN DENNA GERDE.
GERDI STAINA.
GIERDI STAIN.
GIERDI STAIN DI.
KARDI STAIN DASI.
KIARDI STAN DISI.

3 pl. p. They made: KARDU STIN.
Supine. Made: HAFA KARUT STAIN DINA.

3 s. p. with Inf. He let make:
KAT KAURUAN STAIN DANSI.
LÆT GÆRA STEN DÆNNA.
LIT GERA HINNA STAIN.
LIT GERA STAIN.
LIT GERA STIN.
LIT GIARA STAIN.
LIT GIARA STAIN HISSAN OK LEGGIA.
LIT GIARA STAIN OK SKIRA.
LIT GIARA STAN.
LIT GIARA STAN HINA.
LIT GIARA DINA STAIN.
LIT GIARA DINNA STAIN.
LIT GIARA DINNA STIN.
LIT GIERA STEIN.
LIT KARA HIN STAIN.
LIT KEARA STAN DINA.
LIT KIARA STAIN.
LIT KIRA TINNA STAIN.
LIT GERA DINNA SPAN.
DINN STEN DA LIT . . . GIERA.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They let make:
LIT GERA STAIN HINNA.
LITU GARA DINA STEN.
LITU GIARA STAIN.
LITU GIERA STAIN.
LITU KIARA STAIN DANA.
LITU KIARA DINA STAN.

4. With LEKIA, *to* LAY.

3 s. p. He laid: LAKDI STIN DANSI.
3 pl. p. They laid: LAKDU STAIN DINSA.
LAKDU STIN.
3 s. p. with Inf. He let lay:
(lit) LAKIA STIN DASR.
LET LEGIA STEIN DENA.
LET LEGIA STIN DENSI.

5. With MARKA, *to* MARK. *carve,*

3 s. p. He markt: MARKADI STIN DINI.
3 pl. p. They markt: MARKADU STIN DINO.
3 pl. p. with Inf. They let mark:
LITU MARKA STAIN DINSA.

6. With RAISA, *to* RAISE, *set up,*

3 s. pr. He raises: REISIR STEIN.
3 s. p. He raised: RÆSD STIN.
RAESDI STAIN.
RAISI STAIN DANSI.
RAIST ISTAIN.
RAIST STAIN DINSI.

3 s. p. He raised:

RAISTI STAF AUK STAINA.
RAISTI STAIN.
RAISTI STAIN DANA.
RAISTI STAIN DANSI.
RAISTI STAIN DINSA.
RAISTI STAIN DINSI.
RAISTI STAIN DINSO.
RAISTI STAIN DONSA.
RAISTI STAINA.
RAISTI STAINA DASI ALA.
RAISTI STEIN DINA.
RAISTI STEIN DINO.
RAISTI STIN DENA.
RAISTI STIN DINA.
RAISTI STIN DINO.
RAISTI STINNA.
RAISDI STAIN.
RAISDI STAIN DANSI.
RAISDI STIN DANSI.
RAISDI STIN DINSI.
RAISDI STINI DONSI.
RASA STAN.
RAST STAN DANSI.
RASDI STAIN DONSI.
RASDI STAN DANSI.
REISTI STEIN DANA.
REISTI STEIN DENA.
REISDI STEIN DENA.
REISDI STIAN DESA.
RESTI STAIN DINA.
RESTI STAN.
RESTI STEN.
RESTI STEN DISA.
RESTI STIN.
RESTU STEN DANI.
RESDI STIN DENSI.
RESDI STIN DESI.
RESDI STIN DONSI.
RISI STIN DANSA AUK KUMI.
RISI STIN DISI.
RISID STI DASI.
RIST STIN.
RISTA STIN DASI.
RISTA STIN DIYNO.
RISTI ISTAIN.
RISTI SANN DASI.
RISTI STAIN.
RISTI STAIN DISA.
RISTI STAN.
RISTI STANNIO.
RISTI STEN.
RISTI STEN DISA.
RISTI STIN.

3 s. p. He raisèd:

RISTI STIN DANSI.
RISTI STIN DASA.
RISTI STIN DASI.
RISTI STIN DENA.
RISTI STIN DENSA.
RISTI STIN DINA.
RISTI STIN DINSA.
RISTI STIN DINSI.
RISTI STIN DISA.
RISTI STIN DISI.
RISTI STINA.
RISTI STINA DISI.
RISTI STINO DISI.
RISTI STUN DANSI.
RISTDI STIN DANSI.
RISTU STINA.
RISD STEN DINI.
RISD STIN DISI.
RISDI STAIN DANSA.
RISDI STAIN DINSI.
RISDI STAN DASI.
RISDI STAN DISI.
RISDI STAN DONSI.
RISDI STEIN DISA.
RISDI STEN DASI.
RISDI STIN.
RISDI STIN DAISI.
RISDI STIN DASE.
RISDI STIN DANSE.
RISDI STIN DASI.
RISDI STIN DENA.
RISDI STIN DESI.
RISDI STIN DINA.
RISDI STIN DINSI.
RISDI STIN DNSA.
RISDI STIN DNSI.
RISDI STIN DONSI.
RISDI STIN DOYS.
RISDI STIN DUSI.
RISDI STINA DISI.
RISDI STINI DAISI.
RISDI STINO DISI.
RISDI STN DAISI.
RISDI STN DESI.
RISDI STN DONSI.
RISDI STUN DANSI.
RISDU STIN DISI.
RISTU SIN.
RST STN DANI.
RSTI SINA DINA.
RSDI STEN DENE.
RSDI STIN DANI.
RSDI STIN DESI.

3 pl. p. They raised: RÆISTU STÆIN.
RAISTI STIN DENA.
RAISTU ISTIN DINO.
RAISTU SAIN DENO.
RAISTU STAIN.
RAISTU STAIN DANA.
RAISTU STAIN DANSI.
RAISTU STAIN DASI.
RAISTU STAIN DINA.
RAISTU STAIN DINSA.
RAISTU STAINA.
STAINA RAISTU.
RAISTU STAINA DINA.
RAISTU STAINA DISA.
RAISTU STIN.
RAISTU STIN DANSA.
RAISTU STIN DINI.
RAISTU STIN DINNA.
RAISTU STIN DINSI.
RAISTU STIN DIS.
RAISTU STIN DISA.
RAISDU STAIN.
RAISDU STAIN DANSI.
RAISDU STIN DANSI.
RASTU ISTAIN DNO.
RASTU STAIN DINA.
REISTU STIN DENSI.
REISDU STEIN.
RESTU STÆIN.
RESTU STEIN DENSI.
RIST STIN DNI.
RISTU SAEN DINSA.
RISTU STAIN.
RISTU STAIN DINA.
RISTU STAIN DINSA.
RISTU STAIN DISI.
RISTU STAN DINSA.
RISTU STEIN.
RISTU STEN DINSI.
RISTU STIN DINA.
RISTU STIN DINSA.
RISTU STIN DINSI.
RISTU STIN DISA.
RISTU STIN DTINA.
RISTU STINO DISI.
RISTU STON.
RISDU STAN DANSI.
RISDU STEN DONSI.
RISDU STIN.
RISDU STIN DANA.
RISDU STIN DANSI.
RISDU STIN DASI.
RISDU STIN DINSI.

3 pl. p. They raised: RISDU STIN DONSI.
RISDU STINO DISI.
RISU.
RISU STIN DINA.
RITI IDUN.

3 s. p. with Inf. He let raise:
LAT RAISA STAIN DANA.
LAT RAISA STAINA DISA.
LAT RISÆ STAIN DINASA.
LET RAISA STAIN.
LET RAISA STAIN DENA.
LET RAISA STAIN DENO.
LET RASA SAIN.
LET RASA STAIN.
LET RASA STAN.
LET RASA STIN.
LET REISAA STEIN.
LET REISA STEIN DENSA.
LET REISA STEIN DINTSA.
LET RES STEN DENA.
LIT ANAN RAISA STAIN.
LIT IRESA STAIN.
LIT RAISA ISTAIN.
LIT RAISA SAEN DINA.
LIT RAISA STAIN.
LIT STAIN RAISA.
LIT RAISA STAIN DANSI.
LIT RAISA STAIN DENA.
LIT RAISA STAIN DINA.
LIT RAISA DINA STAIN.
LIT RAISA STAIN DINO.
LIT RAISA STAIN DINSA.
LIT RAISA STAIN DISA.
LIT RAISA STAIN DONA.
LIT RAISA STAINA.
LIT RAISA STAINA DASA.
LIT RAISA STAINA DISA.
LIT RAISA STANA.
LIT RAISA STIN.
LIT RAISA STIN DENO.
LIT RAISA DINA STIN.
LIT RAISA STINA.
LIT RAISA STOIN DINA.
LIT RAISA STUN DINA.
LIT RASA STAIN.
LIT RASA STAIN DINO.
LIT REISA STEIN.
LIT REISA STEIN DENA.
LIT REISA STEIN DENSA.
LIT REISA DINSA STEIN.
LIT REISA STIN DINA.
LIT RESA STAIN.
LIT RESA STAN.

3 s. p. with Inf. He let raise:

LIT RESA STAN DINA.
LIT RESA STEIN.
LIT RESA STEN DENA.
LIT RESA STIN DISA.
LIT RISA STAIN.
LIT RISA AUK ARISTA STIN DINA.
LIT RISA STAIN DANSI.
LIT RISA STAIN DINA.
LIT RISA STAIN DINSA.
LIT RISA STAN DINA.
LIT RISA STEN.
LIT RISA STIN.
LIT RISA STIN DINA.
LIT RISA STIN TINA.
LIT RISA STN.
LIT RISA STN DINA.
LIT RISA STON.
LITU ROASA STOIN.
LID RAISA STAIN DINSA.
LÆT RAESA STAEN.
STAINA RAISA.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They let raise:

LATA RAISA DINA STAINA.
LATA RASA STAINI DISA.
LATA REISA DINA STEIN.
LATA REISA DINSA STEIN.
LATIU RAI FA S [? RAISA FADAN STAIN].
LATU RISA STIN DANSA.
LETU RAISA STAIN DENA.
LETU RAISA STIN DENSA.
LETU REISA DESA STEIN.
LITU ARISA STIN.
LITU HRISA STAIN DINA.
LITU HRISA STAIN DINSA.
LITU RAISA ISTAIN.
LITU RAISA STAIN.
LITU RAISA STAIN DANA.
LITU RAISA STAIN DANSI.
LITU RAISA STAIN DENO.
LITU RAISA STAIN DINA.
LITU RAISA STAIN DINA AUK BRU DISA.
LITU RAISA STAIN DINO.
LITU RAISA STAIN DINSA.
LITU RAISA STAIN DINSI.
LITU RAISA STAIN DISA.
LITU RAISA STAINA.
LITU RAISA STAINA BADA.
LITU RAISA STAINA DASA.
LITU RAISA STAINA DISA.
LITU RAISA STAINA DISA ALA.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They let raise:

LITU RAISA STAN.
LITU RAISA STAN DINA.
LITU RAISA STAUN.
LITU RAISA STEIN.
LITU RAISA STEN.
LITU RAISA STIN.
LITU RAISA STIN DIN.
LITU RAISA STIN DINA.
LITU RAISA STN.
LITU RAISAN STAIN DINA.
LITU RAISA TSIN DASA.
LITU RASA STAIN.
LITU RASA STAIN DINO.
LITU RASA STAIN DINSA.
LITU RASA STAN.
LITU RASA STAN DINA.
LITU RASA STAN DINSA.
LITU REISA DINSA STAIN.
LITU REISA STAN.
LITU REISA STEIN.
LITU RESA STAIN.
LITU RESA STAN.
LITU RESA STEN DENSA.
LITU RISA ISTIN DINSA.
LITU RISA STAIN.
LITU RISA STAIN DINA.
LITU RISA STAIN DINSA.
LITU RISA STAIN DINSI.
LITU RISA STAIN DISA.
LITU RISA STEN DIANSA.
LITU RISA STIN.
LITU RISA STIN DINA.
LITU RISA DINA STIN.
LITU RISA STIN DISA.
LITU RISO STIN.
LITU ROSA STIN DINO.
LOTU RASA STAIN.

7. *With* RISTA, *to* RIST, *carve, inscribe.*

3 s. p. He risted: RISI STAEN DINSA.
RISTI STAIN DINA.
RISTI STAN.
RISTI STN.
RIDSI STAIN.

3 s.p. with Inf. He let rist:

LIT RASTI STAIN DENA.
LIT RISTA STIN.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They let rist:

LITU RISA STAIN.
LITU RISTA STIN.
LITU RISTA STIN DINA.
LITU RISTU STIN.

8. With RITA, URITA, to WRITE.

3 s. p. He wrote: RAITI ITSIN TINA.
RIT STIN.
RITI STAIN.
RITI STAIN DINA.
RITI STAIN DINSA.
RITI STAN.
RITI STAN DINA.
RITI STIN.
RITI STIN DINA.
RITI STIN DOI.
RITI TSIN DINI.
RID STIN.
URT STAN DISÆ.

3 pl. p. They wrote: RAITU STAIN.
RAITU STAIN DISA.
RATU STIN DINA.
RITA STAIN.
RITIDU STIN DANSI.
RITIDU STIN DINA.
STAIN RITU.
RITU STIN.
STIN RITU.
RITU STIN DINA.
RITU STIN DINI.
RITU STIN DINO.

3 s. p. with Inf. He let write:
LIT HRITA STAIN.
LIT RITY.
LIT RITA STAIN.
LIT RITA STAIN DINA.
LIT DINA RITA STAIN.
LIT RITA STAIN DINO.
LIT RITA STEN.
LIT RITA STENA.
LIT RITA STIN.
LIT RITA STIN DANSI.
LIT RITA STIN DINA.
LIT RITA STIN DINO.
LIT RITA STINÆ DINO.
LIT RITA STINO.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They let write:
LIT RITA STIN.
LITO RITA STEINI.
LITO RITA STIN.
LITU RATA STIN.
LITU RETA STEN.
LITU RITA STAIN.
LITU STAIN RITA.
LITU RITA STAIN DIN.
LITU RITA STAIN DINO.
LITU RITA STAINA.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They let write:
LITA RITA STAINO.
LITU RITA STEIN.
LITU RITA STEN.
LITU RITA STIN.
LITU RITA STIN DINA.
LITU RITA STIN DINO.
LITU RITA STIN DINTO.
LITU RITA STINA.
LITU RITA STINO.
LITU RITA STINO DISA.
LITH RITA STONO DINA.
LITU STAIN RITO.
LITU RITO STIN DINO.

9. With SETA, to SET, set up, raise.

3 s. p. He set: ASATI STIN DINA.
SÆTI STEN DÆNÆ.
SÆTI STIN DANSI.
SATI RUNIRSTHIN.
SATI SIN.
SATI STAIN.
SATI STAIN DANSI.
SATI STAIN DENSI.
SATI STAIN DONSI.
SATI STAN.
SATI STEIN.
SATI STEN DANSI.
SATI STEIN DENA.
SATI STIN.
SATI STIN DANSI.
SATI STIN DASI.
SATI STIN DINSI.
SATI STIN DONSI.
SATI STINA.
SATI STINA DUSE
SATI STNA DESI.
SATI SUN DONSI.
SITI STIN DONSI.
SH STIN DASI.

3 pl. p. They set: SATI STEN.
SATU STIN.
SATU STIN DANSI.
SATU STIN DISI.
SAUTU STAIN DANSI.
SETU STAIN AUK STAKA MARGA.
SITO STAIN DINA.
SITU STIN.

3 s. p. with Inf. He let set:
LET SITA STIN DINO.
LIT SETIA STAIN DENA.

10. With SKIRA, *to* SHEAR, SHARE, *cut, carve, score.*

3 s. p. with Inf. He let score;

LIT GIARA STAIN OK SKIRA.

11. With UNA, *to* UNNE, *let make, order.*

3 pl. p. with Inf. They caused:

UTU RISA STIN-DINI.

A mass of similar and still greater variations might be brought together in the scores of forms assumed by other, the commonest words, such as FADIR, father; MUDIR, mother; SUNR, son; TUTIR, daughter; BRUDIR, brother; SUSTIR, sister; BUANTI, bonde, yeoman; master; husband; TRINKR, dreng, soldier; ÞIKN, thane, soldier; ANT, ANTI, ond, soul; &c. &c. &c. But the reader can make lists for himself. This variation is patent to all, even after making every allowance for letters "omitted for shortness" and for the few "misristings" which may now and then occur, but which are *extremely* rare.

RAISA, to raise, should make its past tense RAISTI; while RISTA, to rist, carve, should make its past tense RAIST. But it will be observed above that these two verbs are manifoldly confounded in the past tense. It will therefore be useful to collect here a few examples of the way in which the stones distinguish between the RAISING and the WRITING of the block:

LITU RITA (let write) STEN . . . . IOK (hewed) RUNI DISA[1].

LITU HAKUA (let hew) STAIN ÞINSA . . . . RISTI (carved) STAIN DISA[2].

LIT GIARA (let make ready) STAIN OK SKIRA (score, cut)[3].

LIT KARA (let gare) MERKI, ... RISTI (carved)[4].

LIT KIARA (let prepare) MIRKI, ... RISTI (risted) EL[5].

RÆIST (carved) MIK OAK (and) RÆISTI (raised)[6].

RAIST (raised) STAIN ÞINSI . . . . KAIRÞI (made) KUML ÞAUSI[7].

RAISTI (raised) . . . . RAIST (carved) RUNER[8].

RAISTI (raised) STAIN ÞINA . . . . REISTI (risted) STEIN ÞANA[9].

RAISTI (raised) STAIN . . . . RISTI (wrote) RUNAR[10].

RAISTI (raised) ISTAIN . . . . . (r)UNAR R(ait) (wrote)[11].

RESTI (raised) STEN . . . . . RISTI (carved)[12].

RISI (raised) STIN ÞANSA AK KUML . . . . SK(A)R (cut) RU(nar)[13].

RAISTU (raised) STAIN . . . . HIKU (hewed) RUNIR[14].

RISTU (raised) STAIN ÞINA . . . . RAISTI (carved) K (? = KIN) RUNAR[15].

LIT RAISA (let raise) SAEN ÞINA . . . . KA(irþi) (wrote) (run)A[16].

L(it rai)SA (let raise) STAIN ÞENA . . . . (hiak)U (carved) STAIN ÞENA[17].

LIT RAISA (let raise) STAIN ÞONA . . . . RIST(i) (carved)[18].

LET RASA (let raise) STAN . . . . ARIS(? ti) (risted)[19].

LIT RAISA (let raise) STAIN ÞINSA . . . . . RISI (carved) STAEN ÞINSA[20].

LIT RAISA (let raise) . . . . . RISTI (scored)[21].

LIT RASA (let raise) STAIN . . . . RISTI (carved) STAIN ÞINA[22].

LET RES (let raise) STEN-ÞENA . . . . . RISTI (hewed) RUNAR[23].

LIT RISA (let raise) STIN ÞINA . . . . . RISTI (risted) RUNA(R)[24].

LATU RISA (let raise) STIN ÞANSA . . . . RISTI (carved)[25].

LITU RAISA (let raise) STAINA ÞISA ALA . . . . RAISTI (wrote)[26].

LITU RAISA (let raise) STAIN . . . . . RI(sti) (wrote)[27].

LITU RASA (let raise) STAIN ÞINO . . . . . HRISTI (carved) RUNOR[28].

LITU RASA (let raise) . . . . . RISTI (carved)[29].

LITU RISA (let raise) STIN . . . . RISTI (wrote) RUA[30].

UTU RISA (got raised) STIN ÞINI . . . . RISTI (wrote) RUNAR ÞASI[31].

SATI (set, placed, raised) STAIN . . . . ÞAI (sculptured)[32].

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[1] Dyb. Fol. No. 150. — [2] Dyb. 8vo. No. 54. — [3] Sundra, Gotl., Säve, No. 196. — [4] Ed. — [5] Dyb. 8vo. No. 89. — [6] Bergemoen, Norway. — [7] Dyb. 8vo. No. 4. — [8] Kirk Onchan, Man, Cumming, pl. 10. fig. 26. — [9] Alstad, Norway. — [10] Dyb. 8vo. 85. — [11] Id. 7. — [12] Dyb. Fol. 63. — [13] Dyb. 8vo. 14. — [14] Id. 37. — [15] Dyb. Fol. 37. — [16] Dyb. 8vo. 6. — [17] Id. 41. — [18] Dyb Fol. 119. — [19] Id. 73. — [20] Id. 130. — [21] Id. 54 and 67. — [22] Id. 55. — [23] Tillidse, Lolland. — [24] Dyb. Fol. 68. — [25] Id. 77. — [26] Id. 100. — [27] E. Dalby, Upland. — [28] Dyb. Fol. 14. — [29] Id. 56 and 91. — [30] Gällstad, Upland. — [31] Dyb. Fol. 83. — [32] Helnæs, Fyn.

LITU RITA (let write) STIN DINA ..... RITSI (carved) RUNAR[1].

LITU RITA (let write) (stin) : .... RUSTI (carved) RUNOR[2].

LITU RITO (let write) STIN DINO .... HIU (carved)[3].

SATI (set up) STAIN ÞENSI ..... KARÞU (made) KUBL ÞAUSI .:... RAIST (wrote) RUNAR ÞASI[4].

SATU (they placed) KUML ÞUSI ..... RIST (wrote)[5].

It is also important to remark the technical use of the verbs for workmanship &c. connected with these runic pieces. I believe the following will be a pretty complete list.

Nouns, incidental: — ? BEKUN, beacon, mark; LOK, lodge, grave; SIAÞ, seat, mound, grave; STAFA-MERKI, stave-mark, inscribed stone, grave-mark.

The Verbs are often used absolutely, without any noun. Thus N. N. FAÞI may mean *N. N. fawed me*, or *made this*, or *hewed this stone*, or *carved these runes*, &c according to circumstances. And so of KARÞI, RAISTI and the rest. But they are usually followed by certain nouns, thus:

FA, to faw, fay, sculpture, fashion, make, RUNAR, runes, TYR, door.

FURA, to fare, flit, move, carry, transport, STIN, a stone.

HAUKUA, to hew, carve, HELI, a hill, cliff, rock, slab; KASI, a mark, beacon; LITR, the letters, the runes; LITMERKI, stone-mark, grave-stone; MIRKI, mark, stone; RUNAR, runes; SIÞU, stone-side; STAIN, stone.

ÞANTA, to bend, fetch, procure, get, STIN, grave-slab.

KAURUAN, to gare, make, carve, AUR, ore, sand- and shingle-bank, causeway, landing-place; BRU, bridge; ÞRUTAR KUML, road cumbel, way-side monument; HAFK, how, hoy, mound; HUALF, vault, tomb; KAMB, comb, hair-comb; KAS, a beacon; KIRKIA, church; KUMBL, cumbel, mark, mound, monument, usually as a plural (the cairn, foot-stones and runic block — all as *one memorial*); KUBLMARK, cumbel-mark, memorial monument; LAÞBRO, land-bridge, causeway; LIK-HUS, lich-house, bone or body house, probably a resting place for the corpse at and before funerals; LITI AUK MERKI, lade (barrow, grave-mound, stone-heap) and mark, funeral stone; MARKA, marks, marking stones, grave-blocks, setting-stones; MIRKI, mark, funeral stone, grave memorial; RUNAR, runes, inscriptions SANTIAR, sand-ore, shingle-bank, causeway, dyke; SBANKAR, spangs, foot-bridges, hand-bridges; SIULAUS, sele-house, wayfarers' inn, house of refuge; SKAIÞ, ? ship-setting (of small stones); STAIN, stone, inscribed block; STAIN-BRU, stone-bridge; STAIN-HUALF, stone-vault, tomb of hewn stone; STEN-KAR, stone-coffin, stone-kist; STEN-MERKI OK BURO, stone-mark and bridge; STEAKAR, stakes, funeral wands or pillars or setting-stones; ÞRUI, thruch, stone-kist.

GIARA OK LEGGIA, to make and lay, STAIN, the funeral stone.

KUBLA, to cumbel, raise a cumbel, erect a grave-mark.

LEGIA, to lay, BRU, a bridge; STAIN, a grave-stone, a lying slab, flat tomb-stone, as in the later Christian times; I STENÞRU, in a stone-thruch, stone-coffin.

MARKA, to mark, write, inscribe, STAIN, grave-block.

RISAN, to raise, erect, BRU, bridge, HUALF (? = HUARF, stone-circle, stone-ring); KRUS, Cross, Runic Cross, Cross-shaped grave-stone; KUML, cumbel, memorial; STAÞ AUK STAINA, staff and stone, wand or pillar of honor and memorial stone; STAIN, grave-pillar; STAIN-HALA, stone slab; STAIN-KUMBL, stone; STAINLIT, stone-lade, stone-heap, cairn; STAIN AUK HUALF, stone-and vault, the inscribed slab above ground and the tomb below; STEK, stake, ? pillar-stone memorials, grave monument.

RISTA, to rist, carve, inscribe, BUI, bind, bend, rune-wind; EL, slab, stone; MIRKI, mark, stone; RUNAR, runes; RUNARAÞ, rune-row, line of runes, runic carving; STAIN, stone.

RITA, to write, RUNAR, runes, STAIN, stone.

SBIRNA, to spore, score, carve, STAIN.

SETA, to set up, raise; KUML, cumbel; MARKI, mark, grave-stone; STAIN, stone; STAKA, stakes, stone-settings.

SKIRA, to score, cut, inscribe, STAIN, stone.

SKRIFA, to write, carve, STAIN.

UINA to WIN, make, fashion, STAF, a staff.

Other words and combinations will doubtless be discovered.

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[1] Dyb. Fol. 122. — [2] Id. 139. — [3] Id. 129. — [4] Glavendrup, Fyn. — [5] Åkirke, Bornholm.

The Icelanders commonly make a distinction according to the material. They say KLAPPA I STEINA (to carve on stone), but RISTA when speaking of wood. I have not seen this KLAPPA on any runic monument; but it is found in the Gotland Law, and is still used in Gotland, for *to cut*.

If we now tabulate a few of the words, we shall see how wild and rich the dialectic forms are, and that they sometimes show fragments of much older tung-fall.

ARTICLE AND DEMONSTRATIVE ÞE.

Usually omitted. When found, sometimes precedes, sometimes follows the noun. Both in form (by adding the emphatic, declined or undeclined, enclitic SI) and in meaning, it often signifies also THIS and THAT.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
n. s.	ÞA	ÞA	ÞETTA	ac. s.	ÞASA		
	ÞÆ	ÞAUN	ÞAT		ÞASI		
	ÞAN	.....	ÞITA		ÞASR		
	ÞASI				ÞEISI		
	ÞAT				ÞENA		
	ÞE				ÞENE		
	ÞESE				ÞENO		
g. s.	E	.....	ÞORS		ÞENSI		
	ÞIS				ÞENTSA		
d. s.	ÞEMÆ	ÞEIRI	TI		ÞESA		
	ÞEMMÆ	ÞAIRI	ÞI		ÞESI		
	ÞAIM	.....	ÞC		ÞIANSA		
	ÞAIMA				ÞIYNO		
	ÞAIMSI				ÞIN		
	ÞIM				ÞINA		
	ÞISUM				ÞINASA		
ac. s.	HENI	TISA	HENNA		ÞINI		
	HISAN	ÞEN	ÞENÆ		ÞINSA		
	HISSAN	ÞAISI	ÞÆNNA		ÞINO		
	TAN	ÞASA	ÞETÆ		ÞINSA		
	TE[1]	ÞASI	ÞÆTTA		ÞINSI		
	TINA	ÞENNA	ÞANSI		ÞINSO		
	TINNA	ÞESA	ÞAT		ÞINTSA		
	TINSA	ÞESI	ÞATSI		ÞINU		
	TISAN	ÞESSA	ÞAUSI		ÞISA		
	TISSAN	ÞLEU	ÞESA		ÞISÆ		
	ÞEN	ÞISA	ÞET		ÞISE		
	ÞENÆ	ÞISE	ÞISA		ÞISI		
	ÞÆNN	ÞISI	ÞISI		ÞNA		
	ÞÆNSI	ÞOSA	ÞITA		ÞO.E		
	ÞAISI	ÞOSI	ÞITSI		ÞOASI		
	ÞAN	.....	ÞOSI		ÞOI		
	ÞANA	.....	ÞUSI		ÞOIISE		
	ÞANE				ÞON		
	ÞANI				ÞONA		
	ÞANO				ÞONO		
	ÞANSA				ÞONSI		
	ÞANSI				ÞOYS		

[1] Perhaps ac. pl.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
ac. s.	ÞINA		
	ÞUS		
	ÞUSI		
n. pl.	ÞÉ	ÞAR	ÞAON
	ÞAIR	ÞAUH	ÞAU
	ÞA	ÞIAI	ÞAUH
	ÞÆI	.....	ÞAUN
	ÞÆIR	.....	ÞAUY
	ÞÆR	.....	ÞISUN
	ÞAIR	.....	ÞO
	ÞAISI	.....	ÞON
	ÞAR	.....	ÞŒU
	ÞAU	.....	ÞOU
	ÞAUR	.....	ÞU
	ÞAUR		
	ÞEIR		
	ÞER		
	ÞI		
	ÞLÆIR		
	ÞIH		
	ÞIR		
	ÞISA		
	ÞIU		
	ÞOIR		
	ÞŒU		

g. pl. *masc. fem. neut.*: TARA, ÞAIR, ÞAIRA, ÞAIRI, ÞARÅ, ÞEIR, ÞEIRA, ÞERA, ÞIRA, ÞISA.

d. pl. *masc. fem. neut.*: ÞÆIM, ÞAIM, ÞEIM, ÞEM, ÞIM.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
ac. pl.	TA[1]	ÞAER	ÞA
	ÞA	ÞÆSAR	ÞAISI
	ÞISA	ÞÆSER	ÞASA
		ÞÆSI	ÞASAR
		ÞASI	ÞASI
		ÞENR	ÞAUSI
		ÞESA	ÞAUN
		ÞESAR	ÞIA
		ÞESER	ÞISI
		ÞESI	ÞISUN
		ÞINA	ÞOSI
		ÞIS	ÞUSI
		ÞISA	ÞUSU
		ÞISAR	
		ÞISI	
		ÞOSAR	

See the remarks on [ÞE] in the Wordroll, as also the articles HÉ, IMÆ, IS (he), SYOÆ, ÞIS, in the same, where striking archaisms even on Scandinavian-runic pieces are mentioned. On *old* stones, as in the *oldest* Scandian parchment songs &c., the "post-article" is unknown. Occasionally we have the ÞÉ *before* its noun or adjective, exactly as in English. Thus on the Grötlingbo slab in Gotland, ÞE SUN ARUAIS; on the Skjern stone in Jutland, ÞOÆ TURA; on the immense Tirsted block in Lolland it is prefixt twice, in ÞÆ FÆINK UAIRA and in ÞÆ ALIR UIKIKAR. A whole book might be written on the endless swingings which have taken place in the use of older and later Articles and Pronouns &c., changes which are still going on, in the Northern and Southern Scando-Gothic, the Romance and other dialects. But this is not the place, and I am not wordsmith enough for such enquiries. The time will doubtless come when all such phenomena in our Northern talks and tungs will be gathered up, in a far more comprehensive and philosophic spirit than has hitherto been shown. In England costly fragments still remain of olden forms, to which only quite lately some passing attention has been directed.

THE NUMERAL nt. AIN, EIN; f. AIN; n. AT

is sometimes used as an Indefinite Article, sometimes as a Demonstrative (The, This). Sometimes it cannot be distinguisht in meaning or form from

THE ARTICLE IN, HIN,

which is found both before and after the noun. This article is also employed for The, That

[1] Perhaps ac. s.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
n. s.	EIN	HIN	HITTA
	HIN	IN	
g. s.	EINS		
	HINS		
	INS		
d. s.	IN (? um)		
ac. s.	HIN	.....	HITA
	HINA		
	HINNA		
	IN		

THE NOUNS

exhibit many curious forms. Most of the archaisms in strong masculines will be best understood by comparing them with the endings in the masc. vocalic nouns in Pali (for instance class 1), compared with the Sanscrit. Here we have the Sanscrit nomin. AH (AS) reduced to O, the Sanscrit gen. ASYA reduced to ASSA, the Sanscrit dat. AYA retained in Pali, the Sanscrit ac. AM or AN also AM in Pali, but *this M has become a nasal sound*, and in Pracrit it *falls away altogether*.

There are some few nom. masc. in S, RUULFASTS, BURALFS, THURGEIS, (this last in a Latin inscription), HÆLHIS, OSLAKS, &c. In England, on coins from the first half of the 9th century, we have ALDATES, GADUTES.

This S is usually R, also IR, but it also passes over to a vowel, or falls away. There have sometimes been 2, or 3 different declensions, in R, in I, and so on, thus separate forms of the same word. We also find not only the usual masc. weak "declension" in I, oblique cases A, but also a "declension" in A, oblique cases I, and in AU oblique cases A, besides a confusion of all three, this technical phrase "declension" being only another term for this same endless "variety". A sometimes stands for I, as ARUA for ARUI (= ARFI). Some feminines, as ARTIDI, KYDEFI, add I; so some neuters, as MYDKINI.

S and AR often interchange in the genitive of strong masculines, and the R is sometimes added (GUDRS). When we find S elided (as in RODFOAR = RODFOSAR), it reminds us of the S in the Sanscrit g. s. in AYAS (from a fem. stem in A), which is sometimes compresst to AE.

In all our dialects nouns are occasionally undeclined in the gen. sing. Hence the Runic (Dyb. 8vo. 55) HAN, OAR IRFYKR URÞN YKYKRIÞ, *he was become I(n)kirith's heir*; (Gällstad, Upland) AT HUTA, FAÞURI SIN, SUN ÞORBIARN, *at (to) Huti, father sin (his), son of Thorbiarn*.

Prof. C. Säve has already pointed out (Gutn. Urk. p. XV) that in feminines, where the M. Goth. has -ONS in the gen. sing. and nom. and ac. pl., the common Scandian dialects — by their usual elision of N and change of O to U and of S to R — have gotten UR, but that in the gen. sing. the R also has fallen away, so that for instance WIKA makes g. WIKU, n. pl. WIKUR, ac. pl. WIKUR. But the Gotland dialect has preserved this R in the genitive, so that the g. s. of WIKA is there WIKUR. He has also pointed out many examples of the same archaism in the rest of Scandinavia, showing that it is very antique and must formerly have been widely spread. This explains such runic genitives as KUNUR, KIRKIUR, IKUR, RUNUR, for which see the Appendix[1]. The paradigm then will be:

	M. Goth.	Gotlandic.	Usual O. Scand.
n. s.	WIKO	WIKA	WIKA
gen.	WIKONS	WIKUR	WIKU
n. a. pl.	WIKONS	WIKUR	WIKUR

[1] In his treatise "De oldnordiske navneords böjning" (Tidsskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik, Vol. 6, p. 49), Dr. K. J. Lyngby gives another, merely mechanical and capricious, explanation of this form in -UR; "-R", he says, "has come into this declension from the gen. sing. of A-stems (N. I. GJAFAR) and I-stems". But he admits the antiquity of the form, by whatever theory it may be explained.

Datives, of all genders, sometimes end in a vowel, E, IE, I, O, U, &c., but they have frequently cast the vowel away from the oldest times.

So accusatives sing. masculine often end in a vowel, A, EI, O, U, &c., often the same word having many forms, as STAINI, STAINA, STYNY, STANO, STINO, &c. But the accusative ending is often -R (KAIRIEIMR, RODKUTR, SHYDR, ASTULFR, IKRIDR, UIFASTR, &c.) as occasionally in the oldest parchments, this R being only a dull vocalism. In the mass of words the vowel, or its representative -R, has long since died out. The M has everywhere fallen away.

ADJECTIVES,

besides idiotisms like SUN OSKAUS RAUÞUMSKIALTA[1] (*the shielded with-red, the red-shielded*), have endings in U and O (RYKIU, g. s. m.), (I RAÞU SIO[2]); accusatives s. masc. in A (the N vocalized) ÆIN TURUTIN FASTA[3], FAÞUR SIN MAN KIUNA[4]; or in U, AT UBI BUANTI SIN ÞURU[5]; and definites in A, (ÞOÆ TURA[6]); in Y, (SUARTHAFÞY); in I and U, (ÞURI, UASKU); in OA, (AUFTI KARL HIN KUÞOA[7]); besides indefinites in ON, (UHIMSKON HAE[8]), and RU (HARÞO KUÞRU ÞIN[9]). — We have also nominatives and accusatives pl. in O, and such datives as I LITLA RONUM[10], and the common I HUITA UAÞUM.

PRONOUNS,

as might be expected, exhibit precious archaisms. See the Appendix. We will here only mention the Swedish (and occasional Danish) ÞAUN, and the Swedish ÞISUN, &c. These numating nom. and ac. plurals neuter of ÞE remind us of the Sanscrit and Pali n. pl. n. -TÂNI. The d. s. m. ÞAIMA, &c. has the Gothic parallel ÞAMMA. The old ÞINA[11], g. s. of ÞU, = OF-THEE, has such sideforms as the oldest Swedish SINA, gen. sing. of the reflective pronoun, and as the M. Goth. SEINA, &c. &c.[12]. — SIN, his, her, its, their, has the following forms[13]:

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[1] Rönninge, Fyn. — [2] Lie, Norway. — [3] Skjern, N. Jutland. — [4] Dyb. Svo. Nor. 93. — [5] *Aspa, Södermanland. — [6] Skjern. — [7] Hobro, N. Jutland. — [8] Söndervissing, N. Jutland. — [9] Asferg, N. Jutland. — [10] Gotland, Säve, No. 122. — [11] Sylling, Norway.

[12] Moritz Heyne has pointed out a similar very remarkable archaism in West-Frisic, the use of JEMMA for YOU, the Obg. IER, M. G. JUS, Sanscrit-Vedic YU-S'MÊ. "Unter den Pluralformen müszen wir (neben dem ahd. *ie-r*, das ganz zu goth. *ju-s* stimmt und das im Dillinger Psalmenfragment Ps. 113, 15 gewahrt wird) einer eigentümlichen westfriesischen Form des Plurals der zweiten Person gedenken. Sie lautet *jemma* für den nom. gen. und acc. in Urkunden bei Schwarzenberg sowol wie im Westerlauwerschen Texte bei Richthofen, verstümmelt *jemna* und *jemman*, und verdient, da sie durch Alter und gute Erhaltung merkwürdig ist, einige besprechende Worte. Das schliessende *s* des gothischen *ju-s* ist nämlich nicht anders wie das von *wei-s*, Rest einer angehängten Pronominal-Partikel *-sma* (vergleiche das vedische *yu-s'mê* ihr, *a-smê* wir), welches in dem ahd. altnord. Dialecte zu *r* wurde, in den sächsischen und friesischen aber abfiel, soweit nicht das westfriesische das gesammte Suffix gegen alle Dialecte gewahrt hat; denn *je-mma* steht durch Assimilation für *je-sma* und ist dem vedischen *yu-s'mê* noch ganz nahe." — Kurze Laut- und Flexionslehre der altgermanischen Sprachstämme, 8vo. Vol. 1. Paderborn 1862, p. 322.

[13] The M. G. has ac. s. m. SEIN-ANA, f. SEIN-A, n. SEIN-ATA and SEIN
" O. E. " " " " SIN-NE, " SIN-E, " SIN
" N. I. " " " " SIN-N, " SIN-A, " SITT
" O. Fr. " " " " SIN-NE, " SIN-E, SIN-NE, " SIN
" O. S. " " " " SIN-AN, SIN-EN, " SIN-A, " SIN
" Obg. " " " " SIN-AN, SIN-EN, SIN-IN, " SIN-A, SIN-E, " SIN-AZ
" Germ. " " " " SEIN-EN, " SEIN-E, " SEIN?

As to the masc. ac. I have not yet found in Scandinavia any SINAN, still less any SINANA. Not only the -A but even the -N has everywhere fallen away. The oldest Runic laves we have of this masc. ac. are SINA, SINAI, SINE, SINI, SINO, SIN. The ac. fem. is SINA, SIN, &c., the ac. neut. SIT. In modern Scandinavia ac. masc. and fem. have both become SIN, while the ac. neut. remains SIT, Icel. SITT; SINT being a rare local or obsolete form. — Similar observations will apply, generally speaking, to the possessives MIN and FIN. — Thus in the oldest O. Engl., O. Frisic and O. Saxon the T in the nom. and acc. neut. had already fallen away, as it partly had even in Mæso-Gothic. In later English the whole word SIN died out. In Scandinavia the T was kept, but the N was assimilated. The Obg., like the Scandinavian, kept this T (SIN-AZ), but in the modern High-German it has dropt off (SEIN). — The same rule applies to the strong Adjectives, save that in modern High-German the T (ES) is still very often used.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
n. s.	SIN			ac. s.	SINAI		
g. s.	SINS	SIN	SINS		SINE		
	SIS	SINAR			SINO		
		SINIR			SINT		
d. s.	SINUM	SENNI	SINU		SIT		
		SINI			SN		
ac. s.	SAIN	SENÅ	SIT		SUN		
	SAN	SIN		d. pl.	.....	.....	SINUM
	SEN	SINA		ac. pl.	SIN	? SINAR	SIN
	SIN	SINI			SINA		
	SYN	SINO			SINI		
	SIN	SUNA			SINO		
	SINA				SINU		

THE VERBS

in these Scandinavian-runic monuments also sometimes show old endings. The chief are, the 3rd s. past in O, U, &c., and the 3rd pl. past in I, &c. But very remarkable are the examples of the Infinitive in -AN, which sometimes, the N falling away, leaves the vowel colored as O[1].

The above examples and remarks might have been greatly enlarged. But I leave the subject to more competent scholars. Certain it is, that we cannot explain all these phenomena by the phrase — that the stones are full of "mis-ristings", "mis-hewings", are "mis-cut", abound in "faults of the chisel". Such *may* occur, tho those I have detected I can count on my fingers. But the objection is inadequate. Even supposing "mis-cuttings" to any reasonable extent, they will not suffice. For these peculiarities, as we have seen, pervade the whole body of these monuments, and these stones, some of them colossal and costly, and many of them, as they expressly inform us, carved by great chiefs, the nearest kinsmen or dearest friends or brothers-in-arms of the dead warrior, or by "Rune-cunning" Masters who perpetuate their name, and who would *not* have perpetuated their gross ignorance and helpless stupidity, either must be redd as they stand or *cease to have any value*. To pronounce "mis-hewn" or "corrupt" whatever we do not understand, is childish.

Besides, most of these monoliths could not have been carved at all without previous careful measurements and preparations. The artist must have made drawings, — at least on the stone itself, in chalk or some such material, to mark out and arrange his intricate patterns, ere he could lift his hammer. The length of his inscription would often be modified by the quality or perfectness of the block. Many contractions of the words have been occasioned by roughness or breaks in the surface diminishing the available room. And even where the design is simple and the formula short, he must usually have had to sketch it out first, perhaps in chalk, ere he could proceed, for there must be a certain harmony even in simple carvings. He could not but begin by adjusting the runes, as well as the ornaments, so as best to fill the space. Only seldom could he have workt by rule of thumb, as we say, by guess and eye. And certainly the deceast himself would not be flattered by silly barbarisms, as little as his living friends would usually have permitted them. The carving of these remarkable monuments was too toilsome a task to risk spoiling the whole for want of a little care; and good money — then as now would not be given for bad work. This is the clearer, as almost all the mistakes I have hitherto detected have been rectified on the stone by the rune-cutter himself. There may of course be exceptions; here as elsewhere; *humanum est errare*. But mis-cuttings could never have been common: and, generally speaking, these blocks are either trustworthy monuments or only so much granite.

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[1] Some interesting remarks on what was considered by him the oldest Northern, will be found in a paper by Prof. P. A. Munch, printed in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", Kjöbenhavn 1846, 8vo, pp. 219-283: — "Sprôghistorisk Undersögelse om det ældste Fælles-Nordiske Sprogs Udseende, og Forsög til at bestemme den Olddanske og Oldsvenske Mundarts normale Orthographi, Grammatik og rette Forhold til Norrona-Mundarten."

But we find many of these "barbarisms" — which we now see are *archaisms* — in the oldest manuscripts, and may now hope that these skinbooks will be treated more respectfully. Yet errors in parchments, which are usually copied from older codices, the eye thus so easily misleading the hand, are, for various reasons, as all scholars know, easy enough. On laboriously hewn stone blocks such faults are almost impossible.

This great variety of form can therefore only be traced to floating dialects, older and newer things intermixt, to the efforts made to represent the sound without there being fixt spelling-laws which all could follow, to the frequent elisions of letters to spare room and labor, to the *absence* of centralization and book-written literature, and to the abiding *presence* of phonetic substitution and phonetic decay.

On the rune-stones of one single iland (Gotland) we have the very short word FRU (our Old-English FREO, Lady, Mistress, Wife) spelt FRAUA, FRIA, FROIA, FROUA, FROUIA, FROUA, FRU, PREYA, and in the Gotland-law FROYA.

Even at this very moment, in various parts of Scandinavia, we have local dialects where D is pronounced TH, F and V as thick B, L as thick L, V as W, H disappears where it should stand or is prefixt where it should not be, and so on, together with double negatives, and hundreds of "exceptional forms", or words, or phrases, not known save in their own districts; altho many may exist in other far-off provinces, and some may claim an antiquity as great as that of the Pali or Sanscrit.

And this is *besides* all sorts of broadenings and thinnings of vowels, diphthongizings, thickenings, doublings, slidings, interchangings, substitutions, hardenings, softenings, elisionings, all the wondrous variations both guttural and consonantic. Yet many moderns will instantly fix the nationality of a district a thousand years ago by the seventieth part of the weight of an accent in a few words in one of its many dialects early or late, — or by the dexterous splitting of one of its "slender vowels", — nay by the mere smell of a "classified consonant"!

Further discussion is superfluous. The same thing, the same billowy changeful flow, holds good in all other language-groups. In the East as in the West, in old times as in new, in German, Keltic, Slavonic, Greek, what endless varieties! And the same was the case more than 2500 years ago in "Classical Italy".

Compare, for instance, Mommsen's tables of the *Oscan* with the usual *Latin* forms.

Latin IS (he, the):

IZIC,	n. s. m. = IS.
IUK,	n. s. f. = EA.
IOC,	ac. pl. n. = EA.
IOIK,	
IOIC,	n. ac. s. n. = ID.
IOC,	
IN,	
IONC,	ac. s. m. = EUM.

Latin HIC (this), Sanscr. ÉKAS, *one*:
(Oscan norm EKUS and EKSUS)

EKYK,	
EKSS,	
EX,	n. ac. s. n. = HOC.
EXEIC,	
EIZEIC,	
EYSEYS,	
EIZEIS,	g. s. m. n. = HUJUS.
EIZASC,	g. s f. = HUJUS.

EYSEY,	
ESEY,	loc. s. m. n. = HOC.
EIZEIC,	
EKSUK,	
EYSUD,	
ESOT,	abl. 1. s. m. n. = HOC.
EIZUC,	
EISUCEN,	
ESUF,	abl. 2, s. m. n. = HOC.
EKHAD,	
EKAK,	
EXAC,	abl. s. f. = HAC, HIC.
EYSAK,	
EIZAC,	
EKA,	? n. pl. n. = HÆC.
? EKAK,	
EZUM,	g. pl. m. n.? = HORUM.
EIZAZUNC,	g. pl. f. = HARUM.
EIZOIS,	d. abl. pl. m. n. = HIS.
EKASK,	ac. pl. f. = HAS.

Or, let us take an Oscan carving or two. Thus Mommsen, p. 180:

FLUUSAÍ = FLORAE.

Again, same page:

V . PUPIDIIS . V . MED . TUV	Vibius POPIDIUS Vibii filius MEDDIX
PASSTATA . EKAK . UPSAN	TUTICUS PORTICUM HANC OPER-
DEDED . ISIDU . PRUFATTR.	ANDAM (faciendam) DEDIT, IDEM PROBAVIT.

Again, next page:

V . PUPIDIIS . V . MED . TUV	Vibius POPIDIUS Vibii filius
AAMANAFFED . ISIDU	MEDDIX TUTICUS FIERI
PRUFATTED,	IUSSIT IDEM PROBAVIT.

So in Burgon's Letters from Rome, in his facsimiles of the Catacomb inscriptions, from the 1st to the 5th century, we have Bind-staves, smaller letters intermixt with the rest, N and M often elided (thus COIVGI for CONIUGI), E for I (thus SENE for SINE), the archaic form QUERELLAM, B for V (thus BIBAS for VIVAS), LIBERA for LIBERÆ, DOMITIANEN for DOMITIANE, VIROINI for VIRGINI, and so on. I quote from this work because his facsimiles are absolutely trustworthy.

Similar proofs might be adduced from antiquarian remains all the world over. Manuscripts — in spite of their comparative regularity — are full of them. Coins, Medals, Slabs, give the same evidence.

I therefore recapitulate and conclude.

Separate clans and families and colonist-groups take with them their own peculiarities of tung. According to the degree of isolation or intercourse, the influence of climate, and a thousand accidents, these peculiarities may stagnate or wear away, be cristalized or broken off, or the one shire or little kingdom may mix its speech with that of another, so that, after a thousand years, two dialects slightly differing at first may entirely coalesce, or may become so altered that the one provincial can scarcely understand the other. This has been the case everywhere. In the Northern lands it is patent to all who *will* see. In the early times there was no wide-spread book-literature — that great sheet-anchor for the written, and largely also for the spoken tung. The swaying and swinging of the various shire-speeches was therefore very markt. No two codices are quite the same in words or forms, even the same page, nay the same inscribed stone, offers variations within itself. Every thing was floating. For all the characteristic unity in essentials, there was extreme variety in details. The dialects were as a boiling pot, so much the more as this was the age of the "folk-wanderings", the flow of "barbarous" peoples southward and westward, and much of this movement swept over the North. Hence the endless transitions, besides the remarkable *enclaves*, the running of the one dialect like a wedge into the local sphere of another. All this was natural. In the old days — say the first 8 or 9 centuries after Christ — the populations were strangely transmigratory, passing easily and rapidly from one ness-kingdom, one iland, one main, to another. The Englishman sailed over to Sweden or Denmark, the Dane to Sweden or England, the Norseman to Iceland or Denmark, and so on, sometimes passing years in the one land only to settle finally in another. Then the bulk of the warlike men was in constant foray. The sea was a highway where all met, the land a tourney-ground for the last comer. Everybody — that is, most of the loose free population — was in Wiking, sharing in the expeditions of some lackland Sea-king, or boldly striking for "shire" or "rike" on his own account. Meanwhile the children mixt largely with the serving classes, *the slaves*, and vast numbers of these were originally free men, they or their fathers war-prisoners from lands in the North itself or the nearest kingdoms; or else they were countrymen, fellow-citizens, their own flesh and blood, reduced to serfdom *for debt*. But all this would have the greatest possible influence on the current speech.

Thus, apart from other reasons, mechanical unity of the language in all these Northern states was an impossibility, and would soon have disappeared if it had once been founded.

Of late this great truth, which must lie at the bottom of all our researches into the language actually spoken by our oldest written memorials, THE OLD-NORTHERN CARVED STONES, is *beginning* to be acknowledged. The author who has most openly and fearlessly admitted it is L. Westrem, in his last excellent work advocating a direct and immediate United Scandinavia[1].

[1] "Mere om Enhedsskandinavismen, og om vore indre Reformer." Bergen 1862, 8vo, p. 43 fol.

As yet we cannot treat the question either exhaustively or comparatively. Materials and Men are wanting for enquiries of this sort. In all Great Britain and Ireland we have only *one* Professor of Old-English, *one* historical expounder of English, confessedly the mightiest and richest and most world-swaying of the modern languages. The Scandinavians have only lately gotten one Professor of their old mother-tung at *each* of their Universities. This whole movement is modern. We have only just ceast from blindly worshiping "the Classics". At the beginning of this century there was no Professor of Old-Scandinavian at any High-Northern University.

The consequence is that we have *all* of us, in England and in Scandinavia, an enormous mass of work to go thro. We must give up transcribing and stealing from humdrum "Grammars". We must cease manufacturing certain given "normals". We must dig down into each separate speech-mine, and register its contents, each for itself. We must examine every document, botching and altering nothing, least of all "rectifying" without notice and without retaining in a note the words we change. In how many such rashly altered lines lie hidden rare words, or forms from a far older age! We must begin with the oldest Inscribed Stones and other Carved Remains, pass over to the venerable bookfells, continue thro the Middle Age, the Reformation period, and so down to our own time, noting and classifying everything, idioms, terminations, constructions, genders, the whole word-hoard, as shown in each class of the people, at every period, in each distinct language-district.

When all this is tolerably accomplisht, and not till then, we may again begin to dogmatize, and write National Grammars and big books, and copy each other. We shall then have some right to our say, and may utter something worth remembering. At present we want workers, diggers, silent students, not bookmakers. Let us first get the honest and solid nuggets, and we can soon mint them into the handy popular sovereigns.

When all the Northern lands have thus done their work, we may form some idea of the famous Northern Tung ere it had toucht the English shores, following it on its course thro North and Middle and Southern England, tracing it as it split, see how original clan-differences became mighty kingdom-speeches — until at length they had well nigh forgotten each other's tones and lineaments. We shall then see that all of them have lost much, all kept much, all battled much, all borne home foreign fee and trophy — the latter too often to their scathe — and that all have much to learn from each other. We shall then admit that Old-English is by far the oldest Northern dialect of which numerous monuments remain, and that the Scandinavian dialects in all their changes remain Northern.

Thus, instead of seeking for, and being angry because we cannot find, one imaginary Old-Northern tung, sweeping in iron uniformity over an enormous slice of Europe from the Finnish Gulf to the Scottish Highlands and over half Ireland, we shall perceive scores of talks melting into each other, the folk-speeches of Sweden passing into those of Norway and Denmark, the East-Danish drifting into the West-Danish, these again into the clan-dialects of Frisland and England and Saxland, these equally transitional to the other Flemish and German tungs, until we come to patois strangely made up of Germanic and Romance. The modern axiom — "there is no overgang in language", is eminently absurd. All Nature is full of transition. All Language abounds with it. That we sometimes do not see it, is simply the effect of preconceived systems and theories.

In a word. Let *us* study Scandinavian, and ennoble and restore our mother-tung. Let the Scandinavians study Old-English as well as their own ancient records, give up mere provincial views, and melt their various dialects into one shining, rich, sweet and manly speech, as we have done in England. Their High-Northern shall then live for ever, the home-language of 8 millions of hardy freemen, our brothers in the East-sea, our Warings and Guardsmen against the grasping clutches of the modern Hun and the modern Vandal. The time may come when the kingdom of CNUT may be restored in a nobler shape, when the band of Seakings shall rally round one Northern Union Standard, when *one sceptre* shall sway the seas and coasts of our forefathers from the Thames to the North-Cape, from Finland to the Eider!

RUNIC REMAINS AND RUNIC WRITING.

Diggings and accident have time after time brought to light many remarkable things. Barbarous destruction and shortsighted greed have again annihilated most of them. One of the oldest and largest of these finds in our lands is that described by Matthew Paris[1]. He gives a most interesting account of the systematic excavations among the ruins of Verulamium (Wærlamceaster), in the earlier part of the 11th century, by two successive Abbots of St. Albans, Ealdred and Eadmer. The latter especially is said to have exhumed masses of curiosities and stones and treasure, most of which he ruined as heathen, while he kept the rest for building his intended new church. Thomas Wright, Esq., F. S. A., has an instructive paper on all this[2].

Generally speaking, ancient Inscribed Stones and other Remains have been demolisht or used or "realized" as fast as they have turned up, and what is left is only a handfull out of the heap. We are now beginning to be more careful; but the harvest has been reapt. Modern times can only hope for partial success in accumulating olden monuments. Under these circumstances we must make the most of what we have, treat them with religious care, and copy them with the utmost exactness. Written pieces should be precious to us as the apple of our eye, for they bear our oldest Mother-tung, our oldest social and political history.

And this "history" is not the less "historical" that we know nothing, commonly, of the persons mentioned. Most of the names cannot be identified. I have not been anxious to find at every step Gods and Kings and Heroes and Mysteries. On the contrary. Every stone or ornament markt JOHN did not belong to King JOHN of England. Every tomb inscribed ELIZABETH is not that of our great Queen. Every ALEXANDER was not the famous Greek. There were commoner people in old days as well as now. Where the monument says so, I attribute it to an historical personage. Otherwise I let it alone.

All I can lay claim to is hard work and honesty. The labor of gathering and engraving and elucidating these pieces has been immense. Their interpretation has been in strict accordance with the laws of the Runes and of the ancient Dialects. I have not invented or doctored or twisted or fancied or altered or added a single letter. I take everything as it stands, and control myself at every step by giving the reader the most exact facsimiles possible. All is from originals or casts or rubbings or photographs, and I everywhere state my proceedings and authorities. I have had no theory to prove, no school to establish. Whatever the faults of my texts and versions, the pieces themselves will remain invaluable to the linguist and the antiquary. Others may succeed in deciphering, where I have failed. Still, tho I may often have erred on points of detail, the general results will, I think, remain unshaken. The language of these remains is so old, and the specimens are so few and so short, and the floating dialects were so many, and the pieces extend over so wide a space both of land and of time — that we are always at a loss, always compelled to be tentative, to feel our way, to dogmatize in nothing, to suggest rather than conclude.

I therefore submit this attempt to the *kindly* consideration of the learned world. Real Scholars will be well aware of the difficulties, will criticize and correct with candor and mildness. Surely bitterness and malice should never intrude into such far-off and harmless domains!

Passing by rudely scratcht or carved but Staveless blocks, the earliest sparingly found Symbol-stones in kists and cromlechs and raths and cairns and wild rocks, bearing *marks* (simple strokes or rings or concentric circles or stars or angles or zigzags or cup-shapes or honeycomb patterns, and so on) but NOT *letters*, these artless ristings apparently made with stone tools and dating chiefly from the

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[1] Hist. Major. Lond. 1640, folio. Appendix p. 41, Eadmarus noius.

[2] "On Antiquarian Excavations and Researches in the Middle Ages". Archæologia, Vol. 30, London 1844, 4to, p. 438-457.

Stone Age and constituting the hieroglyphics of the stone people in the Scandinavian and British lands as elsewhere, — it would be a great thing if we had a comprehensive Account of British as of Scandian Iron Age Monuments, Churchyard and Wayside Crosses, &c., Inscribed (Stave-stones) or Figured (Bild-stones) or both (Stave Bild-stones), and whether Keltic or English. Many valuable materials now exist particularly for Ireland[1], Scotland[2], Man[3], &c., while we can get a general and popular idea of especially English funeral stones in Mr. Cutts' Handbook[4]. But masses remain *in situ*, or in County or Collegiate Descriptions and Topographical works, or in the numberless and scattered volumes of Academies and learned Societies. Still we have enough to trace the gradual transition of styles from the early and simple to the copiously worded and luxuriantly decorated of later times: and from the Uninscribed slab with a bare Cross or Sword or both, or Shield or Sheers or Key or both, or Horn or Chalice, &c., the mark of Sex or Profession, to the beautiful floriations of the middle age. To these would naturally be added Brasses, Tombs, Reclining figures, and so on. The whole would gradually fall into local or race groups, and would show distinctive styles amid general similarity. Thus of the splendid ornamental Crosses at Carew, Pembrokeshire, and at Nevern, the accomplisht Prof. Westwood observes: "these crosses exhibited only two of the principal types characteristic of ancient British and Irish work: the spiral pattern and the interlaced dragon design being never found in Wales, where also all the crosses, unlike those of Iona, the Isle of Man, and Ireland, are almost invariably destitute of figures"[5].

But, confining ourselves to Written Stones, in spite of the terrible destruction here as elsewhere, we can yet trace the flux of the population and the characters they employed for nearly 2000 years, or about the same period as in Scandinavia.

First and earliest, in my opinion, are the monuments bearing the Ogham Marks. Some 300 of these pillar-stones have been found in Ireland, which country bears the same relation in this respect to the other Keltic lands as Sweden does to the Northern as to Runes. The great mass of the Ogham stones is in Ireland; the great mass of the Runic stones is in Sweden. Only about a dozen Ogham blocks have been found in Scotland, and scarcely so many in England and Wales. These Ogham staves are every way so peculiar, that they at once strike the antiquarian student. The dispute is still hotly carried on, whether they are "Heathen" or "Christian". The same debate once was equally lively as to the Runes. Now, all agree that the latter are undoubtedly of Pagan origin. I cannot conceive how any one can question that the former were equally so, equally the most ancient stave-row of Keltic civilization. In my eyes they seem a faint and distant echo of the Arrow-headed characters used in Babylon &c. As far as I know, they have never even once been found in Scandinavia, and could never have been transplanted thence. Taking the Babylonian as *the one branch* of the oldest stave-writing, the Ogham is apparently its only now known Western representative; of course I speak of the idea and general look. Assuming the Phœnician signs to be kindred to our oldest remains of *the other branch*, we find *its* traditions in a host of alphabets including the various Greek, Italian and Runic. But the Runic constitute a class by themselves. Like as the Phœnician, from the order and names of its letters, is called the ALEPH-BETH-GIMEL, the Greek the ALPHABETA, the Latin the ABECEDARIUM, and the Ogham or Irish-Gaelic the BEITH-LUISNION, — so the Runic has its own peculiar FUTHORC.

But this assumed antiquity and wide spread of the Oghams is contrary to the testimony of Cæsar. He says (De Bello Gallico, 6, 14), that the Druids — the heads of Keltic Civilization out of Ireland — did not commit their sacred lore to writing, but in other things and for other purposes ("in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, GRÆCIS utantur litteris") used GREEK letters. Now nothing is more unlike than *Greek* letters, even the oldest and most "barbarous", and *Oghams*. They have absolutely nothing in common. Either Cæsar therefore must have been misinformed, or he purposely misled others, or the Druids had copied these letters from some Greek colonists at or a little before his time — a thing utterly incredible and of which we have not a shadow of proof. If the

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[1] Henry O'Neill. The Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland.

[2] John Stuart. Sculptured Stones of Scotland, Aberdeen 1856, folio. The second volume is in the press.

[3] Rev. J. G. Cumming. Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man.

[4] Manual of Sepulchral Slabs. London 1849, 8vo.

[5] Archæological Journal, Vol. 3, p. 70.

Druids were in any degree Kelts and had written characters at all, their letters *must* have been the Oghams[1], for the COELBREN Y BEIRZ, or *Stave of the Bardic Signs*, the so-called "Ancient British Characters", must be far later than Cæsar's time. At all events these Oghams are the oldest characters in the British Ilands. These Ogham monuments will be satisfactorily explained in the great work on the Ogham Remains, from the pen of the Very Rev. Charles Graves, D. D., President of the Royal Irish Academy, for which the learned world is waiting so anxiously.

Meanwhile, as a specimen, I copy from the Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, Vol. 3, 8vo, Dublin 1856, p. 405, scale 1 inch to a foot, the ancient Ogham block found in a Rath at

DUNBEL, KILKENNY, IRELAND.

The only reading of the inscription which I have seen, is that by Mr. W. Williams, Dungarvan, in the same Journal, New Series, 8vo, Vol. 1, Dublin 1856, p. 334:

SAN LIC H-EOIDCHUD TACDAC.

Sacred stone of Eochaidhe of the excavations.

Next in order come what we may call the Ogham-Roman stones, those which have the same or nearly the same risting in *both* Ogham *and* Roman characters. They of course show contact with, and the great influence of, the incoming mighty Roman Civilization. They are very rare, and appear to belong to about the 5th century. I will also give one specimen of this class, taken from the same Journal, New Series, Vol. 3, Dublin 1861, p. 233, to which it had been transferred from Archæologia Cambrensis, 3rd Series, Vol. 6, pp. 128-136.

[1] Should Cæsar have meant, that, "in other public and private business" — that is, in things *not* connected with their own lore and traditions and annalistic carvings and funeral inscriptions, in other words for practical purposes in their dealings with men to whom the Oghams were unreadable scratches — they used Greek characters, as a common and well-known alphabet, which they had pickt up from the Greek traders and colonists, just as Latin letters were afterwards used in exactly the same way, his observation may pass. Greek as a *Commercial* stave-row among the Kymrians was possible, even likely. But this would not touch their own private and national Oghams.

ST. DOGMAEL'S, CARDIGAN, WALES.

This monolith is about 7 feet high, from about 9 to 12 inches in breadth, and about 7 inches thick. It is of porphyritic greenstone, which resists lichen and preserves its smooth surface. Hence its fresh appearance. As redd by Professor Graves, the Oghamic characters, taken as usual from below upwards and from left to right, give:

SAGRAMNI MAQI CVNATAMI.

This is again given, in the Roman-British capitals carved on the stone:

SAGRANI FILI CVNOTAMI.

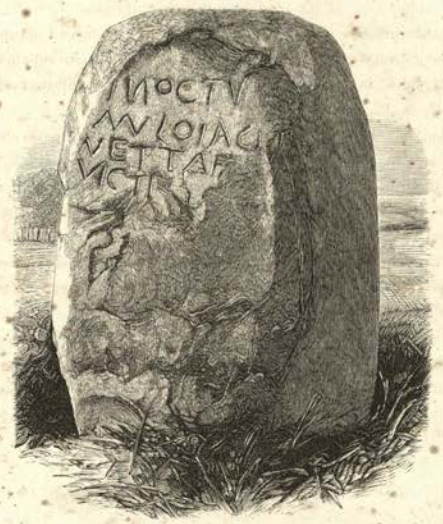
SAGRAMNI (SAGRANI) MAC (son) of-CVNATAMI (CVNOTAMI).

Similar small variations in the readings of the two alphabets also occur on the Runic biliteral monuments.

The third class is what we may call the Roman-British stones. Found chiefly in Wales, they seem to date from about the 3rd or 4th century, and to run down to about the 6th or 7th, now and then a little later, some few to the early Middle Age. A few evidently Pagan, others are as clearly Christian. On these pieces Roman minuscules often show themselves, but the oldest are in Roman uncials. As an example of this group I have selected the famous Kirkliston stone, Edinburghshire, Scotland, raised apparently about 369-375. I have fixt on this one because, in my opinion, it in a sense belongs to and illustrates this work. I regard it as casting light on Northern monuments and anti-

quities and history in general, and have therefore devoted some pages to its discussion. Should this little episode[1] weary the reader, he can — skip it and pass on!

KIRKLISTON, EDINBURGHSHIRE, SCOTLAND.



In the Parish of Kirkliston, on the north side of the road to Linlithgow, between the 6th and 7th milestone from Edinburgh, stands the famous CAT-STONE (= BATTLE-STONE), within a hundred yards of the south bank of the Almond and about 3 miles above the entrance of the stream into the Firth of Forth, at the old Roman station of Cramond, or Caer Amond. It has stood there from time immemorial.

This massive and unhewn block of Greenstone-trap is about 4½ feet high above ground, about 4 feet 5 inches wide, and 3 feet 3 inches in thickness. Many large boulders of the same kind lie in the bed of the neighboring river. When examined by Dr. Simpson, this grave-mark was found to rest on a basis of stones forming the remains of a built stone kist, but this had been opened and harried in previous times, so that nothing was found within. About a century and a half ago, when agriculture had not yet done its work, this pillar, according to Mr. Lhwyd, stood on a regular barrow about 21 feet in diameter, raised above the rest of the ground, and in a ring about it lay large stones, placed lengthwise. These have all disappeared, having doubtless found a "better", more "practical" use, and thus unhappily the centre-block alone remains. The whole district around shows many signs of having been a battle-field; bones, skeletons, stone-kists, bronze and iron weapons, &c., have been found repeatedly[2].

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[1] I publisht the substance of these remarks (in Danish) as early as 1863, in "Slesvigske Provindsialefterretninger", Vol. 4, Part 3, 8vo, Hadersley, p. 190-208.

[2] "Of late years several attempts have been made with a view to discover if there were in the vicinage of the Cat Stane relics of any description, but these were quite bootless. Recently, however, Mr. Hutchison, of Carlowrie, after vainly trying to the west of the stone, went a little to the east of it, where none had ever thought of excavating before, and here, within 2 ft. or so of the surface, he was fortunate enough to light on a stone kist. In a very short time his men came upon others, and there are now lying exposed to view thirty or forty, and probably many more will yet be found. These kists are of the rudest description, being composed of undressed stones placed together edgeways in coffin form, a large slab forming the bottom of the coffin, into which the corpse appears to have been laid, and then stones were placed above them as a lid. The coffins are all placed so that the faces of the corpses might look to the east, and are ranged in rows, with from a foot to two feet between each, and all on the same level. There are portions of three rows laid bare, and in one row there are upwards of a dozen coffins to be seen. The coffins were not airtight, neither were the lids so closely fitting as to keep out the earth. The consequence is that they have all become filled with mould, but a very perfect skull was discovered, and portions of others." — *Gentleman's Magazine, July 1864, p. 18.* — Thus we have here a fresh group of burial-finds, and quite near to the Stone.

The name always borne by the monument, the "CAT-STANE", points to the same fact; for the first part of this compound is the well-known Gaelic word CAT, which, in its various forms, in all the Keltic dialects signifies *fight, battle.*

From the above description it will be evident that this is a *heathen* memorial. The block itself with its absence of any Christian sign or formula, together with the additional features of the cairn on which it stands and the stone ring at its base, are proofs sufficient.

Of this remarkable pillar a very valuable, complete and learned account has lately been publisht in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and also separately, 4to, under the title: "The Cat-Stane, Edinburgshire, is it not the Tombstone of the Grandfather of Hengist and Horsa? By J. Simpson, M. D., F. R. S. E., &c.; Edinburgh 1862", pp. 51.

As this question has been answered by Dr. Simpson *in the affirmative*, and has excited the liveliest interest and debate, in some quarters a strong opposition; as this North-English stone is thus connected with one of the Heroes of that noble Northern Race THI FRIA FRISA, *the free Frisians*, the great connecting link between the English and the Jutlanders and who shared so largely in colonizing England; as I entirely coincide with Dr. Simpson; and as I think I have added yet others to his arguments; I beg to give a copy of the monument and a sketch of its history, referring for other information to the pages of the excellent book just cited, from which I freely borrow several of the details here laid before the reader.

The oldest notice of this stone is that by Mr. Edward Lhwyd, the great Welsh archæologist, who in 1700 communicated an account of it to the "Mona Antiqua Restaurata", besides which in the "Philosophical Transactions" of the same year was given his drawing of the block, quite rough and simple but exactly agreeing with the monument as it now stands, the inscription in this copy being as follows:

INOCTU
MULOIACIT
VETTAF
VICTI-

This, the first known drawing[1], is re-engraved by Dr. Simpson at page 12, and at p. 8 he gives us a beautiful view of the pillar as seen at some distance, when fully exposed by the diggings made beneath it. Here again we have *the same* carving as was communicated by Mr. Lhwyd 162 years before. But, to be entirely exact, Dr. S. obtained a delicate photograph of the monolith, and this he has engraved at p. 14, again with *the same* result; the letters remain as in the earliest copy. This beautiful woodcut I have given above, excellently copied for me by Messrs. Henneberg and Rosenstand of Cheapinghaven. — Dividing the letters into words, we have:

IN ÖC TVMVLO	*IN THIS TOMB (barrow)*
IACIT VETTA	*LIES (-slain) VETTA*
F[ilius] VICTI.	*SON of-VICTA.*

The small o, as well as other letters smaller than the rest, may often be remarkt in the oldest inscriptions both Classical and Runic, which also very frequently omit the aspirate — thus OC for HOC. Such tied staves as MV are also common. Whether the second I in IACIT was ever E, we cannot say, the stone being very much weathered here; nor is it of moment either way, both IACIT and IACET occurring promiscuously in very old ristings. The word was originally and properly employed (= *lies struck down*) of those who had died in battle, or otherwise a violent death; this is most probably the sense here. F for FILIUS, is a usual contraction. VETTA retains its original nominative form, but VICTA has VICTI for its genitive. "Thus, Horsa is sometimes made, like Victa, a noun of the second declension, in conjunction with the use of Hengist, Vortimer, &c., as unaltered nominatives. Thus, Nennius tells us in his "Chronicon ex Chronicis", in the "Monumenta Historica", pp. 523 and 627, "Guortemor cum Hengist et Horso ..... pugnabat". (Cap. xlvi.) According to Henry of Huntingdon, "Gortimer ..... ex obliquo aciem Horsi desrupit", &c. (Lib. ii)." (*Simpson l. c. p. 34.*)

The age of this stone is scarcely doubtful. The somewhat debased Roman Capitals, the form of the letters and all the circumstances point to about the 4th or 5th century. This was the opinion

[1] An Anglo-Swedish gentleman, Mr. Alexander Seton, unaware of any older copy, made an independent (nearly correct) drawing. This he communicated to Prof Sjöborg, who engraved it in his "Samlingar", Vol. 3, 1830, Fig. 76. See his text, p. 114.

of Mr. Lhwyd, has been supported by those excellent authorities the Rev. D. H. Haigh and Prof. Westwood, is adopted by Dr. Simpson, and in my opinion cannot be contravened. England offers great facilities for questions of this kind, containing as it does 2 to 300 inscribed stones of the Roman period and nearly as many Roman-British stones, these latter running from about the 4th century down to the 11th or 12th, all of them written in the Latin tung, the earliest (the Ogham-Roman) bearing an inscription, substantially the same in meaning, in Ogham marks[1].

But before we proceed, let us recapitulate the task before us. We have here:

1. A Heathen stone,
2. Of the 4th or 5th century,
3. Bearing Roman letters and words,
4. To commemorate a fallen chieftain, with a name so excessively rare that Dr. Simpson has only found it 3 times in English literature, and I only once in Old-Northern[2].
5. It has also his father's name, one rarer still. Dr. Simpson gives no other instance[3].
6. And both these names are Frisic, both having apparently past into the modern Frisic mansname WITTE, spelt with slight variations in older writers. This is the "VITTHO, Fresorum pirata", of Saxo Grammaticus, lib. 2.

We are accustomed to view the descent upon Kent by the Jutes and Frisians in 428 — now universally admitted to be the right date — as the first appearance of the Northern, Saxon and German tribes in England. But this is a mere error. Besides the Emperors in Britain Tetricus and Carausius, who were both of them probably of "barbarian" birth, and who would doubtless introduce numbers of their landsmen, Marcomanni were establisht in England by Marcus Antoninus (between 164 and 180), Vandals and Burgundians by Probus (between 276-282), Alamanni under Crocus by Constantine in 306, Bucinobantes (an Alamannic clan) under Fraomarius by Valentinian about 372, and others. And these were not birds of passage, roving regiments, as in our times; they were limitanean soldiers, guards of the march, *legionary colonists*, settled on the Lætic (public) lands, and training their children to defend their homes and the legionary banner. In short, Sir Francis Palgrave tersely remarks (Hist. of England, Vol. 1, p. 20): — "Upwards of forty of those barbarian legions, some of Teutonic origin, and other Moors, Dalmatians, and Thracians, whose forefathers had been transplanted from the remotest parts of the empire, obtained their domicile in various parts of our island, though principally upon the northern and eastern coasts, and in the neighbourhood of the Roman walls."

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[1] "There is one class of antiquities found in Wales and Cornwall, but more especially in the latter county [*and occasionally elsewhere in England, and in Brittany*], which appears to belong to the period following immediately after that of the departure of the Roman legions. These are large, roughly-hewn stones, bearing sepulchral inscriptions, in letters nearly resembling those of the late Roman monuments. They are in Latin, but the names are apparently Celtic, and they give simply the name of the individual commemorated and his father. They differ from the Roman inscriptions in this, that usually the inscription runs the lengthway of the stone, instead of being read across. ..... Sometimes the words *hic jacet* are added to the inscription. ..... These inscriptions are usually assigned, and probably with reason, to the fifth and sixth centuries. Those found in Wales have generally a mixture of cursive letters with the capitals, and belong apparently to a later period, perhaps from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. One stone, however, which was discovered near the Roman road from Nidum (*Neath*) to the southern Bovium (*Ewenny*), is of a date as early as those found in Cornwall, and is expressed in the same form. The inscription, in one line, commemorates Cantusus, the father of Pavinus:

HIC IACIT CANTVSVS PATER PAVINVS.

It was evidently written by one who spoke Latin corruptly; but its greatest singularity is the circumstance that the inscription is cut on the back of an older inscribed stone, dedicated to the emperor Maximinus; and although the pure Roman inscription is written in lines across the stone, the later inscription is written, like those found in Cornwall, lengthways. It remains to be stated that one or two of these stones have evidently had a cross at the top, so that there can be no doubt of the people to whom these belonged being [SOMETIMES OR USUALLY] Christians." — *T. Wright, The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon. 2nd ed., Lond. 1861, pp. 461, 2.*

[2] These are: in the Old-English lay "The Scóp", line 45,

WITTA weold Swæfum; WITTA *ruled the Swaefs*;

in the genealogies of Hengist and Horsa; and as the name of the 10th Bishop of Lichfield, (HUITA, HWEICCA, HWEITTA). — The Old-Northern instance is on the Golden Bracteate Nr. 32 in my collection, No. 117 in Thomsen's Atlas. It is here WITÆ, in the dative sing. Maybe this VIT is also on a Sword found in a Danish Moss, and from about the 4th century, in the mansname -TASVIT, which see in the WORD-ROW.

[3] An O. Engl. Charter dated 704 (Kemble, Cod. Dipl. 1, p. 58) is signed by a "UUITTA abbas"; two others, dated 706 (Id. pp. 65, 67) by a "UUECTA abbas"; a fourth, from 742 (Id. p. 106) by a "UUITA episcopus"; a fifth, between 716-743 (Id. p. 109) and a sixth, Jan. 749 (Id. p. 120) by a "HUITA episcopus". If these are merely differences of spelling, we see how little stress we can lay on such small variations; if they are separate persons, we have probably here *both* the names on the Kirkliston stone. Should they be the same as the HUITA who became bishop of Lichfield in 737, we have then 2 more differences of spelling, to which others might be added! — But we have an. 744 (Id. 1, p. 110) a "VITA sacerdos". Surely this must be another ecclesiastic. — All these, however, are far later than the Kirkliston monument. But they show the rarity of the name and the uncertainty of its spelling.

But besides all these military "Barbarians" introduced into England by the Emperors themselves, there were from an early period local settlements of Scando-Teutonic origin. Not to dwell on the far older "Belgæ" spoken of by Cæsar, as early as the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century the various barbarian tribes or bands known under the mythic name "Saxons" (as all Europeans are called "Franks" in the East) had become so harassing to the Roman power in England — at least from Branchester in Norfolk to the neighborhood of Portsmouth in Sussex — and in Gaul, where they had effected a strong settlement not far from Bayeux, that a Roman "Count of the Saxon shore" was nominated in each land to control them. The "Saxons" also joined the Picts, Scots and Attacotti in 364 in North-England, and the "Vecturiones" were with the Attacotti, Dicaledonæ, Picts and Scots in 368, in that invasion between the two Roman walls which was driven back with such slaughter by Theodosius, who in 369 recovered the debateable ground and called it Valentia, in honor of Valens his Imperial Master. Again in 375 a body of "Saxons" was received in his service by Vortigern, doubtless in North-England, for Vortigern then governed the Picts. This British minister and leader, who afterwards usurpt the crown, was at this time in amity with the Romans, and had married Severa, daughter of the Emperor Maximus[1].

This view is supported by modern archæological research, thus summed up by Mr. T. Wright, p. 392: "It seems certain that in some parts, especially in some of the cities, the transition from Roman to Saxon was gradual, and that the two races mixed together. At Canterbury, Colchester, Rochester, and other places, we find Roman and Saxon interments in the same cemetery; and in the extensive Saxon burial-ground at Osengal, in the isle of Thanet, a Roman interment in a leaden coffin was met with. The result of the discoveries which have been made in the researches among the Saxon cemeteries has been to render it more and more probable that the Saxons were gradually gaining a footing in the island before the period at which the grand invasions are said to have commenced. ..... In these intestine wars [early in the 5th century], the prevalence of Teutonic blood in the population of so many of the towns would naturally lead them to call in Teutonic allies, and we can thus easily understand how Angles and Saxons were gradually establishing themselves".

But there was also, from the earliest times, a strong Frisic element in England. In the Inscriptions they call themselves *Frisingi, Frisones, Frisavi.* "At Manchester", says Prof. Simpson, p. 38, "a cohort of Frisians seems to have been located during nearly the whole era of the Roman dominion[2]. Another cohort of Frisian auxiliaries seems, according to Horsley, to have been stationed at Bowess in Richmondshire[3]. Teutonic officers were occasionally attached to other Roman corps than those of their own countrymen. A Frisian citizen, for example, was in the list of officers of the Thracian cavalry at Cirencester"[4]. — Procopius says, Book 4 Ch. 20, that in his time (548 after Christ) three numerous nations, each under their own king, possest Britain, the Angles (Angili), Frisians (Phrissones), and those named Brittones from the iland. Bæda expressly declares[5], ad annum 689, that Frisians, as well as other tribes among whom he expressly mentions Danes, had taken part in the colonization and conquest of Britain, in addition to the Jutes the Angles and the Saxons previously mentioned by him. Again, the Pseudo-Marcellinus twice speaks of the Frisians and "Saxons" as chief sources of the English people[6]. But a forger would not have asserted anything of a *general* nature likely to excite suspicion.

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[1] A Ms. of the History of the Britons by Nennius (= S. Gildas) mentions this fact. The codex is only of the 10th century, but the interpolation is valuable history. See on this point Haigh's "Conquest of Britain", p. 161 and fol.

[2] "See the inscription, &c., in Whittaker's "Manchester", vol. 1, p. 160."

[3] "On these Frisian cohorts, and consequently also Frisian colonists in England, see the learned "Memoir on the Roman Garrison at Manchester", by my friend Dr. Black (Manchester 1849)."

[4] "Buckman and Newmarch's work on "Ancient Corinium", p. 114."

[5] "Eo tempore venerabilis, et cum omni honorificentia nominandus famulus Christi et sacerdos Ecgberct, quem in Hibernia insula peregrinam ducere vitam pro adipiscenda in cælis patria retulimus, proposuit animo pluribus prodesse; id est, inito opere apostolico, verbum Dei aliquibus earum quæ nondum audierant, gentibus evangelizando committere: quarum in Germania plurimas noverat esse nationes, a quibus Angli vel Saxones qui nunc Brittaniam incolunt, genus et originem duxisse noscuntur; unde hactenus a vicina gente Brittonum corrupte Garmani (*v. l.* Germani) nuncupantur. Sunt autem Fresones, Rugini, Danai (*v. l.* Dani), Hunni (*v. l.* Huni), antiqui Saxones, Boructuari (*v. l.* Boructuarii): sunt alii (*v. l. ad.* etiam) perplures hisdem in partibus populi paganis adhuc ritibus servientes." (Ven. Bæda, Hist. Ec. 5, 9, ed. Monumenta Hist. Brittanica, p. 256).

[6] "Is ergo in vita Suidberti gentilis sui, & laborum socii, primi apud Vltrajectinos Episcopi, quam ad Gregorium III ejusdem oppidi Episcopum scripsit, ita ait: *Ipse Suidbertus sitiebat salutem omnium hominum, & præcipuè paganorum* FRISIORVM, *& Saxonum.*

— Even down to about 1175 we find a Frisian dialect separately mentioned. Speaking of the Eider-duck, Reginaldus (Monachi Dunelm. Libellus, Ch. 27) says: "Aves illæ Beati Cuthberti specialiter nominantur; ab anglis vero Lomes vocantur; ab Saxonibus autem et qui Frisiam incolunt Eires dicuntur"[1].

We are also popularly accustomed to connect these "barbarian" inroads with the south of England only. But they had early begun in other quarters, especially in the north of our iland — the Roman March between the Walls — and on the eastern coasts. The "Saxon" and "Vecturion" attacks of 364 and 368 have been already spoken of, and they must have been preceded as they were followed by others. Notwithstanding their bloody defeat, these and other Scandian and Saxon clans continued their ravages, and eventually laid the foundation of that noble kingdom of Northumberland, which was already strong, in its two provinces of Bernicia and Deira, in the 6th century.

All these details acquire a double value when we remember how little now remains to us of the annalists and chroniclers of this obscure period in British history. We have, literally, only a few shreds and episodes remaining. And yet, even from these, we see clearly that from the earliest times, at least as far back as the Roman invasion, there had been an active intercourse, for war and peace, between the opposite coasts of *Britain* and *West-South Denmark*. At that primitive epoch, the first 500 years after Christ, Denmark had scarcely that or any other collective name; if any, it was most likely *Gotland*. No one of the Scandinavian lands was as yet consolidated under one king, and the term Dane was then chiefly tribal, one of the many clan-epithets floating about, and apparently most used in a wide sense of Northman, Hero, Man. But this intercourse also stretcht to *Frisland*, which was then much larger than now, the sea having swallowed up extensive districts, and to *Old-Saxony*, the present Holsten and Dithmarsk &c. And all this was to be expected. As fresh bodies of warlike colonists kept pressing forwards from the Caucasian gates to the Scandian and Teutonic shores, those in front, those most to the south and west, would naturally be driven forward. And, once familiar with the wealth and pleasantness and easy access of the Western Ilands, the outflow soon became a rush. At this very time, too, the Wends, in hordes and tribes and clans multitudinous, came pouring in to North-eastern Germany, whence in a terrific stream they afterwards made their way far to the west and south. A multitude of tribes and fragments of tribes, Gothic and Keltic and others, were also driven onward north and north-west about this period by the triumphant progress of the Roman arms. All these would impinge upon others, until the shock would reach the shores opposite to Britain. And the sea would be no hindrance to tribes so famous for naval skill and hardihood.

I have before remarkt that the names on the Kirkliston stone are only found elsewhere in connection with HENGIST and HORSA, the founders of the Kentish kingdom, but also engaged in many victorious campaigns against the Picts and Scots in the Northern districts, and gratefully rewarded by Vortigern with public lands in Yorkshire for the military settlement of their followers[2]. It will therefore be necessary to quote the descent of these Frisian brother-kings, which I shall do with the greatest possible brevity. I merely premise that the GU of Nennius[3] (= Gildas) is the Keltic sound, and the V of Bæda the Roman spelling, for the usual O. Engl. W. Where more than one spelling is given, the others are various readings.

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eo quòd Angli ex ipsis propagati sint. Et ibidem de Willibrordo, ac Suidberto, reliquisque eorum sociis, è quorum numero ipse fuit, ex Anglia ad docendum missis loquens: *Quoniam*, inquit, *sancti Doctores propagati fuerint in Anglia de stirpe* FRISONICA, *& Saxonicâ, ideo convenienter potuerunt ijs prædicare Evangelium Christi linguâ Germanicâ.*" Ubbo Emmius, Rer. Fris. Hist. Lugd. Bat. fol. 1616, p. 41. — This life of S. Suibert is printed in Surius, March 1. For its spuriousness see Henschen, Tom. 1. Act. Sanct. Martii, p. 70, seq. and Tom. 3, p. 638, seq.

[1] (See the edition of the Surtees Soc. London 1835, 8vo, p. 62). As this is the oldest mention I have found of this bird in England, I may as well remark that its usual English name is now not LOME but EIDER, North-England also the COLK, the DUNTER GOOSE, the ST. CUTHBERT'S DUCK, &c. So also it has various other names in Scandinavia, besides the usual EDER, ÆDUR, &c. The Swedish ÅDA, ÅDAR, &c., Norse ÆD, are nearer to the common form, German EIDER, while the Norse ÆRA, ÆR, Æ, are nearer the above Saxon and Frisic form EIR, in all these words the D (Norse-Icel. ÆÐR) having become softened into R. The word LOM (Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, LOM, Norse-Icelandic LÓMR, LUMMA) is now given in Scandinavia to the *Colymbus Septentrionalis*, the *Red-throated Diver* of modern English ornithology.

[2] The historical proofs are well brought together by Haigh, Conquest of Britain, p. 208 and fol.

[3] Mr. Haigh, Conq. of Brit. p. 3 and fol., proves that the History which goes under the name of Nennius was actually written by Saint Gildas of Glastonbury, and was originally composed in 471. It was afterwards altered and enlarged, in several separate editions, down to 976. The two oldest known copies are the Paris and the Vatican, but even these exhibit some historical interpolations. See also on this whole subject the judicious remarks of Mr. Hardy, Monumenta Britannica, Vol. 1, pp. 105-114.

NENNIUS, *ab. 471.*	*BÆDA*, *d. 735.*	*O. E. CHRON*, *ab. 900.*	*ETHELWERD*, *ab. 1000.*	*FLOR. OF WORC.* *ab. 1118.*	*HEN. OF HUNT*, *ab. 1150.*
DEUS.					
GETA, GEATA					IETA.
FOLCWALD, FODEWALD, FODEPALD[1]					FLOCWALD.
FINN					FIN.
FREDULF					FREDULF.
FREDLAF, FREALF					FREALOF.
VUODEN	WODEN	WODEN	WOTHEN, UUOTHEN	WODEN	WODEN.
GUECHTA, GUECTA, GUETA	VECTA	WECTA	WITHER, UUITHAR, WEHTA	WECTA	VECTA.
GUITTA, GURGTA, GUERTA	VITTA[2]	WITTA	WICTA, UUICTA	WITTA	WICTA.
GUICTGILS, GUICTGLIS	VICTGILS[2]	WIHTGILS	WIHTGELS, UUYRHTELS, WIHTGILS	WICTGISL	WIDGILS.
HENGIST, HENCGIST, HENCGEST	HENGIST	HENGEST	HENGEST	HENGST, HENGISTUS	HENGIST.
HORS	HORSA	HORSA	HORSA	HORS, HORSUS	HORSA.

Thus we have on the Stone VETTA, the son of VICTA,
" " " in the Mss. GUITTA, " " " GUECHTA,
GURGTA, " " " GUECTA,
GUERTA, " " " GUETA,
UITA, " " " VECTA,
VITTA, " " " UECTA,
WICTA, " " " WECTA,
WIHTA, " " " WIHTA,
WITTA, " " " WITHER,
UUICTA, " " " UUITHAR,
WEHTA.

[1] The DE is a scribe's error for LC, and the P a misreading of the O. E. stave for W. — We have this same hero mentioned as a Frisian in the O. Eng. Scop's Song, line 56:

FIN FOLCWALDING
Fresna cynne,

FIN FOLCWALDSON
(*ruled*) *the Frisians' race.*

We have also in BEOWULF (l. 2180 Thorpe's ed.) FIN FOLCWALDAN SUNU. In the same poem occurs a *contemporaneous* HENGEST of the "Fresena cyn"; he is therefore *not* the son of WIHTGILS, but an earlier Frisic hero.

[2] In King Alfred's O. Engl. translation we have WIHTA, WITTA, and WIHTGYLS. — A Ms. of Bæda copied by an English scribe in the 8th century (Mone, Quellen und Forschungen, 1830, p. 446) has UODEN, UECTA, UITA, UICTGILS.

It will be observed that the chief difference here is in the change of the vowel, most of the Mss. having E where the Stone has I, and I where it has E. But this stone was carved either by Romans or by Roman-Britons or by some "Barbarian" who had learned to write the Roman tung, for which reason it is not in the Old-Northern Runes then in use among all the Northern tribes. It is a remarkable fact, however, that these Romans had many peculiarities in representing the sounds of the Barbarians, especially in Proper names. Of this we have a thousand examples. We need only refer to the great mass of such Proper names in Orosius, comparing his Latin text with king Alfred's English translation. We shall there see that where the English have I the Romans have a tendency to use E, and in the same way where the Romans have E the Angles incline to write it I. This is a sufficient explanation, even supposing, what is very doubtful, that the spelling in the Mss. is *more* correct than that on the stone, which yet is some *500 years* older than the *oldest* of the parchments now known of the *oldest* of the above authors. But such variations of vowels are endless everywhere, and are in fact of little moment, are often merely dialectic, and often occur in the *same* word on *one and the same monument* in the oldest Runic stones[1].

Thus, it being undeniable on all hands that the WITTA who was the grandfather of HENGIST and HORSA was also the son of WECTA, the question simply is, shall we believe that there were, at about *the same period, two* men bearing the excessively rare name WITTA, *both* of them kings or great chieftains (to merit such a striking barrow), and *both* of them the sons of a WECTA, a name equally scarce, and *both* of them Frisians and heathens, — or shall we frankly accept the necessary alternative, that the historical hypothesis is far preferable and makes infinitely fewer demands on our faith, that the WETTA on the stone is the well-known Frisian king of the old genealogies, and that we have here a monument before us of a strictly historical personage?

I cannot doubt that the latter is the correct conclusion.

WITTA might well have fallen in command under his father WECTA. This is rendered probable by the following observations of Prof. Simpson, p. 33, note: — "In the Gaelic translation of the "Historia Britonum", known as the "Irish Nennius", the name WETTA or GUITTA is spelled in various copies as "GUIGTE" and "GUITE". The last form irresistibly suggests the Urbs Guidi of Bede, situated in the Firth of Forth. Might not he have thus written the Keltic or Pictish form of the name of a city or stronghold founded by VITTA or VECTA: and does this afford any clue to the fact, that the waters of the Forth are spoken of as the Sea of Guidi by Angus the Culdee, and as the Mare Fresicum by Nennius, while its shores are the Frisicum Litus of Joceline?".

To this we must add the ingenious suggestion of the same author, p. 40, that the *Vecturiones* who fought against Theodosius might well have assumed that name after their leader *Vitta* or *Vecta*.

We cannot know whether WITTA fell as the ally of Vortigern in 375, in which case he would of course obtain a Roman inscription, for both Vortigern and all the British Court and all the "educated" Britons throout the country now used *the Latin* language as the European and civilized and general dialect, — or whether he died battling against Maximus and Theodosius in 369, when those commanders, as we are expressly informed, carefully performed the obsequies of the slain, and would certainly give, or would allow to be erected, to the fallen King a noble "barbarian" How with its characteristic stone-ring, as well as a Latin epitaph in the usual *Roman-British* style. For we must remember that tho the *words* are Roman the *formula* is not. We must bear in mind that there is every difference — not only generally in the shape and appearance of the stone-block employed, but also in the form of the letters and the word-formula — between the *Roman* burial-stones which abound in England and the mostly later grave-blocks carved by the *Roman-Britons*, and other half- or whole-taught barbarians, who have honored with these memorials their departed friends whether Heathen or Christian.

In the conclusion to which he has come Dr. Simpson does not stand alone. He is fortified by the authority of those accomplisht scholars and archæologists Prof. Westwood and the Rev. D. H. Haigh. The former has repeatedly announced his adherence to the views of Prof. Simpson, and the latter thus closes his third chapter (pp. 147-8) of his Conquest of Britain: — "Throughout this

[1] Striking examples of this E for I and I for E, as well as many other peculiar or provincial variations and interchanges of vowels and consonants, in manuscripts of very early date down to the 9th century, are given by the Rev. W. Reeves in his invaluable edition of the Life of St. Columba by Adamnan, 4to, Dublin 1857, pp. XVI-XIX.

struggle with the forces of the Empire it is clear that the Teutonic race were actively engaged. It was by their aid that Octavius established his independence. Ammianus enables us to add the name of the *Saxons*, to the Picts and Scots, as the *other allies* of the revolted Britons, whom Fordun mentions but does not name. It was to Scandinavia, (according to the Welsh Brut), that Conan's second flight was directed: the panegyrists say that the Saxons were vanquished by Theodosius; and Fordun and Boece that Norway was the refuge of some of the fugitives from this contest. It is far from improbable that WECTA and WITTA were the leaders of these Saxons, and that WITTA fell in the conflict which restored Valentia to the Empire; and Boece's statement, relative to Maximus' care for the obsequies of the slain, will happily account for the fact, that this epitaph is written in the Latin language and characters; had the monument been erected for WITTA by his own people it would have been written, we may believe, in the same dialect as WODURID's [on the Tune stone, in Norway], and in runes. With these probabilities, — or even with the alternative which presents itself, that WITTA might be the leader of the Saxons who were received by Vortigern, in A. D. 375, — our chronology, in which we have fixed the date of WECTA's birth in the last decade of the third century, is perfectly consistent."

I take for granted, then, that most of my readers will agree with me in the views here exprest, and will admit the justice of an opinion based on arguments so many and so strong — and apparently so unanswerable — that the Heathen Hoy and Stone at Kirkliston were raised, about A. D. 369-375, in memory of WITTA WECTING or rather WETTA WICTING, grandfather of HENGIST and HORSA, the first historically known regular and triumphant inroaders into North- and South-England, and who eventually succeeded in wresting from the Britons that province out of which, in 429, they made the first Angle folkland in their new home — the Jute-Frisic kingdom of Kent.

It is quite true that some of my readers will be offended with all this; for there is a small but loud-voiced school, both at home and abroad, which denounces all our history from the fifth century downwards to some unknown date as mere fable, and which gravely asserts that HENGIST and HORSA were either fanciful inventions or else the names of a ship or a flag! But because Alexander had a hanging neck, why should we all go with our chin awry? Yet so it is. Half the world are copiers and imitators. Niebuhr showed, or attempted to show, that *all* the oldest Roman traditions, some five or six hundred years before any written documents, were fabulous; therefore, everybody followed in his track, and tried to prove that *everything* is a myth. We are now not allowed to believe in our own grandfather. In fact, I myself have long given him up, and I hope soon to be able to prove that my own father is, or was, or will be, "a fable and a myth". This was the great mistake of Kemble, the English Germanizer, and of Lappenberg, the German expounder of English history. They advanced arguments infinitely silly and futile, in short awaking "roars of laughter", to prove that HENGIST and HORSA never existed, and could not be the names of men, and that three (the three ships in which they and their men came over) was a "mythical number", and so on, tho these same names have subsisted in the same district, West-Scandinavia, to this very day, and altho three ships are as good as thirty or three hundred, or four or forty, for a visit and a tradition of this kind. The people in the "Mayflower" went over to New-England in one ship. But then that is a myth, long since abandoned by all judicious German critics and their echoes. The testimony of Nennius (St. Gildas) to the great features of England's occupation is that of a Christian and a Kymrian, an enemy of the heathen invaders, and yet it agrees with that of our Venerable Bæda, a Christian Angle and the first scholar of his age. The former uses Welsh traditions and documents, the latter appeals to public monuments, (with inscribed runes), written records, and the information furnisht by kings and bishops, the very highest authorities in Church and State. The former flourisht (A. D. 471) not fifty years from the date of the invasion of Kent (in 428); the latter, who died in 735, only three or four long lives from the same event. Even supposing that Bæda had no written materials, which is contrary to the fact, it is quite a mistake to test historical accounts by generations of thirty years. Events go down by lives of the longest livers. The statements of the longest liver are handed down and onward by the oldest people, and from eighty to one hundred years is no extreme age for the oldest persons in a large district. As to the immediate descendants of the heroes and mighty captains who had gotten them splendid kingdoms in a new land knowing nothing, even of the names and deeds, of their immediate forefathers, why the thing is absurd. A common soldier or sailor will sometimes tell us about his family for two or three hundred years back. These chieftains had not only home and family statements and monuments, but they had carved remains and the songs

and sagas of their people. The historical Icelandic Sagas were not written for hundreds of years after their composition. And memory, tradition, was something very different in old days, when there was little or no "literature", to what it is now. We now can scarcely remember our own names, because we know that everything is in writing or in print, and the memory becomes wonderfully enfeebled accordingly. Formerly people had prodigious memories, and often have so still under the like circumstances, without referring to the well-known fact that they had officials, chiefly high-born men — Scalds, Bards, Annalists, and what not, — whose *duty* it was to remember, who were *highly paid* for remembering, and who became famous and prided themselves *the more* they could remember.

In spite of the "modern school", therefore, I still believe as firmly in HENGIST and HORSA as in KEMBLE and LAPPENBERG. In olden times Proper Names taken from animals, such as the BEAR, WOLF, ARN (Eagle), &c., &c., were very common, and some still subsist to this day. Frequently, also, children in a family were so named as that the first letter should be the same, often the whole first or last syllable. We have scores upon scores of examples on the Runic Stones, in the old Songs and Sagas, and elsewhere. But it does not therefore follow that every particular name or combination of family names has hitherto been found in every province. On the contrary, many names are very scarce, some only found once or twice in all our Northern lands. Among these rare names are HENGIST and HORSA, apparently only yet found as Frisic and English. In our Old-English Charters a dozen places are named after HINGST, and twice as many after HORS(A). One or more of these may possibly have been so called after a Stallion or Horse, but many were certainly not. The most obstinate denier-of-everything *must* admit that HORSTED in Kent, the well-known historical site of King HORSA's grave and funeral Runic stone, was named after the prince whose body it sheltered. It is equally certain that a *person* must be meant in the long Boundary-list in Kemble (Charter No. 570, Vol. 3, p. 80), "of Æðelstânes graue on HENGESTES healh; of HENGESTES heale eft in HORSA bróc", — *of (from) Æðelstane's grave on (to) HENGEST'S Hall, and-of (from) HENGEST'S Hall eft (back) to HORSA-brook.* Kemble identifies the former place as Hinxhall, the latter as Horsebrook, both in Worcestershire. So in Charter No. 648 (Vol. 3, p. 211) we have "on Suttinga lace", "on Leofsiges gemæru", "on HENGESTES geat", "to Brihtwoldes gemæru", all names of persons, and all in the same sentence. I add the following extract as to the names HENGIST and HORSA being still in use in the very province from which our Friso-Anglic chieftains went out:

"The names of the two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, who are said to have headed the most eventful incursion of the invaders, are words in one or another form common to all the Scandinavian and the Teutonic dialects. Both are names of the genus *horse*, but in most localities HENGST is appropriated to the male, while in some, and particularly in Schleswig, HORSA or HORS is confined to the female animal. J. G. Kohl informs us that both the proper names are still current in the district from which the ancient conquerors are reported to have emigrated. A Danish colonel told the traveller that in a company of his regiment there were two privates bearing these names; and it happened, oddly, that in this case Hengist and Horsa, like Castor and Pollux, were still inseparably united, the places of the two soldiers being side by side in the ranks. (*Inseln u. Marschen Schlesw.-Holst. I. 290).*"[1]

In N. Frisic HORS is both fem. and also neuter (THAT HORS, IT HORS). In O. Engl. HORS is neuter.

But people have also said that the Frisers were "a kind of Saxons"(!), and that the Angles were "one people with the Saxons and a German race"(!).

After all the clashings and rivalries and bloody wars of two thousand years between these said Angles and Saxons, it is certainly rather cool to turn round and inform us that they were one and the same people. But it is still more refreshing to hear, that because the Angles were Saxons they therefore were Germans; for all the world knows that the Saxon tribes were in all things nearer to the Scandinavians than to the Germans, and are so still, so much so that a Saxon-speaking (Platt-deutsch) peasant far easier understands a Dane than a German (High-German). But this desperate paradox is as recklessly supported. "They had the same names and language." This is intelligence indeed. We never before heard of any one who knew what the names and dialects of the manifold and variously-speaking Scandinavian and Saxon peoples were in the third and fourth and fifth and sixth ages after Christ, how far they agreed and how far they differed. At that early period the differences could not be very great; they are not so even now in their great features. So of their laws and graves and

[1] G. P. Marsh. Lectures on the English Language. 2nd ed., 8vo, London 1863, p. 25.

antiquities. Such things agree and differ and undergo change in every province of the same land, from the many tribes and tribal customs and a thousand accidents, and nothing is idler than to fix "nationality" from the accidental finds in half-a-dozen graves, of whose diggers and occupants we know nothing. The *Inventorium Sepulchrale* of Faussett and other works offer very many striking examples of identity of graves and grave-finds in Kent and other parts of England, and in Scandinavia. As well might we say that Denmark was "German" as Kent, if we are merely to follow the many features of greater or less resemblance, in the "graves and antiquities".

And as the Post-Keltic and Post-Roman colonists and incomers were chiefly "Northmen", "Danes", still more so were the later settlers and wikings in the 9th and following centuries. The latter was therefore not an invasion by "Northmen", "Danes", against "Germans". They were swarms of the same Northern peoples, and their attacks were often bound up with family claims to land or rule. That they were chiefly Scandinavians is plain from all the details in our original historical materials. That "Danes" in some places predominated is very true; but the name "Dane", like that of "Saxon", as having become better known, was often indiscriminately used, just as "Northman", "Norman", "Goth", "Frank", and so many others. Instead of a thousand citations we will take one, from an excellent writer, Florence of Worcester. Usually he confines himself to the general expressions "Pagani", "Barbari", "Dani"; but *Ad Chron. Ap.* an. 867 (Deirorum), he distinctly specifies what he means, and we there have: — "A paganis, videlicet Danis, Norreganis, Suavis, Goutis, et quarundam aliarum nationum populis" — (by the pagans, that is the Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Goths and Jutlanders [of Scandinavia, for there were no other Goths in England at this period], and several other folk-clans).

And these "Danes" were no way superior to the "demoralized" English. They were cruel, bloody ruffians, and threw England back some centuries, in spite of all their efforts after they had become *Christians*, that is, according to some, *base and demoralized*. They were mercenary to a degree, were little troubled with conscience of any kind, as little as pirates and buccaneers in any age, were guilty of every crime — infanticide, rape, murder, burnings-in, the slaughter of old men and women and children, polygamy, and a thousand more such heroic virtues. True, they were hardy and brave; but so were the English, who were equally of Northern descent with themselves. By necessity they were more used to the sea. Panics often seized the English, but panics also seized the "Danes" often enough in their own lands; and, as we all know, a famous and gallant Scandinavian race was once governed by a dog, set over them by a tyrant. The "Danes" were usually successful, simply because they were the more numerous and the attacking part. Wherever they could land in force against a small commune, in a country broken up into a hundred small kingdoms, and earldoms and folkdoms, isolated and disunited, they gained the victory. Of course they did. So should we, or anybody, tomorrow under the like circumstances. And English victory was of no avail, for the English soldiers had fallen; but fresh troops of savage marauders landed, and hounded the few survivors to death. Wherever there was a chance for the natives they fought as well as the pagans, nay, they often defeated these "invincible Danes" with immense slaughter. Exactly the same thing took place in Scandinavia itself. For several centuries the Scandian states, or parts of them, for they were as little united as England, were continually changing hands. They fell into the power of any adventurer, "royal" or not, from within the same land or from a sister kingdom or province, who could gather a fleet and army, concentrate his efforts, and strike a heavy blow on one spot. And as to "demoralization", the Scandinavian annals give melancholy pictures of this from the old times, all the middle age thro, down to the Reformation and after. Scandinavians and English, we all alike live in glass houses. The simple fact is, that the incessant waves of Northmen which broke and dasht with such fury on the coasts of Gaul and Britain, and elsewhere, in the ninth and tenth centuries were, and ought to be called, the last Folk-wandering, the last swell of that same wonderful shaking of the nations in the North which had cast such endless swarms of adventurers over all the Roman empire, and which had so largely remodeled Europe. The bloody wars for unity in Scandinavia, which ended in melting the whole into three kingdoms — Sweden, Norway, and Denmark — scattered away and drove to other lands whole populations of warlike and reckless heathen pirates and emigrants. They fell like locusts on the South and West, and there was, for the moment, no resisting them. England, broken up into petty and rival clans, had no chance. And — what nation could stand under such leaders as Ethelred the Unready and his miserable crew? But these later Scandinavians, usually in a lump called "Danes", suffered the

same defeats and misfortunes from similar inroads, and were as easily smasht and subdued by the Norman William, while the Normans themselves were continually broken and overthrown on their own soil. For "Danes" then, as far as England and France are concerned, we must usually read "Scandinavians" and others, chiefly Norwegians and Danes. The Swedes were more numerous in the East, that is, in forays against Russia and Finland, and the southern shores of the Baltic. As to William's army, we are expressly told in the old books that it consisted of adventurers from all quarters — free lances, soldiers of fortune, roving bands and recruits levied from all the ilands and coasts reacht by his emissaries or attracted by the smell of plunder. The blessing of the Pope cast a dim halo of religion about this army of cut-throats, but it did not alter its character. They were not even Normans, large numbers of them, much less Danes. The settlers in Normandy had no women with them, and in one generation the Scandinavian mother-tung was nearly forgotten. They spoke French — in that variety named Anglo-Norman —, and by intermarriage and intermixture the ruling classes were as much "Danes" as we now are in England. They had become substantially Frenchmen, but with distinctive provincial qualities and peculiarities. But powerful as the invading host was, and marshaled as it was, and under such a leader — like Napoleon talented and selfish and relentless — such an attack could not but succeed, taking place as it did; for the gallant English king had just lost the flower of his troops in a great victory gained against his brother and the Norwegian king. Of course the leaders and pickt men against whom Harold fought were Normans, and of course they had certain advantages, personal, military and political. It was the will of God that a new element should be added to the already largely composite character of the English nation. We may have gained some good blood from it, but we paid a desperately high price for the same, and have no desire to repeat the process.

My argument then is, that the name "Saxons", as commonly used in its modern sense, is a misnomer and a myth. The great mass of our earliest population was *not* "Saxon"[1], and "Saxon" is *not* German. By "Germania" the Latin writers usually meant "Barbaria", the non-Roman outland, and by "Germani" they usually meant "Barbarians", — non-Romans. To call all the non-Roman world "Germans" is simply ridiculous. So the term "Saxon" was but *conventional*, like so many other terms. At this moment every body speaking English, of whatever nation, is still called *Sassanach* by the Keltic inhabitants of Ireland and Scotland, &c. But no sane man therefore judges all nations not Keltic to be "German". So of the Finnish tribes at the other end of Europe, they have no other word for "German" but *Saxalainen*, nor for Germany but *Saxanmaa*, nor for the North-Sea but *Saxanmeri*[2]. But shall we conclude from this that there never have been any Germans at all, and that the historical Germans were merely an obscure clan of the Saxons? But this knife cuts still more sharply, for the Fins have no name for Austria — with all its many non-Germanic populations — save *Saxankeisarikunda*, literally the Saxon Cæsardom. So because *Roslagen* — the coast and east of Upland — is that part of Sweden with which the old Finlanders came first and easiest in contact, they have no other name for *all Sweden* than *Ruotsinmaa*, and their word for Swedish is *Ruotsalainen*. Is therefore all the rest of Sweden — with its many tribes and dialects — only a petty province of Roslagen? But we have another Finnish example. Either from all Denmark having been once called Jutland or Gotland, or from their mercantile visits being chiefly to Jutland, the Fins call Denmark *Juutinmaa* and Danish is *Juutilainen*. So we might as well say that Constantinople was of *Roman* origin and population, not Grecian, from the fact that the inhabitants of all Mahometan countries in the East — Turkey and its dependencies excepted — call it *Room* or *Rome* instead of Stamboul. But we know that the appellation arose from its old name *Roma Nova*, and its so quickly rivaling Rome itself. In like manner *Roumy* (Roman) was first applied by the Arabs to the Greeks of the Lower Empire, who had largely inherited the Roman name, but it was afterwards extended to all Christians, much as "Frank" is now.

This persuasion of the "Saxons" being a mere conventional epithet has been largely adopted by modern historians, together with the view that the Northmen made inroads and settlements in Britain at a period much earlier than is vulgarly believed. For instance:

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[1] The "Anglo-Saxon" "Saxons" were from Old-Saxony, SAXLAND, the present HOLSTEIN and DITHMARSK, and had nothing whatever to do with the merely *titular* "Saxons" (= THURINGIANS) and "Saxony" (= THURINGIA) of our days. In like manner "the White Horse of Brunswick", of which we have heard so much, is a modern *heraldic humbug* adopted *many centuries* after the time of the White Horse of Kent.

[2] In Finnish *-lainen* is the common adjectival termination *-ish*, of origin, *maa* means land and *meri* sea.

"But in the beginning of the fourth century, the Saxons were not alone on the ocean; other states, both to the south and north of their own locality, were moving in concert with them, whose nominal distinctions were lost in the Saxon name."[1]

"Of the claims of the Belgæ to be considered a Teutonic people, I have already sufficiently spoken; and to them also, as well as to the other two colonies, the Scoti are alleged to have been akin both in origin and language. ..... It may at present suffice to remark, that traces of intercourse with the nations of the Baltic, as well friendly as hostile, are to be found, not only in the Irish annals for some centuries before St. Patrick, but also in the poems, chronicles, and histories of those northern nations themselves."[2]

"Hence we find the same patronymics in distant parts of England, which would seem to indicate that different members of the same original family had joined in various separate expeditions to Britain; and it is still more curious that this identity of name is found in districts peopled severally by the different races, Angles, or Saxons, or Jutes. This admits of two explanations: it shows the close relationship between the three races themselves; and it proves, probably, that when a great chieftain of one race, an Angle, for instance, planned an expedition to Britain, subordinate leaders from the other races, Saxons, Jutes, or others, were ready to enlist among his followers. Thus we find the Billingas at Billingham, in Durham; at Billingley, in Yorkshire; at Billinghay, in Lincolnshire; at Billington, in the counties of Bedford, Stafford, and Lancaster; as well as at other places, all within the districts occupied by the Angles. We find a settlement of the same family at Billingshurst, in Sussex; and some of them appear to have established themselves in the outskirts of London, and to have given their name to Billingsgate. The Bosingas are found at Bossingham, in Kent, and again at the two Bossingtons, in Hampshire and Somerset. The Scearingas are found at Sharrington, Sheringford, and Sharringham, in Norfolk; at Sheering, in Essex; at Scarrington, in Nottinghamshire; and at Sherrington, in Buckingham, and in Wiltshire. We have the Haningas at three places named Hannington, in Northamptonshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, and also probably at Hanningfield, in Essex. When we examine further we find, among these patronymics, names which belong to the great families whose history is mixed up in the earliest Teutonic mythology."[3]

"The phrases used by writers at a distance commonly spring from their own view of events, as bearing on themselves: thus Vitalianus addresses Oswy, king of Northumberland, as "Rex Saxonum" (Beda, p. 138, line 27), while it is certain that Northumberland was not said to be inhabited by Saxons at all."[4]

"Tacitus, though he knew the Angles, had never heard of the Saxons." It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that they were small in numbers and insignificant in other respects. This ignorance on the part of Rome was shown by its historian, A. D. 98.

"In the second century, *i. e.* A. D. 120, we find the Saxons named for the first time. For this information we are indebted to Ptolemy; that geographer places them "upon the neck of the Kimbric Chersonese"; and also in three small islands towards the mouth of the Elbe, — in fact, in Holstein. They are then a tribe only, or at best a very small nation. But they are a seafaring tribe or nation; and in a few generations afterwards, though still confined to the same Chersonese[5], we find them taking a high rank in piracy; grievously annoying the coastdwellers of the empire. ..... But when the Franks had themselves entered into settled possession of the Gallic provinces, leaving the Rhine as it was in the time of the empire, to be guarded only by limitary troops, not by a nation, there appears upon the scene of history a host of confederated tribes calling themselves Saxons. These are an inland army. It is superfluous to say that these are neither the Saxons of Ptolemy nor Stephanus the Byzantine, whose only outlet was the Elbe."

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1 Sharon Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, 6th ed., Vol. 1, p. 87 (Bk II, Ch. 5), ed. Baudry, Paris.

2 Thomas Moore, History of Ireland, Vol. 1, p. 75 (Ch. VI), ed. Baudry, Paris.

3 T. Wright, The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon, 2nd ed., London 1861, p. 439.

4 Cockagne, Seinte Marherete, p. 77.

5 "Late in the 5th century they were still confined to Holstein. Stephanus Byzantinus (A. D. 490) says, "Σάξονες ἔθνος οἰκοῦν ἐν τῇ Κιμβρικῇ χερσονήσῳ"."

"How this confederacy was formed and why it assumed the Saxon name is no way our concern. ..... It was this tribe of Saxons, and not the confederation of Saxons of later days, that sent forth its aggressors to this island."[1]

There is also a striking passage on this head from the learned pen of Dr. W. Smith, in his edition of Mr. Marsh's Manual: — "The Saxons are not mentioned by Tacitus, nor by any of the earlier Greek or Latin writers. They first occur in the lists of Ptolemy [flourisht A. D. 120], who places them upon the narrow neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus, between the Elbe and the Chalusus, the modern Trawe, a district corresponding to the southern part of the modern Holstein. Ptolemy also mentions three Saxon islands opposite the mouth of the Elbe, which are probably [?] Nordstrand, Föhr, and Silt. But this contracted territory, as Gibbon has remarked, was incapable of pouring forth the inexhaustible swarms of Saxons who reigned over the ocean, who filled the south of Britain with their language, their laws, and their colonies, and who so long defended the liberty of the North against the arms of Charlemagne. It would be foreign to our present object to pursue the fortunes of the Saxons; but it can hardly admit of doubt that their power was gradually extended westward along the northern coast of Germany, and that their name was given to A CONFEDERACY OF VARIOUS WARLIKE TRIBES. Among the most powerful members of this confederation were the Friesians, whose name is now confined to one of the provinces of Holland, but who were formerly spread over a much wider area. The Friesian dialects are still spoken, not only in the province of Friesland, but in parts of Hanover, in the island of Helgoland, and upon a portion of the coast of Sleswick, opposite the North-Sea. Hence it would appear that the Friesians occupied the very sites where the Saxons are placed by other authorities; and it is not only certain that they took part in the Saxon invasion of England, but there are very strong reasons for believing that they must have constituted a very large number of the invading forces, since they have left permanent traces of their dialect in our own language."[2]

On this comprehensive and inclusive name "Saxons" the cautious and learned Prof. E. C. Werlauff has the following observations ("Om de Gamle Nordboers Bekjendtskab med den Pyrenæiske Halvöe", Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, Kjöb. 1836-7, p. 23: — "Their position and other circumstances render it probable that Frisians, Angles and Jutes early shared, under the name of Saxons, in the sea-expeditions of these latter; certain it is that we find all these races united in the descent upon Britain in the 5th century. In the 6th century, when the increasing power of the Franks began to threaten the Saxons, their energy took another direction than by sea, and an opportunity was now given to the inhabitants of the Danish coast and ilands, who perhaps had formerly been comprehended among the Saxons, to become known and feared under their own name. It is in the year 515 that the DANES are first mentioned by a writer of the Middle-Ages in connection with an invasion of the French coasts[3]. At about the same time the NORWEGIANS begun to gain honor and booty in a similar way, but at first perhaps under the name of the Danes, like as these for a long time went under the name of the Saxons."

Since the above was publisht by Werlauff, has appeared the Cosmography of Aethicus, written between the years 250 and 300, in which FRISII, DANI, and other Gothic tribes are distinctly mentioned[4].

The name DANE is found in England at an earlier date than in Denmark. It occurs in the Charters (Kemble, Cod. Dipl. 1, 130) in the year 761, "Signum manus DANE abbatis", and this Charter is from Kent. In a Charter of Offa of Mercia, an. 767 (Id. 1, 142), is a DENEBERHT (= DANE-BRIGHT) episcopus"; and a bishop of Shirburn, about 800, was DENEFRITH (Flor. Worc. ad Chron. App. Nom. Præs. Scireb. Ec.). In a Charter of "the enemy of the Danes", king Alfred of Wessex, is a DENEUULF episcopus, with the characteristic old U (= W). That UU is here = WU, is certain; in the *same* Charter

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[1] H. C. Coote. A neglected fact in English History. 8vo, London 1864, pp. 16-18.

[2] G. P. Marsh. Lectures on the English Language. Edited, with additional lectures and notes, by William Smith, LL. D. 2nd Ed., 8vo, London 1863, pp. 11, 12.

[3] "Gregor. Turonensis in Bouquet Rer. Gallic. et Franc. Scr. T. II. p. 187. Capefigue (Essai sur les invasions maritimes des Normands dans les Gaules p. 80) observes that Gregorius mentions this circumstance in such a way, that we are led to conclude that similar expeditions had been undertaken by them of an earlier date."

[4] See the excellent and learnedly annotated edition: "Cosmographiam Aethici Istrici ab Hieronymo ex Graeco in Latinum Breviarium redactam, secundum Codicem Lipsiensem separato libello expressam primum edidit Henricus Wuttke. Lipsiae 1854", 8vo, p. 16. — See also the Introduction, p. XLVII and fol.

WULFRED signs himself UULFRED and WULFSIGE writes UULFSIGE, while the *same* man signs himself in another Charter (Id. 2, 126) "DENEWULFUS Wentanensis urbis episcopus", and in a Charter of Edward (Id. 2, 139) "DENEWULF episcopus". — The TANGISILUS of the first Charter (Id. 1, p. 4, 6, &c.) anno 605, &c., is not quite sure, these Charters being doubtful; but, even if forged, the names introduced would be traditional and acknowledged, not to excite suspicion.

All this may possibly throw some light on that obscure chapter of Scandinavian Old-lore — the great Weapon-finds in the Danish Mosses, especially those of South-Jutland. These finds of arms and other objects, warlike and domestic, consist of things made of gold, silver, bronze, iron, wood, &c., swords, ring-mail, shields, military ornaments, farming implements, &c., together with some Roman coins. Their chief characteristics are:

1. That they are originally accumulated at distinct narrowly limited spots, and are evidently sunk or hidden in haste, to be afterwards exhumed and made use of.

2. That they bear the brunt of many a fight, being hackt and dinted and battered and broken in a remarkable way, — but that many pieces have also been "hammered up" by the collector; thus in many instances they were treated as so much "old metal" or rough material.

3. That they range in date — as decided by Mr. Herbst, the great Danish archæologist, an authority specially familiar with this subject — chiefly from the 3rd century, not later than the 4th.

4. That, mixt with some pieces evidently of Roman fabric, and others which are imitations of Roman work, most of them are of "Barbarian" make and exhibit only "Barbarian" traditions.

5. That one of the pieces (a Shield-umbo), found in Thorsbjerg Moss, bears the name of a Roman soldier in Roman letters, while Sword-blades are stampt with names in Roman letters. Yet other pieces are found with inscriptions in the letters of the "Barbarians", Old-Northern runes. Thus we are flung back to the very oldest historical times, and to a strange intermingling of Roman and Barbarian soldiery.

6. That these moss-finds are all near the coasts, or at places now or formerly directly or indirectly *accessible by sea*.

No one will deny that crowds of Barbarians took service in the Roman armies, from the latest Consular and early Imperial times downwards, and that still greater numbers hovered about the Roman frontiers, like birds of prey waiting to seize their spoil, sometimes driven back with terrible carnage but again assembling over the dying carcase.

Now with the great mass of these adventurers we have here nothing to do. But many of them were also from Scandinavia, particularly from West-Denmark and the neighboring lands. Scores of known and unknown tribes and clans, roving hordes of a common Gothic origin, usually called by some one sweeping name, such as "Angles", "Danes", "Jutes", "Frisians", "Saxons", "Germans", the difference in dialect and customs at that early period being in fact very slight — like as afterwards they are called by some one similarly comprehensive phrase "Daci", "Dani", "Northmen", "Eastmen", "Pirates", "Wikings", &c. — had already, at least as early as the 2nd century, commenced their crusade for plunder and power and lands against Roman Britain and its nearest coasts. No Roman army, no Roman soldier, ever set foot in Scandinavia. Hence no Roman or Romanized spoils could ever have been left by them on a Scandinavian battle-field. But *Barbarians sought the Roman*. Sometimes they served under his banner, used or imitated his arms, and learned his discipline and, partly at least, his language. More frequently they banded together in foray against him, stormed his "walls" and castles and towns in Roman Britain and Gaul and Germany; and at last they wrested from him his fair and favorite province, the fruitful island of the far west.

Then, as now, there were campfollowers plenty, reivers and spoilers, gillies and chapmen, who made a trade of stripping corpses or collecting or buying the valuable relics and plunder which lay around or upon the dead, or in the nearest villages, then hastily transporting them elsewhere *for market*.

Why should not *some* of these spoils have found their way to the Danish tarns and waters? The road was open and short. There was no need or question of toilsome landroutes. They only had to embark on their skiffs and gallies, and in a couple of days they were in Jutland or in Fyn. Sometimes such hoards of weapon-waste may have been gathered in the land itself, but this could seldom be the case in Denmark; partly at least they must be booty from foreign soil, where pitcht battles were the rule. Not unfrequently, dissensions at home would also compel hiding. Often enough, the

gatherer or pedlar would die at sea, or in some fresh foray, or suddenly at the hand of a quarrelsome red-handed comrade. And so the secret of the lake or stream would be lost. The hoard was so *well* concealed that the mystery died with the owner.

I cannot help thinking, then, that the Roman period in England may be *one* source for the finds in the Danish Mosses, which are all contemporaneous with the Roman period in Britain. It is highly probable that they may sometimes be spoils from British battle-grounds[1]. Thus should the stone at Kirkliston be an instance, as it has every appearance of being, of a Northern warrior falling in one of these very fights, — the costly plunder swept together after the conflict in which he sank may at this very moment be resting in one or other of those rich Museums of which Denmark is so proud! — See the articles on the Runic finds at *Thorsbjerg, Flemlöse*, &c., Denmark.

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[1] At p. 57 of his interesting University Program "Om Slesvigs eller Sønderjyllands Oldtidsminder", 4to, Kjøbenhavn 1865, Prof. Worsaae has the ingenious suggestion that these moss-hoards were sunk by the victors, after battles with their inland foes, as *offerings to the Gods*, and in this way he explains their remaining so long untoucht. But these hidingplaces were at that time pools or small lakes or narrow fiords; it is the lapse of many centuries which has made them mosses; the hoards could not therefore even be suspected much less easily discovered. In all times and lands things have been hidden in water, for it leaves no traces. And this custom of drowning war-spoil was, as far as we know, Gallic only, not even general Keltic, still less Northern. And many of the pieces (especially the wooden tools, agricultural implements, &c.) are not war-spoil, but merely a pedlar's miscellaneous stock in trade. Some of the articles have evidently been treated as only so much old metal. This would never have been the case with things devoted to the Gods. And what shall we say of similar moss-finds of a far later date, even down to perhaps Christian times? Compare, for instance, the rich hoard of golden and silver rings, jewels, ornaments and coins — all wrapt up in some kind of cloth or covering — which had been sunk in the tarn, now the moss, at Lower Hoen, Buskeruds Amt, Norway, in the 10th or 11th century, found in 1834 and purchast by the Norwegian government for 2030 Specie-dollars. Surely this exactly parallel store of spoil or treasure or merchandise was never "offered to the Gods". Prof. Worsaae's hint can therefore apply very exceptionally, if at all.

But my learned friend also says in this treatise that the Angles and the other clans who occupied Britain were "Germans", because the graves in England from the Early Iron Age (our late Keltic, as it is so happily called by Mr. Franks) "mostly" have *unburnt* skeletons, whilst the Southern Danish from the same period contain *burnt* bones and ashes. (Afterwards, as Prof. W. proceeds, "mostly" falls out of his text, and the bare and harsh contrast remains). But the graves in England from this period with *burnt* bodies are so numerous, that it is hard to tell which of these grave-rites, was most prevalent with our forefathers at that time. Local grave-customs are always changing, quite apart from a total difference of race; Scandinavia itself affords many examples of this. Many separate elements must also be taken into account. Prof. W. himself points out that the frequent use of trunks of trees as coffins in south Denmark, Germany and England, may not have been unconnected with local abundance of oaken timber. Thus, density of population (and England was "densely peopled") will lead to grave-fields, rather than to solitary graves, tho many grave-fields are found in Scandinavia also. Then in certain places wood might be scarce and dear. The Romans often used coal in Britain as elsewhere, doubtless because it was cheaper than charcoal. This would encourage interments without fire. In Britain the Romans usually continued to prefer cremation, but for this very reason their foes the "barbarians" might be ledd to dislike it. And burial would be helpt on by the Christian element in the British population, for the British Christians, like the "barbarians" the enemies of the Roman caste, did not burn their dead. But even before the age of Cæsar there was a large "barbarian" population ("*Belgæ*" = Scandinavians, Flemings, Germans, or whatever they were) in south-eastern England. Did these "barbarians" burn their dead? As being such early sharers in the Iron culture, probably they usually did not. If so, this would be another reason for their later countrymen so often not using fire. In Scandinavia itself, however, we find very many contemporary graves with *unburned bodies*. Consequently this whole dispute is futile. The great "contrast" never existed. Besides, Prof. W.s argument proves too much, for he admits that this very custom of burning the dead during this Early Iron Age was *in common* with the south-west clans in the land now called Denmark, with the neighboring Saxons and with the neighboring Wends. Therefore, if this grave-rite is a proof of race, if it means anything ethnographically, it shows that the Danes — not the Angles — were either Saxons or Wends.

But this old-lorist has also another weapon. He says, p. 83, that the Angles were "Germans" because the earliest O. Engl. Coins have not been found in Scandinavia. He might have added — nor in England itself, so scarce and precious are they there altho we have swept the whole Continent for them at fabulous prices. Intended only for petty "kingdoms", never struck in any quantities, doubtless melted down by each succeeding king, and for more than 1000 years destroyed by our old treasure-trove laws whenever accidentally found, they are the rare exceptions in our British Cabinets. Our old golden Mancus has never turned up at all, and therefore many persons now deny its existence. But again this argument proves too much. Still fewer of the oldest Danish Coins have been found in Denmark. Therefore the Danes never lived in Denmark, but in Kamschatka or the "Elbe-lands". It is true that few or *none* of these oldest O. Engl. Coins have ever been found or heard of in these same "Elbe-lands" — from which Prof. W. says these mythical Angles (who he asserts never lived in Angle) came; — but then that is a detail which few, perhaps not even Prof. W. himself, have thought of investigating. It follows that this whole argument is worthless. The fact is, that there is *nothing* in these "Elbe-lands", not even a folk-name or a tradition, which can connect our historical Angles with that locality. All this talk about the Angles alone as "Germans" is a modern invention, not earlier than the beginning of this century, a part of that infamous and relentless Slesvig-Holstein German propaganda which steals and annexes and "Germanizes" everything, words and tungs and lands and provinces and peoples, to the utter disgust of every honorable man, and to the degradation and ruin of Germany itself, for NEMESIS DIVINA sleepeth not nor slumbereth. When in the good old times certain writers used the words "Germania" and "Germani" as to non-"Roman" and non-"Keltic" regions and races, they did so, I repeat, — and I believe no real scholar will contradict me — in the sense of "Barbaria" and "Barbari". If "Germania" means the modern South-Germany and "Germani" the modern High-Germans, as to the Angles the Jutes and the Frislanders, then it does so as to all the other Scandinavian clans and lands. If it does not, then it is time that this fiction was laid aside. If the Angles were a mere clan of the "Germans" because they both were Scando-Goths, then the Germans were a mere clan of the Angles for the very same reason. This is a game two can play at.

Perhaps this may be the place to add a word or two on the Minne-stone (Stone of Remembrance, Grave-stone, with or without runes) as often found *inside* the grave-mound, where it *could not* be seen, as well as *outside*, where it *could*. So several of the Old-Northern runic stones in this collection were met with *inside* the how. This has occasionally been the case from the earliest times in all lands, played an important part in the ancient East and in the crypts of Egypt, and we ourselves still sink in the earth handsome coffins with plain inscriptions — which there is no one but the worms to read!

But I wish to draw attention to the fact that this was also sometimes the case in Scandinavia during *the Bronze age*. For this purpose I will translate a valuable paper, on a most interesting find in South-Jutland, from the pen of the well-known Danish Archæologist C. Engelhardt[1]. It will be found at pp. 336-344 of Slesvigske Provindsialefterretninger, Ny Række, 8vo, Vol. 3, Oct. 1862, Haderslev, ("To Gravhoie fra Broncealderen"). I omit the two last pages, describing the Froslev How.

"TWO GRAVE-HOYS FROM THE AGE OF BRONZE."

By Adjunct C. ENGELHARDT.

As is well known, that period of our fore-historic eld which we call the Age of Bronze follows the Stone-age and precedes the Age of Iron. It has its name from the material then chiefly employed for making weapons and edged tools. It was long believed that burning the dead and placing their bones — deposited in urns of burnt clay — in earthen mounds was then a universal custom. But we shall see that there were exceptions. For — probably at a time when the influences and action of the incoming Bronze Civilization were beginning to be vigorously felt by the peoples of the Stone Age — we find stone chambers similar in size to those of the Stone Age, but containing Bronze pieces as well as objects of stone, bone, amber and so on. Afterwards the graves become decidedly "Bronze", tho cremation alone prevailed. In like manner the people of the Iron Age went on for a time burning the bodies of their departed, tho in succeeding times they were committed to the earth unburned.

It would be highly desirable to fix the limits of this epoch, but this we cannot do. If, as seems probable, the use of Iron in the North did not become general till the third century after Christ, we should find the one boundary, its close. And hints as to how the Bronze Age closed will be found in the way in which the Iron Age comes in. At the commencement of the Iron Age in this country we find so much splendor, the forms are so elegant, technical skill is so high — we only need mention the damascened Iron Swords from our Mosses —, and the various articles are so numerous and found under such circumstances, that we must admit the sudden appearance of this civilization, as well as that these pieces were not mere imports. Thus Iron and the Iron Civilization have entered the land with a conquering tribe. And doubtless it took no long time for this higher art, whose chief features were the knowledge of Writing and the general use of Iron and of the Horse, to displace the older school.

The use of Bronze in the manufacture of weapons &c. had doubtless ceased in Denmark in the 3rd century.

But the other limit of Bronze we cannot fix. How long the period subsisted and when it began, we cannot say or guess. Historical accounts respecting the North in this era are nearly or quite absent; and coins, which are such good time-helps, and classical remains, which we can at least approximately date, are never found with objects from this era. Probably at this time the North was in no regular contact with the culture of the South.

Tho Antiquities and Barrows, and their comparison with the similar objects of other lands, are thus our only source for the history of that period when Iron was unknown, yet enough remains to throw some light on the subject. For, on examining what must belong to this era, as far as we can judge from locality, material, workmanship, shape and ornamentation, we find such differences in the care and freedom with which they have been manipulated, that we shall doubtless at last be ledd to a subdivision into an Earlier and a Later Bronze Age. Among other helps in this direction will be, the examination of those few pieces exhibiting the forms of living beings; these art-essays point to an organical and peculiar development, independent of influences from without, and they belong to the later period.

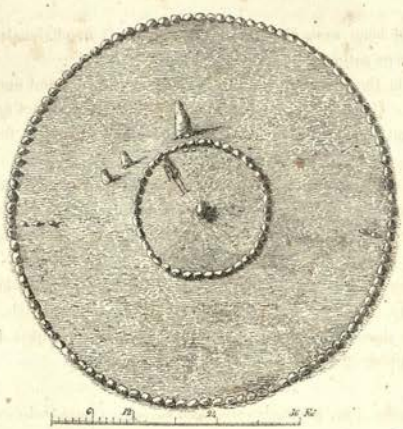
The question of thus dividing this age, particularly as to the several forms of the graves, has been treated by Prof. Worsaae in his pamphlet "On a New division of the Stone and Bronze periods", Kjobenhavn 1860. It results from what is there laid down, that graves with unburned bodies, in which

[1] One sentence has been slightly altered at the wish of Mr. Engelhardt himself.

not only Bronze but often stone is found, and which in their outward and inward construction approach the graves of the Stone Age, belong to an older portion of the Bronze period, one nearer to the Stone time, some of whose funeral customs still were followed. On the other hand the younger and later Bronze Age would be distinguisht by the presence of calcined bones only.

It is to this latter period, to the cremation of the dead, that How belongs which I shall here proceed to describe; for at the bottom, in the centre of the grave proper, it had a simple stone-setting with loosely cast human burnt bones, among which was found a small simple pin of Bronze. But the other contents of the Barrow are so peculiar that I must go more into detail.

This Barrow is situate on a natural rise in a field, on the north-west side, close to the famous Thorsbjerg Moss at South-Brarup in Southern Angel, to the west of the road to North-Brarup. It is quite round, and very large. Its circumference is about 170 feet, its highest central point 9 feet above the level of the ground, and from its top we have an extensive view of the surrounding flat country. It was the last remaining Hoy of three which stood close to each other. The other two have been leveled, and the materials long since carted away.

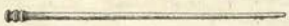


[The above is a birds-eye view of the round Barrow when uncovered, showing the two stone-rings, the central kist or stone-setting, and the other stones, particularly the large Minne-stone, which is also given separately on a large scale. These engravings are from casts of the blocks used in Prof. Thorsen's "Danske Runemindesmærker", Vol. 1, Kjobenhavn 1864, p. 254. They were taken from drawings furnisht by Mr. Engelhardt].

When this How was sufficiently uncovered, there was found the said small kist or stone-setting in the centre at the bottom, about 2 feet below the level of the surrounding soil. It was surrounded by two stone rings.

This stone-kist, which must have been the actual grave containing the remains of him in whose honor the How was raised, was a square only 18 inches high and 16 broad[1]. It was built up of two

larger stones, one as ground-stone and the other as overlier, while the sides were made with 14 smaller stones, which were all flat inside, appearing to have been split, and which had been exposed to such great heat that they could be crusht between the fingers. In the hollow room thus made lay a many strongly burnt human bones, and, low down close to the ground-stone, the only artificial object in the grave, a small thin Bronze Pin, about 2½ inches long[1]. This Pin had ringlike prominent orna-



ments below the head, and something was still left of the woolen stuff or cord in which it had been wrapt. It may have been a Hair-pin or a Cloak-pin, according as we suppose the deceast to have been a man or a woman.

Among the bits of bone were also found a few morsels of charcoal, which had followed with the rest when the bones were gathered up.

The space above in the kist was filled with sandy earth, finer and more mouldish than that with which the mound was made. Under the kist was a kind of pavement, two feet across, of very small stones.

Thus there was not the least sign of any urn or other receptacle for the burnt bones, except the kist itself.

Outside this kist or grave were two stone circles. The inner was 9 feet from the center, and was thus 54 feet in circumference. It consisted of 41 cobbles, all nearly the same size, about 1 foot high and from 1½ to 2 broad. They were all unhewn, save perhaps one on which rested the head of a Skeleton, to be spoken of below. The outer ring was 56 feet in diameter, and was thus at the edge of the barrow. Only a few of the stones in the outer ring now remain, but an oldish man informed me that he had carted away numbers of them, as they hindered the plough. We know nothing as to the symbolical meaning of these rings; but the outer one may also have had a practical use — the prevention of the earth slipping down on to the adjacent field.

[1] Copied from the engravings in Mr. Engelhardt's lithograph, Slesvigske Provindsialefterretninger, fig. 3 and 4.

So far there is nothing here so very remarkable. A stone-setting as kist for the burnt bones of the dead, a small Bronze Pin, and two stone rings have been met with before in hows from the Bronze Age. But we now come to features apparently unique.

Inside the inner ring was found a human skeleton, its head resting on the only one of the ring-cobbles which seems to have been cloven, perhaps by a man's hand. The face of the skeleton was turned to the east, the feet to the kist in the middle. The bones were so tender and so dissolved by damp that only bits could be taken up and preserved in the direction of the body, W. N. W. to E. S. E. The traces of the whole corpse, 6 feet in length, were plain in the soil. Near the head were several small stones. The body was in a line with the kist, and was evidently deposited when this was built.

But there was yet another singularity. In a W. N. W. direction, outside the inner circle, stood a massive unhewn granite block 8 feet high. The sharp end was 2 feet in the ground, whose surface was here paved with stones which helpt to support the block, and which had been exposed to a strong fire. The side of the monolith facing the kist is 3 feet at broadest, and has some small possibly artificial hollows.

The skeleton and the block were perhaps connected. We have no notices as to our North which go back to the Bronze Age, and its religious ceremonies are unknown to us. Nor have we hitherto found anything in these lands hinting at human sacrifices. But we have here what seems distinctly to point to them. At the foot of the block lay some charcoal, and there or nearby was probably the hearth close to which we must suppose the offering to have been made.

Most likely the unburnt skeleton belonged to another tribe than the man to whom the barrow was raised. Probably a slave of a subjected clan — the stone age not burning its dead — was sacrificed, while the body of his lord was being consumed; his corpse was then placed in the barrow, but outside the grave-chamber of his master or mistress. The upright block must then be considered an offer-stone, near which the thrall was slain. That his body was not burnt was not perhaps so much connected with the funeral customs of his race, as with the denial to him of the same honor as was accorded to his lord. We can scarcely look upon the block as a Minne or Bauta stone, for this must have been visible, and not, as here, hidden by the mound doubtless piled up immediately after the grave was made.

The interior of the mound is so carefully and regularly made, that we cannot expect its parts to be accidental. The two tolerably large stones between the two circles, 6 feet west of the great block, therefore deserve our attention. They are unhewn greystones 3 to 4 feet high, and flattish above. Their object is unknown, unless they were intended as seats for the priests or other important persons at the sacrifice.

Near the edge of the mound, due east and west, were a couple of stones perhaps indicating a kind of walk towards the centre, and just inside the inner circle are a couple of cobbles. So great was the labor expended on a grave which, on its completion, was hidden by a barrow!

What was found in the earthen sides of the mound is of later date. On the western side, about 2 feet below the surface, was a simple urn or pot of coarse clay, filled with burnt bones and charcoal. But it had been overturned, and the contents had fallen out. There were no traces of rust or metal. Nearby were fragments of clay pots, and near the center, about 2 feet down, were some lines of charcoal, announcing where the fire had been made.

To the south-east, a couple of feet under the surface, were bits of a dark gravelly clay urn and some calcined bones.

On the eastern side, about 3½ feet from the top, was a large reddish clay pot full of burnt bones. Its greatest breadth was 13 inches, 6 inches below. Close by was a piece of a small pot of burnt clay. Both were surrounded by large bits of charcoal, one of them a branch 2 inches thick.

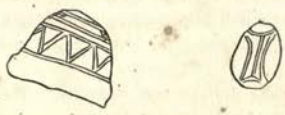
These later burials are from an unfixt period, the form of the urns not being decisive, and nothing else made by man was met with. Bodies continued to be burnt after the introduction of Iron, and it is an error to suppose every grave with burnt bones to be from the Bronze Age.

When the Barrow was thus removed, the Stone-kist in the center and the two large regular stone rings, between which rose the lofty block and the two minor granite stones, exhibited a picture so striking and interesting, that the wish was natural to preserve it as it was, open and accessible to all. With its usual kindness, the Royal Slesvig Government, endeavored to carry out this plan.

But the owner demanded so extravagant a price for this morsel of land that it could not be purchast, and the earth was heapt on to the grave as before.

So far Mr. Engelhardt. I might add several specimens of uninscribed stones found in graves from the Iron Age. I will only mention two, as being of an uncommon character. They are both decorated, and were communicated to me by Prof. Carl Säve. They were found by Baron Djurklou, of Närike, Sweden, in 1859, and are now in the Museum of that province.

The one was found in a barrow at Åsby, Närike, and weighed 100 pounds. I give the side and the top:



The other from a barrow, in Hardemo, Närike, was found lying near an iron wool-shears and some unburnt bones. It was of about the same weight, and is now in the same Museum. The top and side were thus:

We have thus seen the oldest known native Inscribed Monuments in Britain, for the remarkable and peculiarly carved Scottish stones so beautifully copied by Stuart are nearly all *uninscribed*, and no kind of writing has ever been found on Bronze, Gold, Iron, &c. from the Early Keltic period. The British coins, even those previous to the Roman occupation, bear only *Roman* letters, and are in fact a mere echo and result of the Greek-Roman culture. Consequently, following the stream of time, and beginning say at or before the time of Christ — for so old, at the very least, (in my opinion yet older), the Ogham stones must be — we have come down to the close of the Roman power, but not to the close of the Roman school, for its letters gradually supplant the Keltic in our so largely Romanized Britain.

But suddenly we find an entirely new alphabet, carvings in letters altogether strange and unknown — THE RUNES. They appear at the close of the Roman period, and are employed by the "barbarians" who overturned the Roman and Keltic systems, and who wrested a large part of the country from its Roman-Kymric or Kelto-Roman or Romanized British populations. They did not fall down from heaven, or spring up out of the earth; but, just as the Kelts brought with them their Ogham staves and the Romans their Latin alphabet, so the "barbarians" brought with them these their native characters.

Now it is to these Runes, to these Old-Northern remains, whether found in the "barbarian" homeland or in the "barbarian" colony, that the following pages are devoted.

I have called these new-come letters OLD-NORTHERN. Some name we must give them. Which, of the many proposed, should we prefer?

As we change the names of languages according as we embrace more and more of the allied dialects in a common circle, so may we give more and more enlarged terms to the writing-marks these tribes employ. As to speech, for instance, we may talk of the Kentish language, or we may ascend from the Kentish to the English, from the English to the Northern, so to the Scando-Gothic, thence to the Aryan, and so on. And in like manner with the letters. Merging the provincial into the

common, we may call Runes found in Kent *Kentish*; but, if met with also in other parts of England, then *English;* if still further occurring all over Scandinavia, thus completing the circle of the Northern Lands, then *Old-Northern.*

Various names have hitherto been given to these older Runes. Some have called them *German*, which is very wonderful and very "German", for they have never been found in Germany at all! But even if they had, this would not entitle them to the epithet *German*, if they *also* were common to other lands as well. We have not yet advanced so far, as to call Wheat a "German" cereal, or Potatoes a "German" esculent, or Tobacco a "German" narcotic, because they all three are found in Germany as in the rest of Europe or the world. Older or younger Runes *may*, or *may not*, — for we have no evidence —, have been used by both Saxon and German tribes, as well as Scandinavian and English, in times prehistoric. We have no proof either way. But if so they must have died out very early in Germany, possibly killed by very ancient contact with Roman civilization. Still, if ever there, it is wonderful and suspicious that they should have left in Germany no single trace behind them. For no great faith or culture or custom dies suddenly out. The thing is impossible. There is always a transitional period, when the older passes by degrees into that which follows, exceptional local remains testifying to former wide-spread use. Thus, supposing the Runes to have been once employed in Germany, why have we not Runic pieces there far down into the middle age? They were at first everywhere adopted by the Church. Indeed this could not be otherwise, for they were for centuries the only letters "understonden of the people". They meet us on graye-stones in churches and monasteries, and on fonts and bells and Crosses and Censers and chairs and all sorts of domestic furniture in all parts of Scandinavia down below the Reformation, — and even in Romanized England down at least to the 12th century (see the BRIDEKIRK Font). But in Germany, with its host of rich Minsters and Abbeys and Cloisters, *no single* Heathen or Christian piece *with runes* has ever been discovered. We may grant that the oldest and pagan runics may have disappeared, been long since destroyed; tho that not *one* should be found in *all* the wide German lands is very ominous. But, if ever used there, we should certainly expect later monuments with runic characters, or at least with mixt runes and Latin letters. But no, there is absolutely not one. This, then, seems to show that runic staves have *never* been used by Saxon or German tribes as far back as we can go; certainly to call the older kind "German runes" is evidently and utterly irrelevant, simply absurd, a "lucus a non lucendo". — The inference therefore would seem to be that the German and Saxon septs — in other words, the *earlier* waves of the Scando-Gothic peoples — *did not* bring with them to Europe the art of Writing, as little as the Slavo-Lithuanian races. As far as we can see, it was the *later* Scando-Gothic immigrations, the Old-Northern Clans, that first carried with them the Mighty Runes, and the arrival of these Northern folkships would seem to coincide with what is usually called *The Early Iron Age* of Scandia. This conclusion, if correct, may lead to other important historical and ethnographical deductions and enquiries.

Next, they have been denominated *Marcomannic*. But this simply signifies belonging to the *Marchmen*, the borderers, the inhabitants of the Scandinavian province of South-Jutland, the district between North-Jutland and Saxland (Old-Saxony, Holstein). This also is too local a name. We might as well call them Kentish as Marcomannic.

Others have preferred the term *Gothic*. This is an epithet difficult to define, but, unless by "Gothic" we mean all England and all Scandinavia, here peculiarly out of place.

Another favorite expression of late has been "Anglo-Saxon" (Old-English), which is equally unfitting and far too provincial. For they were introduced into England by its first Angle and Jute and other Northern settlers from the Scandinavian homeland, where they had been long and widely diffused *before* the "Anglo-Saxon" (= chiefly Northern) occupation of England.

The *Northern* Clans and Tribes who wrested England from the Kelts and Romanized Britons, and among whom the name English and England eventually became predominant, using these runes so long and so largely, and the same thing being the case with the *Northern* Clans and Tribes from whom they went out — the simplest and most natural name for these letters is therefore OLD-NORTHERN.

This general name, excluding the term German, is so much the more fitting, as we shall see by the list of Runic Alphabets further on that Germany has not only no Runic Monuments but not even one parchment-written Runic Staverow. We now have evidence that *all* the manuscripts known to exist in German and other continental libraries and containing runic alphabets — can either be certainly

traced to Englishmen, or to their English or German disciples and followers in Germany itself. Germany was Christianized substantially by English or Irish-English Saints and Evangelists. These men took their books with them, and these books contained their own old letters, which long continued in use in spite of the Latin, sometimes also the staves then in vogue among their brother-tribes in Scandinavia. A knowledge of these characters was more or less necessary to them, both as citizens and correspondents, as teachers and readers and artists. But these English missions to Scando-Germans commenced in the 7th century. As early as 603 Offo, an Angle of royal birth, preacht among them; and the famous Wilfrid was the apostle of Frisland about 678-9, while Willebrord his successor spent more than 40 years, from 692 to 736, in converting the same and neighboring peoples, of whom he became the first Archbishop. The mere fact therefore of a codex being found out of England does not make it of Frisic or German origin. Nor is even this the case, tho we should find traces of German in the spelling. For we can everywhere see that the names of the Runes are plain English, but here and there (very rarely) a little Germanized or barbarized by an ignorant or German scribe. We cannot point to *one single* skin-book where the vowel-system and the general character of the alphabet does not prove that it came from England, or from some Irish hand familiar with English learning[1]. This does not affect the question as to whether runes were ever used in Germany in some "mythical" pre-Roman period. But the runic alphabets in the skin-books now in Germany and Switzerland and Belgium and Italy &c. all sprung — directly or indirectly — from England.

This name OLD-NORTHERN will also suitably distinguish these older and general letters from those later and provincial runes, or rather from that much shorter and poorer modified alphabet, which afterwards was exclusively in use in Scandinavia and its later colonies, for these later colonies were not founded till the close of the "Old-Northern" period. These Scandian (provincial) runes never made much way in England, the runes in England being so early driven out by the Latin letters. — Therefore this later staverow may be conveniently called *Scandinavian*, while anything peculiar and provincial in the runes found in England may be as properly spoken of as *Old-English*.

This later or provincial Scandinavian futhorc would seem to have gradually developt itself about the 8th century, the older characters long lingering among the later which at last entirely superseded them; these last continued till they, in their turn, were supplanted by the Latin abc[2]. First they are used side by side with the Latin, as was the case with the Old runes in England. Then they are mixt with Latin characters. Then the Latin staves expel the runic altogether. In England, Latin Christianity and Latin civilization being so early and so powerful, the Latin alphabet followed nearly

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[1] As to Irish intercourse with the continent in very early times, and the spread of their books thither, the Rev. W. Reeves observes (in his edit. of the Life of St. Columba by Adamnan, 4to, Dublin 1857, p. xxii): — "The monastery of Augia Dives, or Reichenau, where the book was found at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was an ancient monastery much frequented by the Irish, and its abbot, from 842 to 849, was the celebrated Walafridus Strabus, who had been previously Dean of St. Gall, another monastery of Irish connexion. At the beginning of the ninth century a strong tide of Irish pilgrims set in towards Germany; possibly caused by the Norse invasions of the west; and it is likely that the breaking up of Hy, at the same time, and by the same influence, caused many members of the Columbian society to fall in with the movement. There undoubtedly was some such communication between Ireland and eastern Germany soon after 825, whereby Walafridus Strabus, who records the martyrdom of St. Blaithmac, was made acquainted with the particulars of that tragical event. St. Fintan, the patron saint of Augia Rheni, or Rheinau, had made his way to Germany about twenty-five years before, and his Life, which was written a short time after his decease, though existing in Germany, proves the writer to have been an Irishman, and acquainted with Irish occurrences, for it contains some sentences in the Irish language, and speaks of a monk then living in Fore, to whom the saint had related the visions which he had at Rheinau. And, that it was not unusual to carry books abroad, appears by the many Irish manuscripts which are preserved on the Continent, and, especially, from the donations which Dungal made to St. Columbanus's monastery of Bobio, and Bishop Marcus to that of St. Gall. The discovery of the manuscript of Adamnan at Reichenau by White, and the communication of his copy to Ussher, Colgan, and the Bollandists, have been already mentioned."

[2] In the Altar of Stokkemarke Church, Lolland, was found a few years ago a small roll or case of lead, about 1½ inch long by less than half an inch deep, containing some tiny relics. On the lead is cut or scratcht the inscription

ᚼᛒᛁᛋᚴᚢᚢᛋ · ᚴᛁᛋᛁᚴᛅ

ÆPISKOPUS KISIKO.

BISHOP KISIKO.

The altar of this church was therefore consecrated by Bishop Gisico shortly before or after the middle of the 14th century, and so late were runes still sometimes *officially* used in Denmark. Lolland and Falster were then united to the diocese of Fyn. They are now a bishopric by themselves. This leaden reliquary is in the Cheapinghaven Museum, No. 3600. Two or three hundred years *later*, these Scandian runes were still popularly used on *public* monuments in the iland of Gotland. But they have lingered on, more privately, here and there in Scandinavia almost to our own day.

directly on to the Old-Northern, generally speaking and especially in southern England by the end of the 8th or 9th century. There was therefore no room for the Scandinavian-runic period in our iland. And just as in the *ölder* period we find Latin words spelled with *Old-Northern* runes, so also in the *later* we have Scandinavian-runics, used for Latin words instead of Roman letters, or intermixt with Latin staves, sometimes also an inscription in the Roman tung whose substance — for the behoof of the unlearned — is repeated in Scandinavics. The Scandinavian-runic pieces in England, which are very few, doubtless came chiefly from the *later* Scandinavian immigrations thither in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries.

The chief difference between the Scandinavian and the Old-Northern Futhorcs — which have many letters *in common*, that is, unchanged from the original alphabet common to both — is this, that the former consisted of 16 (or 15) letters, the latter of more than twice as many. Besides this, there are two or three striking alterations in the symbols. This is particularly the case with the rune ᛉ. In the older staverow this is always ᛦ; in the Scandinavian it is always ᛘ. How this change was brought about, to what movement, ethnographical or political or social or religious or sectarian or historical or literary, it was owing; whether it sprang from some upcoming temple-lore — perhaps some older heathen *name* for the letter being changed, as well as its power, not to perpetuate some older system; or from some mighty priest-led "Revolution" of tribe against tribe, or "Reformation", substitution or modification of one Cult or Letter-system for another — is at present quite a mystery.

One reason for so many persons making the Old-Northern runes *later* than the Scandinavian is this very circumstance, that this latter alphabet is *simpler*, consists of fewer letters.

But this whole view is an entire misapprehension. The *oldest* alphabets are the *richest* and most complete. Those numbering from 15 to 20 or 25 staves are mere — comparatively modern — impoverisht skeletons. The progress has been from the manifold to the meagre, not the reverse. We find the same thing in the *languages* spoken by the primitive Indo-European races. The oldest dialects are the most profuse and luxuriant in outward form, the later tungs casting away terminations and prefixes, and becoming more or less monosyllabic.

Accordingly, the original Babylonian stave-row could not have had fewer than about 100 sound-tokens, tho the later Arrow-headed alphabets are not so complicated. The oldest Oriental and Classical and other alphabets had several letters which were afterwards disused. Sometimes, the inconvenience being too great, some of these letters were again supplied.

This great truth — apparently almost unknown — should really at last be acknowledged. And it has again and again been distinctly announced. Let us listen, for instance to the great Danish Orientalist, himself one of the first diggers in the mines of the Babylonian Wedge-staves:

"Om disse Skriftarters Historie kan man kun fremsætte tildels usikre Gisninger; men da Perserne sildigst af alle opnaaede en vis Grad af Kultur, og Babylonierne tidligst, og da den persiske Skrift er den simpleste af alle, synes det som om man her har skredet frem fra det mere indviklede til det simplere, og at saaledes Babylon var Moderlandet for Kileskriften, hvorfra den udbredte sig i en Afart mod Østen til Susiana, men især mod Norden til Assyrien, og derfra først til Medien, og tilsidst til det egentlige Persien, hvor den især blev uddannet til en egentlig Bogstavskrift, der frembyder os et Alfabet saa skjönt og fuldstændigt, som faa eller ingen Skrift kan opvise Mage til."[1]

We cannot venture on more than guesses, more or less uncertain, as to the history of these kinds of [WEDGE-STAVES or ARROW-HEADED] Writing. But as the Persians were the last, and the Babylonians the first, to reach a certain degree of civilization, and as the Persian letter-system is the simplest of all, it would seem that the development here has been from the complicated to the plain, and that the cradle of this Arrow-headed writing was therefore Babylon. It would appear to have spread thence in two varieties, one eastwards to Susiana, the other more particularly northwards to Assyria, thence to Media, and last to Persis proper, where it was improved to a real Stave-writing, and became an Alphabet so beautiful and so complete, that we have no where else its superior, scarcely its equal.

[1] Prof. N. L. Westergaard. "Om Mindesmærkerne fra Persiens Oldtid". — Antiquarisk Tidsskrift, 1843-6, Kjöbenhavn, p. 83.

Again, an English scholar adds his testimony:

"All the modern languages of this family, however cultivated the literature, and however civilised the nation, present only mutilated and fragmentary alphabets compared with what we find in use at the earliest period, and in immediate proximity to the primitive abode from which the different tribes diverged. The Indo-European family, therefore, did not begin with a defective instrument of speech which required to be filled up and polished by subsequent use in order to attain its perfection. The earliest [the Sanskrit] is its most perfect form."[1]

I will only cite one other authority, that of a most eminent and accomplisht French archæologist, whose essay on the Scandinavian runes is — with all its shortness — the very best which has hitherto appeared:

"De nos jours il n'a fallu qu'une lettre du gouvernement des Etats-Unis pour que des sauvages imaginassent un alphabet, qui n'avait pas d'abord moins de deux cents caractères." ..... "Voilà pourquoi les alphabets sémitiques et le dévanagari lui-même ont encore des traces évidentes du système syllabique. Ce n'est qu'à la longue qu'on a simplifié l'alphabet phonique, comme toutes les autres inventions qui ne sont pas dues au hasard; ainsi, pour citer un fait qui s'est passé sous nos yeux, les deux cents lettres de l'alphabet des Chirokies dont nous parlions tout à l'heure furent bientôt réduites à quatre-vingt. Dans l'alphabet hébreu, qui n'a plus que vingt-deux lettres, on trouve encore des traces évidentes d'une ancienne complexité; il y a trois S, le sajin, le samech et le sin; deux T, le tet et le tav; deux signes d'aspiration, le hé et le cheth, auxquels on pourrait même ajouter l'aleph; le son du caph et celui du kopli sont si semblables, que notre oreille n'en sent pas la différence, et le zadé représente un son double."[2]

As I have said, several alphabets eventually added some fresh letters. This was also the case in Scandinavia. The old runes for D, G, P, &c., had been laid aside; but their absence at last became unbearable, particularly as Latin civilization used these staves so frequently. Therefore the "Stung" or "Dotted" runes were invented, by which the want was supplied. These "Dotted" or "Pointed" characters cannot be older than about the 10th or 11th century. They were largely adopted, but by no means everywhere. A powerful Conservative party would seem to have lookt upon them as too "new-fangled".

Meantime there is no reason to suppose that the pronunciation suddenly changed, merely because many of the old runes were disused. Such words as those spelt GULD (GOLD), HAND, in the 6th age, KULT, HANT, in the 10th, and GULD (GOLD), HAND, again in the 13th, were doubtless sounded in the same way — dialectic changes and tendencies excepted — all along. They helpt themselves as well as they could with *their* alphabet, just as we do with *ours*, which also only gives *half* the sounds *we* employ: for this our present Alphabet is a scandal, an eyesore, a stupid barbarism, a monstrous hindrance to any decent writing of our own or any other language.

I have considered it of the last importance, in every instance as far as possible to engrave not the Inscription merely but *the whole monument*, whatever it be. This at once brings before us its form, style, decoration, — or its extreme simplicity. And all this I look upon as, so to speak, *a part of the inscription*. Along with the carved words, it helps to fix the date and the land. Following this principle, we can usually at once distinguish what is old from what is later, what is Heathen from what is Christian, what is English-Northern from what is High-Northern. A glance at *all* the rune-stones with Old-Northern runes will at once show how different they are from the mass of stones with Scandian Runics. A certain stern plainness on the former; a certain luxuriance and the worm-style on the latter. Simpler blocks in Scandian-runics will therefore generally be earlier, transitional, like as there is a long period of overgang ere the Old-Northern staves entirely fell away from the Scando-runic monuments. But the appearance of these *old* runes on comparatively modern pieces shows that they *are* transitional, proves that they point back to a time when *only* the Old-Northern alphabet was in use. This is the plainer, as, excepting a letter or two, these Old-Northern characters have no kind of likeness to the Latin staves, and therefore *could* not have been taken thence. Indeed had this been the case — why then the *later* the monument (the influence of Latin civilization increasing every day) the *more frequently* would these olden runes have been employed. But we find the very contrary. When

[1] Rev. T. Clark, M. A. The Student's Handbook of Comparative Grammar. 8vo. London 1862. pp. 69-70.

[2] Edélestand du Méril. Essais sur l'origine des Runes. 8vo. Paris 1854. p. 20.

the Latin alphabet has at last triumpht in the middle age — the Old-Northern runes have *altogether disappeared!*

In these old carvings one stumbling-block meets us at the very outset, that there is no separation between word and word. We therefore do not know how to divide them. This peculiarity is common to the *oldest* monuments of every land and in every dialect. In the Wedge-staves the Persian has no marks of division, while the Median has two. In the Phœnician, Etruscan, "Classical" and other ristings, there are *no* separations.

Mr. Marsh observes hereon[1]: — "To an unpractised eye, however familiar with the individual characters, an ancient manuscript or inscription is but a confused and indistinct succession of letters, and no little experience is required to enable us readily to group these letters into syllables, the syllables into words, and to combine the words into separate periods. Indeed, the accidental omission of a space in printing between two successive words in our own language sometimes seriously embarrasses us, and if a whole sentence were thus printed, we should find it almost as unintelligible as a complicated cipher. The following sentences from Fuller's *Worthies* will serve to show the difficulty of reading an unbroken succession of words:

"ITWILLPOSETHEBESTCLERKTOREADYEATOSPELLTHATDEEDWHEREINSENTENCESCLAUSESWORDSANDLETTERSAREWITHOUTPOINTSORSTOPSALLCONTINUEDTOGETHER"."

The above specimen is comparatively easy, the many consonants (English having thrown away the vowel terminations) marking the words. But it is very different where we have multitudes of vowels and an old and obscure floating dialect.

This way of writing adds enormously to the labor of the decipherer, and always casts a shadow of doubt over what he does. For, however successful his reading may appear to him, it *might* have been otherwise divided. In a language like Latin, with its rich literature, and in a parchment with its long context, we have plenty of help; but in pieces rare and only bearing a few runes each, in a dialect long since dead, it is no wonder that the boldest should doubt and waver. Even the *very shortest* inscription may admit of *many* meanings, according as it is divided. Later monuments have usually dots or commas or other marks. But there is one example to the contrary to which I will refer, because it is *in Latin*, which we should suppose would be clear enough.

In Odense, Fyn, Denmark, is the fine old St. Cnut's Church, one part of which was built by Bishop Gisico and finisht in 1361. Round this section runs, high up, a band of square bricks, on which, white on a dark ground, the letters employed have been burnt in. The whole constitutes about a dozen long Leonine verses in Latin, announcing Gisico's work and praying for continued help to the holy fabric. There is no division between the letters, but a half brick between *the verses*. Yet, notwithstanding this great help, the whole is obscure and in one place not to be understood. The learned have never been able to decide, whether the 3rd line begins with

UTQUE SUMME TU . . . . ., or with
UTQUE SUM ME TU . . . . . or with
UTQUE SUM METU

This same inscription has a second trait found in many runic and other carvings, the evident tendency or wish to use letters of different forms. Thus it has 2 different sorts of E, S, T, &c., 3 sorts of M, and so on — all clearly as a decoration. Such instances occur all over Europe. Not very different is the Golden Locket figured in the Archæologia, Vol. 7, plate 30, p. 409-421, and bearing the name ETHELVVLFR, in Latin uncials. The R there stands for REX; or, if it be the nominative-mark, it apparently shows that the owner of this ancient jewel was a Scandinavian. The T is here upside-down (quite Runic), the HE a bind-stave or monogram (also quite Runic), and the R is ornamentally written (as often in runes).

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[1] Lectures on the English Language, 2nd. ed., p. 297. — In "Notes and Queries", 3rd Ser. VII, Feb. 18, 1865, p. 137, is given the inscription on a Bell at Puncknowle, Dorsetshire, date 1629:

BETHATWILPVRCHASHONORSGAYNEMVSTANCIENTLATHERSSTILMAYNTAYNE.

This is of course a riming couplet:

HE THAT WIL PVRCHAS (purchase) HONOR'S GAYNE
MVST ANCIENT LATHERS (ringings, bell-peals) STIL MAYNTAYNE.

Sometimes, but this properly applies to the later inscriptions, we find any winding or straight line which may happen to be introduced used as *the base or fulcrum or staff* on which to carve the side-mark of a rune. Thus we must be careful to examine such side-scorings. On the Gryta stone, Upland, we have two such instances close together: in the TOTUR SINA, which is crost by DIALFI, the down-stroke of the L and the two uplifted arms of the F are added to the winding lines, which for this purpose stand in lieu of staves. So on the *Rök* stone, which see.

Another difficulty is the great number of Wend-runes, Twisted runes, Upside-down runes, and such like. Reverst letters, even whole lines retrograde, or redd from right to left, or from right to left and left to right intermixt (furrow-writing), bind-staves and other curious monogrammatic ties, absence of points between the words (while occasionally such points *are* found, at least partially), and so on, — not only occur on older as well as later runics but in other carvings. In Classical inscriptions bind-staves are not usual till after the time of Christ; when we come to the later Emperors they are abundant, and often difficult to decipher. Such monograms are largely used in early Latin and other manuscripts, and in the Charters and Seals of the early European kings. All such things are sufficiently illustrated in the works devoted to this subject.

But such peculiarities are often long kept up locally by the force of tradition. Many of our middle-age pieces exhibit fantastic and intertwisted and curiously intermixt writing, as well as reverst letters. This is especially the case in Scandinavia, which has scarcely any Engraved Brasses, never had very many, but can still show crowds of tomb-memorials, large and fine sculptured grave-stones and slabs from the early middle age down to the 17th century. On many of these the old style is not yet extinct. Often, even to a late period, they exhibit lines variously decorated and intertwined, sometimes in the genuine style of the truelove-knot and the wormtwist. Letters, too, are found monogrammatic and words strongly contracted. So the granite doorway of Hunseby church, Lolland, Denmark, from the middle of the 13th century, has one of its 4 lines (which are carved along the sides) chiefly of bind-staves, and the whole is redd from right to left. The words are:

SALOMON ME FECIT MONASTERIUM.

This Salomon was a Danish monk, a disciple of St. Dominic, and founded the first monasteries of this order in Denmark[1]. — In Galtrup church, Morsö, Denmark, is preserved an old gilt Communion-cup, on whose stem is a Latin inscription reading from right to left. So on Bells, &c. As we know, such things lingered on occasionally in Great Britain and Ireland, as elsewhere, till modern times. And those who have been at Stratford will remember the "bind-runes", the Latin "tied letters", on Shakespear's tomb-stone there.

Twig-runes occur on both Old-Northern and Scandinavian-runic monuments. For illustrations of this class see the Rök stone. But many other kinds of fanciful and secret writing are found, particularly on Scandinavics, and these we sometimes — as yet — *cannot translate*. Some of these unreadable carvings may be words strongly contracted. In this case we shall probably never get at their meaning. Or one letter may be, designedly, substituted for another — with the same result! When first carved, they would be plain enough to those skilled in Runics, and who also were acquainted with the men and the circumstances. See some remarks on these Twig and Secret Runes in the Chapter headed RUNE-LORE.

Frequent in Scandinavian-runics, rare in Old-Northern, is short writing, leaving out a letter or two, or abridging a term, taking a letter for a syllable or a syllable for a whole word. With this also we are familiar on Coins and carvings of all sorts, Classical and "Barbarian". Of course this is a difficult and perilous point. We must be familiar with the flow of the sentence, the formula and names employed, ere we can safely write the contraction at length.

As examples of the CONTRACTIONS which abound on Scandinavian-Runic monuments, may be mentioned:

Tuna, Södermanland.	*Dybeck. 8vo. No.*	*14.*	RU (= RUNAR).
Gripsholm, Södermanland.	,, ,, ,,	*20.*	DINSAT (= DINSA AT).
Skemby, Södermanland.	,, ,, ,,	*27.*	MRKI (= MIRKI).

[1] See the late learned and amiable Rev. J. F. Fenger's paper hereon in "Ny Kirkehistoriske Samlinger", Vol. 1. Kjöbenhavn 1859. pp. 196-202.

Söderby, Södermanland.	*Dyb. 8vo. No. 85.*	SN (= SIN).
Kumla, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *90.*	SN (= SIN).
Bro, Upland.	*Dyb. fol. No. 2.*	KU (= KUDAN), INKIKHR (= INKIKHR AT).
Hernevi, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *5.*	SN (= SIN), B (= BUNTA).
Finstad, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *7.*	LTU (= LITU), SN (= SIN), KMU (= KUDMUNT), KD (= KUD), HAS (= HANS), KUS (= KUDS), MDR (= MUDIR), FR (= FRU), MA (= MARIA).
Tible, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *10.*	STNFRIÐ (= STINFRIÐ).
Thorsätra, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *13.*	HNUS (= HAN UAS).
Gran, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *41.*	STN (= STAIN).
Jädra, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *43.*	STN (= STAIN).
Enby, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *52.*	KUÐN (= KUÐAN).
Gidsmark, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *54.*	STN (= STAIN).
Ågerstad, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *67.*	MN (= MUN).
Honungsby, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *75.*	UB (= UÞTIR).
Vårfrukyrka, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *83.*	HRIFNKR (= HRIFNKAIR).
Vårfrukyrka, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *84.*	BTR (= BATRI).
Klistad, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *86.*	KUNBRN (= KUNBIRN).
Fockstad, Upland.	,, ,, ,, *147.*	INKIKRÞ (= INKIKIRÞ), UKUÞS (= UK KUÞS).
Kleggum, N. Jutland.	HRIBNOK (= HRIBNO OK), KRIU (= KIRIÞU), KUB (= KUÞL), ÞSI (= ÞAUSI), MÞU (= MUÞUR).	
Vedelsprang, Denmark.	ÞURLF RISÞI (= ? ÞURULFR RISÞI).	
Glia, Upland.	MANUTAN (= MAN NUTAN).	
Gällstad, Upland.	RUA (= RUNA).	
E. Alling, N. Jutland.	RSÞI (= RAISÞI).	
Alsted, Sealand.	STNA (= STAINA), FTIR (= EFTIR), MIKI (= MIRKI).	
Galtrup, N. Jutland.	ÞORKLS (= ÞORKILS).	
Haning, N. Jutland.	SN (= SUN), RSÞI (= RISÞI), MOR (= MODUR), H (= HUK).	
Bunsnæs, Norway.	MISKU (= MISKUNU).	
Gerpin, Norway.	B (= BENEDICTUS), F (= FRUCTUS), U (= UENTRIS).	
Flekkuvik, Iceland.	H H (= HIR HUILER).	
Brattahlid, Greenland.	M D (= ? MARS ÞOTIR).	
Kirk Michael, Man.	AF (= AFTIR).	
Sproge, Gotland.	F (= FIRI), HI (= HIAR), HLIS (= HUILIS).	
Maeshowe, No. 17.	RUN (= RUNAR).	
Korpebro, Södermanl.	RU (= RUNAR).	
Vänderstad, Upland.	FAÞ (= FAÞUR)[1].	

[1] Among the few more than usually contracted English inscriptions may be cited the circular brass plate under a fine figure of a priest, in St. Peter's Church at St. Alban's (Pettigrew, Chronicles of the Tombs, p. 73):

lo al y^t j sp't y^t su' tyme had i
al y^t i gaf j g'de ie't y^t n^ow haf I
y^t I night gaf ne let y^t now abie I
y^t y kepe til I w'et y^t lost y.

Lo all that I spent that sometime had I;
All that I gave in good intent that now have I;
That I neither gave ne (nor) let that now aby (abide) I;
That I kep (kept) till I went that lost I.

And the very much later stone to Richard Weston at Worcester. As he was a Baker, and Bakers often give "short weight", while *his* weight was now "shortened" by *Death*, we have an explanation of the first line:

SHORT OF WEIGHT.
H L T B O
R W
I H O A J R.
AD 1780. A 63.

In Greene's History of Worcester, where this inscription is given, the contractions are thus explained, the author having known all the circumstances:

SHORT OF WEIGHT.
HERE LIETH THE BODY OF
RICHARD WESTON
IN HOPES OF A JOYFUL RESURRECTION.
ANNO DOMINI 1780. AGED 63.

I need not dwell on the variety of words, word-forms and spelling, in connection with local and floating dialects and the happy absence of spelling-books and schoolmasters to reduce all to one artificial standard. But we have an amusing instance on a very *late* stone, in England itself, of both local speech and spelling by ear. I refer to the tomb-stone at Dymock, Gloucestershire[1]:

TOO SWEETUR BABES YOU NARE DID SEE
THAN GOD AMITY GEED TOO WEE
BUT THEY WUR ORTAKEN WEE AGUR FITTS
AND HEAR THEY LYS HAS DEAD AS NITTS.

A pettifogging schoolmaster would have altered this to:

Two sweeter babes you ne'er did see
Than God Almighty gave to us;
But they were o'ertaken with ague fits;
And here they lie as dead as nits.

But we have yet another enemy. Letters currently or carelessly written may not only be easily mistaken for each other, as we all know, (as our *t* and *l*, *n* and *u*, *e* and *c*, &c.), but we sometimes find two Runes written *absolutely alike*, ᛞ standing for both ᛞ (D) and ᛞ (M), and either of these easily mistaken from injury or weathering or peculiarity of carving for ᛖ (E), ᚦ standing for both ᚹ (W) and ᚦ (TH), and so on. It is clear that we cannot read such words unless we know, from the formula or the context, what the word *ought* to be[2]. We must also be able at least to *guess* at the dialect, whether it be North Scandinavian or South, or East or West, or some English or other speech, modified by considerations of *time*, whether we judge it to be from the 3rd or 6th or 9th century. And we must always remember that a Rune *may* dialectically to some extent vary in power, according to age or locality!

It may sometimes appear to those unacquainted with such studies, that the restorations here and there attempted, the fillings-in of letters or whole words no longer clear or even wholly broken away, are hazardous and unjustifiable. Of course it may be so, if thoughtlessly done. But if due care be taken, there is commonly little doubt. The whole depends *on the formula*, as on Classical and other Coins and Pieces. If we are *sure* of the formula, we may depend on the restoration. Thus in English, if we have the known formula HERE LIETH ....., and the 2nd E or half the L or the whole ETH be gone or injured, there is still little risk. So of SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF ....., and so on. If we had the space of 5 letters and then half a D, and then an injury so that only RY OF remained, all would admit that we were right in replacing the whole line, the stone being otherwise English and of a suitable date. So with the Runes. Hence the great importance of collecting and properly using the several Runic standing phrases. And hence the great value of every *new* formula happily discovered. Such a fresh running phrase on a single newly found block may explain a whole group of monuments hitherto unreadable. For the fact that a particular phrase only occurs on one stone is no proof of its being unique. We may have lost *hundreds* on which that particular formula was used. We must perpetually remember that we have only fragments left. Thousands and thousands of Runic Monuments have disappeared during the last 2000 years. The wonder is that we have so many still remaining. But we must of course never make any such restoration without duly marking it, so that it may not be mistaken for what actually stands on the stone. Else we are forgers. And the man that will forge ancient remains would forge a modern Check — if he could! Nothing is more pitiable, nothing more heartless, nothing more contemptible and injurious, than the abuse of talent for base falsification.

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[1] Pettigrew, Chronicles of the Tombs, London 1864, 8vo, p. 222. — In this work many such examples, in English and French, will be found of an older date.

[2] I will not talk of bad and illegible writing — now unfortunately so common — but, for the fun as well as the argument, I will refer to a letter I received the other day in a large clear good bold hand. It had the word *stamped* written 4 times across its many postage-stamps. The following is the result, if interpreted with pedantical strictness:

1st time. — *slampid*, with the t-dash over the *amp*.
2nd time. — *sluuipid*, with the t-dash over the first *u*.
3rd time. — *stcuipul*.
4th time. — *steiupid*.

In this *short* word, "*well*" written, the *s* and the *p* are the only letters always plain.

Among the funeral formulæ there are two or three of great interest, because we can follow them back to the very oldest carved monuments elsewhere, but which particularly occur on Classical stones.

The one is: IFTIR SIK SIALFAN or KUIKUAN, (*AFTER HIM SELF* or himself-QUICK [living]), or equivalent words. This has not yet been found on the very few Old-Northern blocks yet remaining, tho it will probably one day turn up. But it is frequent enough on Scandinavian-Runic pillars, and meets us everywhere on Classical monoliths. It is Greek and Latin

ZΩZA ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΣΕΝ.
ZΩZA ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ.
VIVA FECIT.
VIVA FECIT SIBI.
VIVA SIBI FECIT.
VIVUS FECIT. Or V. F.
VIVI SIBI FECERUNT.
FECIT SIBI ET . . . .
. . . . . ET SIBI FECIT.
PRO SE ET SVIS.
S. V. F. (SIBI VIVUS FECIT).
V. F. C. (VIVUS FACIENDUM CURAVIT).
V. S. P. (VIVUS SIBI POSUIT).
SIBI ET SVIS FECIT.
SIBI ET SVIS LIB.

And so with others. And how noble is the carving in GRUTER, Inscr. p. 1127, num. 1:

FECI QUOD VOLVI
MONUMENTUM · VIBI · OSSA
ET · CINERES · AETERNVM · RE
QVIESCERENT · MIHI.

And Christianity makes no difference. Thus in the Catacombs (Burgon, pp. 179, 180), from the Vatican:

LOCVS HERMETISSE . VIVO · FECET.
The-place of-Hermes; to-himself-living he-made-it.
FORTVNATVI · TEVIVO · TIBI FECIT
VT CVM QVIEVERIT IN PACEM
IN (monogr.) LOCVM PARATVM HA . . . .
Fortunatus in-his-lifetime for-himself made-this, that, when he-should-rest in peace in (Christ), a-place prepared he-might-have.
DECEMBER SE VIVO FECIT SIBI BISOMUM.
December, he yet-living, made for-himself a-double-grave.

That is, for himself and one of his family.

PETRUS · SEBIBV EMIT BISOMV.
Peter, he-yet-living, bought this-double-grave.

The commonest Greek formula in this case was ζῶν (= *he-living*), or some such word, exprest or understood[1].

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[1] "Qui vivi sibi sepulcrum aliisque extruxerunt, eorum simplici nomini appositum est ζῶ. ut c. i. 360. 787. 1151. 3301. Saepe tamen in titulis inferioris aetatis res verbosius exornatur, ut *ὁ δεῖνα ζῶν τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις* et similia. c. i. 3320. 3355. 3100. 3265. 3267. 3314. 3319. 3098. 3294. 1958. 1971. 1977. 1984. 1991. 2026. 2032. 2055[b]. 2201. etc. vel addito in fine ζῇ vel ζώσῃ ibid. 2825. Alias simpliciter *ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι κατεσκεύασε τὸ μνημεῖον* ibid. 2314. 2407. 3032. 3041. 3264. 3278. 3279. 3288. 3300. 3303. 3308. 3315. 3337. vel *ἐποίησε* ibid. 2209. 2241. *ᾠκοδόμησε* 2114. *ἐξήρτισε* 2208. *ἐθηκε* 2026. cf. 2127. *ἐκτισε* in lit. Syr. ap. Burckh. l. c. p. 67. vel *ἐγήρασε* c. i., 3307. *ἐγήρασε καὶ ἐπεσκεύασε* 3334 — *τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ τὴν ἐπικειμένην σορόν* ibid. 2833. *τὸ ἡρῶον* 1098. 2208. *τὸ ἡρῶον καὶ τὴν σορόν* 1981. *τὴν σορόν* 2050. 3068. *τὴν λῆρον* 2209. 2210. 1979. *τὸν πλέτας* 2825. *τὸν βωμόν* 2026. *τὴν καμάραν* 3104. *τὸ λατόμιον* 2032. 2043. *τὸ μνῆμα* 2015. *τὸν τάφον* 1958 etc. vel suppresso verbo ibid. 1988. et voce *τὸ μνημεῖον* vel sim. 2041. 3304. 3312. 3268. 3349." — *Joan. Franzius. Elementa Epigraphices Graecae. 4to, Berolini 1840, p. 341.*

Of the many stones raised by persons to themselves during their life, I will only give one. And this I select because, among other points of interest, it is by a Lady. I refer to the Täby stone, Upland, (Lilj. No. 643; Bautil No. 129; Dyb., 8vo. 2, p. 38; Bure, Ms. Runahäfd No. 398).

KUÞLUK LIT (raisa staina at hulm) A, SUN SIN, AUK AT SIK SIALFA. HAN TO A LANKBARÞA L(AN)TI.

KUTHLUK LET RAISE this-STONE AT (to) HULMI, SON SIN (her), EKE (and) AT (to) HER SELF. HE DIED ON (in) LANGBARTH LAND (= LOMBARDY).

Sometimes both the phrases, AT SIK SELFAN and AT KUIKUAN SIK, which signify each for itself *during the lifetime of the person to whom the stone was raised*, are found united in one and the same inscription. Thus on the Linsunda stone, Upland, (Dybeck, fol. No. 63, Lilj. No. 681, Bautil No. 597):

UIÞASTI RESTI STEN ÞFTIR SELFAN SIK KUIKAN. LISUAL RISTI.

UIÞASTI RAISED this-STONE AFTER SELF HIM QUICK (to himself while yet living). LISUAL RISTED (carved the stone).

And again on the Örby stone, Upland, (Lilj. No. 292, Bure Ms. 7, No. 58, B; Bure Ms. Runahäfd, No. 290):

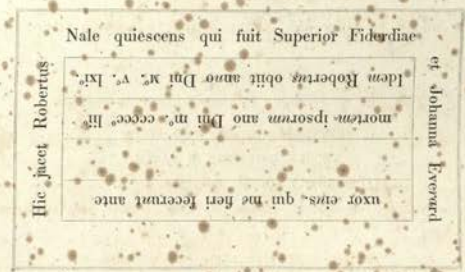
UIHMUNTR LIT AKUA STAIN AT SIK SELFON, SLUIASTR MONO. KUÞ IALÞI SIAL UIHMUNTAR, STURIMONS. UIHMUNTR AUK ÆFIRIÞ AKU MERKI AT KUIKUAN SIK.

UIHMUNT LET HACK (hew) this-STONE AT (to) HIM SELF, he-the-SLYEST (most handy, art-clever) of-MEN. GOD HELP the-SOUL of-UIHMUNT, STEERMAN (Captain, Admiral). UIHMUNT EKE (and) ÆFIRIÞ HACKT (hewed) this-MARK (grave-stone) AT (to) QUICK HIM (to him- and herself while living).

Thus the stone was raised by UIHMUNT and his wife ÆFIRIÞ to themselves in their lifetime.

Several examples on old English monuments could be mentioned, besides that numerous class in Great Britain and Ireland, &c., both Inscribed Brasses and Tombs and Stones; actually raised by the deceast to himself, but without any such express declaration, tho this is evident from *the date* (sometimes of the day, sometimes of the year) of death never having been filled-in by the executors or representatives of the dead man.

We have a curious example of this carving *before death* in an Irish stone, thus inscribed:


Nale quiescens qui fuit Superior Fiderdiae
Hic jacet Robertus
et Johanna Everard
uxor eius qui me fieri fecerunt ante
mortem ipsorum anno Dni m° ccccc° lii°
Idem Robertus obiit anno Dni M° V° Lxi°

Here lies Robert Nale at rest, who was Superior of Fiderd, and Johanna Everard, his Wife, who me let make before their death in the year of Our Lord 1552. The same Robert died in the year of Our Lord 1561.

"In clearing the ground at the east end of the church in Fethard, when laying the foundation of the new vault for the late Colonel Palliser, the workmen found this tomb under the surface, and, having raised it, they cleared and cleansed it; the inscription then became legible. We see by the tenor of the inscription that this Robert Nale was married to Johanna Everard, and was Sovereign of Fethard. His being connected with the noble family of the Everards, and having been invested with the high office of sovereign of Fethard, are incontestible proofs of his high rank and respectability. There is likewise an old tomb in the churchyard of Callan containing the remains of James Neale, who was Alderman and Sovereign of that town, though somewhat later than this date. Therefore, though the family of the O'Neills was cradled and had signalized themselves in Ulster, the Neals of this country had been men of high rank and distinguished merit."[1]

[1] Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archæological Society. New Series. January 1864, pp. 16, 17.

But this venerable custom still continues: — "An estimable prelate of the English Church (may his death be far distant), has the inscription he desires incised upon his tomb, wanting only the date of his decease to be filled in!" [1]

In one rich and remarkable funeral sculpture, the 2nd Hall stone, Gotland, (Säve, No. 15), a Lady has erected a double canopied slab to her late husband, the Deacon Nicholas, and to herself. His full-length effigy is carved in the right compartment, but her own, in the left, *is wanting*, and the runic inscription seems never to have been finisht. Perhaps she thought better of it, and — married! So a living lady in a certain Northern land raised her own monument before her death, but afterwards thought it might prevent her marrying again and so *changing her name*, in which case the stone would be useless. She therefore prudently removed it!

The Runic stone, usually a pious memorial from Father or Mother or Son or Daughter or Friend or Brother-in-arms or Widow or Kinsfolk, is sometimes raised by THE HEIR. So also Classical tombs, when no near relative was left, were often made — generally by direction of the Will, funds being set apart for that purpose — by the HEIRS (HEREDES), or by the sons and heirs (FILII HEREDES).

But particularly interesting is the clause providing against the Desecration of the tomb. In all ages the grave has been violated, out of malice or license or to save expense or by treasure-seekers. The Romans forbade not only unseemly or filthy actions against their tombs — threatening the offender with the anger of the Gods of both Heaven and Hell (HABEAT DEOS SVPEROS ET INFERNOS IRATOS) — but also prohibited raising a funeral pile against them. In Greek [2] and Roman grave-carvings we also often find a clause forbidding to sell or pawn the tomb, or to bury any other person therein, and in some cases heavy fines were added to be paid by those who violated this injunction. These sums were given to the Chief Pontifex or Temple in the neighborhood. But we occasionally find the FORMULA OF EXECRATION. This also I have not yet met with on Old-Northern stones, but it now and then occurs on Scandinavian-Runic in *heathen* times, the formula being that which BANS the offender as an OUTLAW. Well known is the pious Heathen Roman DEPRECATION:

NE TANGITO, O MORTALIS!

REVERE MANES DEOS!

Other such also occur. Such as

PERPETUÆ SECURITATI.

And again, warning off plunderers:

ABITE HINC PESSIMI FURES!

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[1] Notes and Queries, April 30, 1864, p. 363. — The very latest British instance of a stone literally made by a man *to himself* which I have seen, is that mentioned in "Notes and Queries", March 26, 1864, p. 256:

"In the neighbouring burial-ground of St. Braoch [in Scotland], the inscription of a tomb-stone, dated 1802, after the usual record of the period of the death, &c., of a stonemason named Turnbull, concludes by stating that .....

"This humble memorial of James Turnbull was the work of his own hands during his leisure hours."

Perhaps the noblest of these inscriptions "by himself to himself" is that written by the great Sir William Jones in Bengal:

HERE WAS DEPOSITED
THE MORTAL PART OF A MAN
WHO FEARED GOD BUT NOT DEATH,
AND MAINTAINED INDEPENDENCE
BUT SOUGHT NOT RICHES:
WHO THOUGHT NONE BELOW HIM
BUT THE BASE & UNJUST:
NONE ABOVE HIM BUT THE WISE & VIRTUOUS:
WHO LOVED HIS PARENTS, KINDRED, & FRIENDS
AND COUNTRY,
AND HAVING DEVOTED HIS LIFE TO THEIR SERVICE
AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF HIS MIND,
RESIGNED IT CALMLY,
GIVING GLORY TO HIS CREATOR,
WISHING PEACE ON EARTH,
AND GOOD WILL TO HIS FELLOW CREATURES,
ON THE — DAY OF —
IN THE YEAR OF OUR BLESSED REDEEMER —.

He died on the 27th April, 1794, aged 47, and his official funeral stone was raised in St. Paul's Cathedral by the East India Company.

[2] In Greek inscriptions where a sentence is added guarding the sanctity of the tomb, it is usually a warning of the fine which will be exacted in that case. Sometimes the spoliator is devoted to the Infernal Gods, τοῖς καταχθονίοις θεοῖς.

There is a grand ANATHEMA in the following:

QUISQUIS HOC SUSTULERIT
AUT JUSSERIT
ULTIMUS SUORUM MORIATUR!

Then Gruter's num. 4, p. 995:

ROGO TE, MI VIATOR, NOLI ME NOCERE.

So the just and withering ban in Spon, Disq. Ant. p. 240:

OLLA EIVS SI QVI
OVVIOLAVIT AD
IEEROS NON RECIPIATVR!

I will add one Christian Execration, in the same spirit, Mabillon, Mus. Ital. p. 149:

MALE PEREAT INSEPVLTVS
IACEAT NON RESVRGAT
CVM IVDA PARTEM HABEAT
SI QVIS SEPVLCHRVM HVNC
VIOLAVERIT.

This last is entirely in the style of the so abundantly occurring Execratory formulæ of ancient Charters, &c., with which my learned readers are familiar[1].

On one well-known monument (Monumentum Heriæ Thisbes. Fabrettus et J. Sponius, in Miscel. Erud. Ant. p. 24) we have the very word THE DIGGER solemnly enjoined to refrain:

FODERE NOLI NE
SACRILEGIVM COMMITTAS.

The formula A, O or AH, or AG MIK or ME, OWES or OWNS or POSSESSES ME, (*I am the property of .....*), would appear to be exclusively Northern. The Classical phrase was I AM NN'S.

As applied to graves, it is very rare in later times.

This formula, once found and fixt, is of great value, and explains numerous pieces otherwise not to be understood. Accordingly I have printed or engraved several monuments where it is clearly employed, and which illustrate those with Old-Northern Runes.

The oldest Classical funeral inscriptions often give merely the name of the deceast, like as the oldest Runes. But this striking shortness is also found on other monuments, Keltic, Asiatic, &c., of the highest antiquity. Stray examples here and there occur far down in the Christian era, almost to our own days. This extreme brevity, a word or two being sometimes added, is often very affecting. Those of this class in Scandinavian-Runics are commonly very old, treading closely on the heels of the retiring Old-Northern Runes.

As to the execution of these monuments. It is generally supposed that they could only have been carved with *iron* tools; if now and then with bronze, then this metal must have been hardened by a peculiar process. But we have no such writings from the Bronze era, and the oldest among them evidently date from the Early Iron Age. Whether or no *Color* or *Gilding* was employed, to fill in the interstices and give relief, is doubtful. I am inclined to think it was, at least in some cases, several of the finest and most elaborate stones being carved in very shallow lines. Traces of Color have been observed on the oldest stones in England[2] and Wales, and with regard to Ireland Mr. O'Neill observes[3]: "As the artists have shown that they had a high relish for the charms of colour, as they have used it so skilfully in their illuminations, and as they have used it in their metal work with more artistic skill than any other people, it is but a reasonable idea that they would not be behind others in the application of colour to their buildings and monuments. What strengthens this idea is that some of

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[1] See an English parallel on the Silver Boss figured and described in the text to THE THORSBJERG SHIELD-BOSS, and consult the other English examples there given. See also the remarks on the Glavendrup stone, in the Appendix.

[2] Since writing the above, another decisive piece of evidence has turned up, at least as far as Crosses are concerned. Several curiously carved Crosses, from the oldest English period, have just been found at Chester in North-England. They are thus referred to by the Rev. James Raine, M. A., in his invaluable "The Priory of Hexham", Vol. 1, 8vo. Surtees Society, Durham 1864, p. 45: — "Some traces of the Christian worshippers in Saxon [= Old-English] days have been recently discovered [in Chester] in the shape of several fine crosses which still bear traces of colour".

[3] The Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland. Royal 8vo, London & Dublin, 1863, p. 74.

the crosses are carved in very low relief. The Cross of Tuam has the greater part of its excessively intricate carvings cut in very low relief: in fact, they are only in outline on the stone: colour was indispensable for these. Again, there is much carving on the crosses in situations which could not be seen unless aided by colour: and another fact is, that many of the intricate, interlaced patterns on the crosses are found to be composed of several bands, which are so arranged as to form symmetrical patterns; but this arrangement cannot be seen unless displayed by colour." — Much of this reasoning also applies to the Runic monuments, and on the oldest Runic metal-work we often find niello, silvering, gilding, colored stones, &c. Several technical expressions used on the Runic stones would also seem to imply color. Metal at least, particularly Lead, often gilded, was occasionally used on Classical monuments, and many incised grave-stones even yet, or which have been filled-in with lead are still found in Great Britain and Ireland, Germany, &c.

I have only met with two observations towards deciding this question in Scandinavia, a remark in the Ms. Runic collections of Bureus, Tome 7, No. 40, on the Vaxala stone, Upland, (Liljegren No. 195), where he draws 10 runes in *red ink*, and adds: "The red staves first appeared yellow, but on being washt were red, with the most beautiful lines"[1]; — and the statement of the Rev. Peder Harboe in his Ms. account of the Tingvold stone, Norway, a marble slab from the early middle age in the Quire wall of Tingvold Church, that he found and copied "the following incised Runic writing, every stave or dot half a nail deep filled with something like a black shining cement"[2].

There is another point, connected with the use of these runes, on which one word may be said. *Four* instances have been brought together, out of the annals and charters of *all Europe* during many centuries, of highborn people having signed their mark (the Cross, the formal oath of confirmation and authenticity, the name itself being usually written by the Notary) *"pro ignorantia literarum"*, from ignorance of letters. It has therefore been assumed that *innumerable* magnates at that time could not write! — The Rev. S. R. Maitland has discust this question in his own charming way in "The Dark Ages", 1st ed. p. 11 and fol., and grants that *4* instances may be admitted as a correction of the *innumerable*. But it is probable enough that at least the first of these, Wihtred King of Kent in 671-725, could write as well as any modern smatterer. He doubtless only used the alphabet of his fathers, *the Old Runes*. Many of these chiefs had not yet learned the mysteries of the Roman tung, before which so much of native lore and invaluable tradition unhappily fell away with such immense rapidity. — But even others are now beginning to suspect *and to assert* that the English could write before Christian missionaries came with the Latin alphabet:

"It has been assumed by the learned that writing was introduced into England at the epoch of Augustine. If this assumption be correct, we must attribute it solely to his agency and his agents, or, in other words, to the foreign priests who accompanied him. Yet this assumption involves many things which on examination appear insuperable difficulties.

"In the first place, though we recognize in the Anglo-Saxon alphabet in general the familiar cursive letters of Rome, yet we find letters unknown to the Italian — we mean the *theta* [Þ] and the *w* [Ƿ]. How could these have been introduced by Italians, who neither required the symbols nor could pronounce the sounds?

"If native priests regulated the alphabet, we must push still more forward the introduction of letters. For the choice and application of an alphabet would be as a matter of consideration so a matter of time. And when we compare the dates of the earliest existing vernacular *diplomata*, there is not time enough for Augustine's English clergy to have introduced Anglo-Saxon letters and spelling into England.

"But, after all, it is nowhere said by Beda that Austin and his monks taught the Anglo-Saxon to read and to write. And Austin nowhere says the same of himself or his followers. This silence is conclusive, for if he or they had done so would they not have boasted (and legitimately) of so great a contribution to genuine civilization?

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[1] "De röde stavarna syntes utan på först gula, men rifne voro de röde med skönste ferger."

[2] "efterfölgende skrift udgravet og hver bogstav eller prik en halv nagl dyb fyldt med noget som sortglinsende Sement." This Ms. is dated Tingvold Parsonage, 12 Nov. 1730. The stone is No. 2023 in Liljegren.

"The Gallic of the continent was a written language[1]. There is, therefore, a presumption that the Romano-British of the south and east should be a written language also. There was as much civilization in the southern provinces of Britain as in any of the Gauls, with the exception perhaps of the *provincia*.

"The laws of Æthelberht are evidence that the vernacular was a literary language so early as one century only after the completion of the Jutic conquest.

"All experience is against a language of such power, range and polish as the Anglo-Saxon language was being perfected in so short a period.

"The absence of histories or annals composed in Roman Britain cannot be objected against this view, any more than the same actual absence of histories and annals in Gaul can be said to prove that there was no learning and literature in that country. But it is not true to say that such histories and annals did not exist in Britain, however untraceable they are now.

"There is evidence that there was history, not merely before Beda, but before Christianity. There is at least one event told in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which that writer has not mentioned. It is a plain, prosaic story of the heathen age, which could not have been taken down in later days from the traditional effusions of scopas and wandering minstrels, and yet, though unnoticed by Beda, it is historic, and is confirmed by unexceptionable Kymric authority. This historical notice tells us, under the year of our Lord 577, that Cuthwin and Ceawlin fought with Britons and slew three kings — Conmægl (Conmagil, Commail, or Coinmagil), Condidan (or Candidan), and Farinmægl (Farinmail or Farinmagil), at the place that is named Derham, and took three cities from them — Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath[2].

"This is a concise account of the West-Saxon campaign for the year 577; and if we turn to Llywarch Hen, we find the same series of events referred to, and two of those Kymric heroes, viz., Kendelann (or Kynddylan) and Keranmail, father and son, eulogised and lamented by that poet in a contemporary effusion"[3]. — *H. C. Coote*, A neglected fact in English History, 8vo, London 1864, pp. 109-112[4].

The destruction of Inscribed Stones has been universal in all lands and ages. Of late years MACADAMIZING the roads has smasht hundreds which had stood unmolested for many centuries. In older times the heathen monuments were ruthlessly buried down out of sight, or wilfully broken, that they might not offend Christian eyes. When merely buried, they are often exhumed comparatively uninjured. Thus Churchwardens may sometimes have done a service, and future finds may reward future diggers. For instance, in the year 2000 somebody may light upon stone treasure-trove at Hexham: "On the day we visited the church they were forming a large warm-air drain, 6 feet wide and 6 feet deep, and 120 feet long, through the length of the north transept; and to form a cover for this drain the contractors were using up fragments of Norman coffin-lids with zigzag ornaments, and entire gravestones of more

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[1] "Lamp. Vita Alex. Sev. 59; see Dig. l. 32, tit. 1, § 11. Here Ulpian lays down that *fidei commissa* may be written in any language, *e. g.* the *Gallicana*. In addition to this we have Lucian's testimony that the Keltic was a written language. Alexander, the *ψευδομαντις* (Tauchnitz's edition, vol. 2, c. 51, p. 256) received letters in this language — *"ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάροις πολλαχοῦ ἐχρησεν ἐι τις τῷ πατρίῳ ἤροιτο φωνῇ Συρίστι ἢ Κελτιστί"*. We have also Gallic inscriptions (*vide* Roget de Belloguet, Ethnogénie Gauloise, première partie Glossaire Gaulois)."

[2] "Anglo-Saxon Chron."

[3] "Villemarque's Bardes Bretons, pp. 66-115; Konmael is not mentioned by this or any other bard (p. 66)."

[4] In answer to several fallacies contained, in my opinion, in this interesting and valuable work I would observe: — 1. That the English ("Anglo-Saxons") were not even, (with some exceptions), "Saxons", still less "Germans"; — 2. That no reasonable man ever talks of the "extermination" of the Britons by the "barbarian" invaders; — 3. That these Northern invaders, so far from being "barbarians", possest a high civilization, tho it was not, happily, exactly "Roman"; — 4. That the system of "Castes", of Landed Property and its Burdens, of Recruiting, &c., is found, in all essentials, in the *Scandinavian* lands, where no Romans ever set foot, as far back as history and tradition run; — 5. That the word TÚN, TÚNA, TÚNE, (enclosure, homestead) is common from the very oldest times in all the Scandian lands, lands which never saw a Roman invader; — 6. That the English no more learned their Heathen, Asiatic, seven Weekday names from the Romans than did all the other Scando-Gothic tribes — among whom they are used as far back as we can go; — 7. That all wise men admit a considerable influence of Roman manners and language on the Old-English, and the natural continuance of many Roman-British customs and establishments, but that — 8. Many of the parallel words adduced are common to both the Roman and the Scando-Gothic tungs, and therefore *not* Roman, others are English, and others such as had wandered also to lands where no Roman ever came; — 9. If Hengest and Horsa are "a myth", so is Mr. Coote himself, as far as I know, for I have never *seen* that ingenious scholar.

modern date, because *the sexton thought the churchyard too full of them and wanted them put out of his way*"[1].

When not destroyed, such monuments have often done duty a second time, become *palimpsests*. This usage also can be traced back to the oldest times. So even in the Roman Catacombs a stone is quoted by Burgon, p. 215, which has "commemorated" twice, first on the one side for one person and then on the other for a second, — "just as mediæval brasses and recent tombstones". Mr. Marryat mentions an amusing instance in Skåne: "In Jutland the tombstones are disposed of for secular purposes: here, in Skåne, they are used two or three times over, causing much perplexity to those unacquainted with the fashions of the past. I myself was somewhat taken aback at a fresh blackened stone, bearing date 1848, with inscription to the memory of a village schoolmaster, in which the man was represented in a ruff and farthingale of the 17th century"[2].

But we have everywhere the wonderful *Instinct of Destruction* — often for its own sake, as well as for plunder, bravado, glory, the mere materials, and without which Instinct the world would be overfilled with past remains and there would be no room for men to move or for fresh creations of art — as well as the *Instinct of Preservation*, without which we should know nothing of the Past. In the High North we have repeated instances, in the Sagas and elsewhere, of men opening and robbing the mounds of the dead even in the earliest periods. Sometimes this was done by the nearest kin of the sleeper, to obtain some precious weapon. But generally the object sought was — the golden and silver ornaments buried in the cairn. However forbidden by law and custom, this system went on; it afterwards became too general, when Christianity regarded all cairn-burial as heathen and hateful[3]. Still later, the only question was, who was the legal owner of the spoil found. This was foolishly answered by assigning it either to the King or the Landowner, to whom of course the discoverer very seldom gave it. It is now very properly acknowledged to be the property of the finder, and antiquities are therefore now commonly preserved, not melted down or destroyed for secrecy. But, as we have said, we often find old graves to have been already opened and rifled.

The *number* of Runic pieces still extant in originals or transcripts (for hundreds have been smasht and lost) is very considerable, notwithstanding the enormous destruction which has been going on for so many centuries. Those in *Old-Northern* runes — as being so much more ancient — are of course comparatively few, as the following pages will sorrowfully show. Those in *Scandinavian-Runics* may be roughly given as upwards of 2000, (excluding rune-bearing Coins), of which the great mass — say about 3-fourths — are in Sweden. Many have been discovered of late years and others are found from time to time. They are now better taken care of than formerly, seldom at once wantonly destroyed. In the last few years more than 30 runic stones, &c., have turned up in Great Britain alone, most of them in the Orkneyan "Maeshowe" so generously opened and described and so ably rescued and perpetuated (thanks to his facsimiles and casts) by Mr. Farrer. We may reasonably hope that fresh finds will yet be made in all the Northern lands, and the day may come when Scandinavian Iceland, now so feebly represented, will add several to our store, for "diggings" would doubtless meet with a rich harvest in that famous iland. May these pages be a slight help to reading them, and may all the noble of whatever rank, poor or rich, "lewd or learned", do their best towards preserving them when fortunately restored to us! Were these monuments Eastern or "Classical", or were they rare "Birds, Beasts and Butterflies", Governments and Individuals would hasten to lavish thousands of pounds upon them. But as they *only* belong to *our own* races, as they are *only* the oldest memorials of *our own* art and language, we "enthusiasts" can scarcely screw out a few miserable shillings for their protection and description. Scandinavia is greatly in advance of us on this head. In Great Britain, for Cooks and Stables shining sovereigns are always forthcoming; for the more than "royal" monuments of our olden age — our Parliaments and Societies commonly grudge as many farthings. We shall one day awake to more selfrespect, and shake off the longborne fetters imposed by our pedantic onesided humdrum "Classical Educational System". The free children of the free "Barbarians" will at last refuse to be any longer *the slaves* of "the Romans". Voluntary *companionship* is quite enough.

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[1] The Builder. Quoted in Archæologia Æliana, 8vo, Feb. 1861, p. 158.

[2] Horace Marryat. One Year in Sweden. London, 1862. Vol. 1, p. 25.

[3] For other remarks on this head see the Glavendrup stone, in the Appendix.

RUNE-LORE.

In order to obtain *certainty*, as far as we can, on all that regards the history and values of Runic letters, I have been anxious to examine and copy not only all the Old-Northern Runic monuments known to me, but also all the Manuscript Alphabets of the same which I have been able to discover. In reading these oldest carved pieces I have gone a double way; I have tried to decipher them pragmatically, practically, giving to the several obscurer letters the powers which they *must* have from the context; and also punditly, theoretically, by a careful comparison of all the Staverows. Both these ways help and explain each other, and eventually coincide.

All the Manuscript Alphabets. This was the only way of avoiding endless accusations. No one can now say I have omitted anything in order to help a theory or suppress a truth. Of course, in this way, I have given many Alphabets of later date and little value. But better too many than too few. And besides, we learn something from all.

All which I have been able to discover either privately, or in the Runic works which have fallen into my hands. Doubtless some others may yet be found, and it is to be hoped that every such may be at once made public. As I everywhere give my authorities, I can only be responsible for fidelity to them.

Among the Old-Northern, I have also copied the old Scandinavian Staverows occurring in codices. The earliest of these are older than most of those carved on stone in Scandinavia itself, and are therefore of great value. We thus see that they everywhere offer variations, and that the Stung (or Dotted) Runes are older than is generally supposed. As specimens, I have also given two Scandinavian-Runic Alphabets carved on stone, one from Scotland and one from Denmark, the Maeshowe Slab and the Barse Font, besides a Scandinavian Bell.

The final result of this whole investigation is, that all the old manuscripts containing Runic Alphabets are *from England*, from that Northern country which was first Christianized, which first learned to use their old letters in skinbooks, as literature in the modern sense; for the mere *carving* of Runes on stone and wood &c. was as old as we can trace these peoples themselves. To be able to read the old letters, which were still kept up by the unconverted tribes, the Clerks copied various alphabets into their codices. Most of the manuscripts are indubitably English, and are chiefly in England to this very day. The rest were carried into heathen lands by English or British missionaries, or were copied from English originals by the disciples of these missionaries, or became the common property of successive scribes. The flow of peoples was from Scandinavia, particularly Denmark, to England, and they took their native letters with them.

A single glance will show that all the Runes are sister staves, descended from a source which also produced the alphabets of the Phœnicians and the Classical peoples. All throw light on each other. Many of the types, such as the B, I, L, R, &c., correspond either with the Old-Greek or the Old-Latin, while others have as plainly continued a tradition answering to that of the Phœnician, even where the Classical had departed therefrom.

This Phœnician-Semitic alphabet was, however, in so far modern as that it was greatly abridged. It contained only 22 letters; 4 of these (the H — for which the Runic prefers the Phœnician mark for CH —, the Z, the GH and the SH) are more or less wanting in the Runic. But this Phœnician staverow supplies valuable connecting links towards understanding the Runic forms. We thus see that the "Scandinavian Futhork" is not *younger* than the "Old-Northern", but a peculiar modification and compendium of the common Runic traditions. We see at once from the Phœnician varieties of the A-letter, that the Old-Northern ᛉ (A) (yA), the Old-English ᛘ (eA), ᚱ (A), ᚱ (O), and the Scandinavian ᛅ (A), ᚼ (O) all had a common origin; like as this A and O continually interchanged in the dialects of the Northern lands, as they do to this day (AN, ON, HAND, HOND, &c.); while the O. North. ᛟ (O) is almost a copy of the Phœnician O. But we also see that the Scandinavian ᛘ (M) is not younger than the O. North. ᛗ (M), both forms being only varieties of the Phœnician and Palmyrene M. In the same way the Runic ᛋ and ᛋ (S) are both mere slight changes from the Phœnician S. The O. North. NG is apparently sprung from the Phœnician 18th letter.

I have therefore judged it proper to add these three connecting alphabets.

THE PHŒNICIAN ALPHABET.

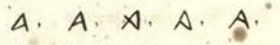
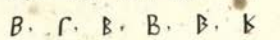
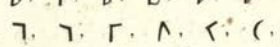
Chiefly from the Danish Orientalist the Rev. J. C. Lindberg:

1. [Hebrew *Aleph*]
2. [„ *Beth*]
3. [„ *Gimel*] (also and)
4. [„ *Daleth*]
5. [„ *He*] (also)
6. [„ *Vau*]
7. [„ *Zain*] (also and)
8. [„ *Chet*]
9. [„ *Tet*] (also and)
10. [„ *Jod*] (and and)
11. [„ *Caph*]
12. [„ *Lamed*]
13. [„ *Mem*]
14. [„ *Nun*]
15. [„ *Samech*]
16. [„ *Oin*]
17. [„ *Phe*]
18. [(? NG–GS) *Zade*]
19. [Hebrew *Koph*]
20. [„ *Resh*]
21. [„ *Shin*]
22. [„ *Tau*]

Very striking is the similarity in form to our Runes of the characters on Himyaritic old Bronzes, Stones, &c., where the letters are full and square, and not debased as in Mss.

THE OLD GREEK ALPHABET.

Chiefly from FRANZIUS:

1. A. 
2. B. 
3. G. 
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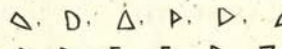
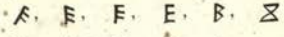
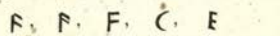
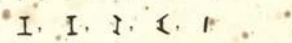
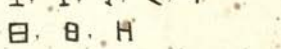
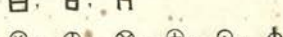
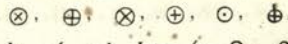
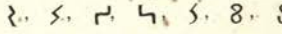
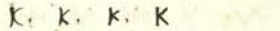
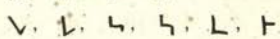
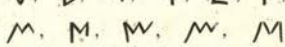
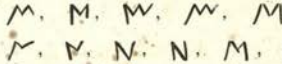
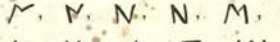
5. E. 
6. V, F. 
7. Z. 
8. H. 
9. TH. 
10. I. 
11. K. 
12. L. 
13. M. 
14. N. 
15. X. 
16. O. 
17. P. 
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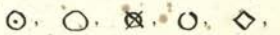
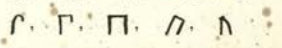
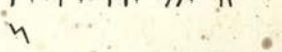
19. Q. 
20. R. 
21. SH (S). 
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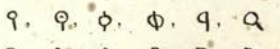
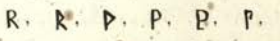
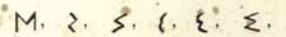
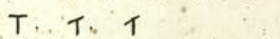
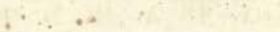
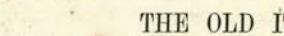
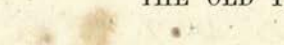
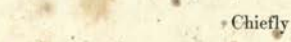
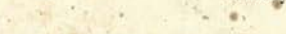
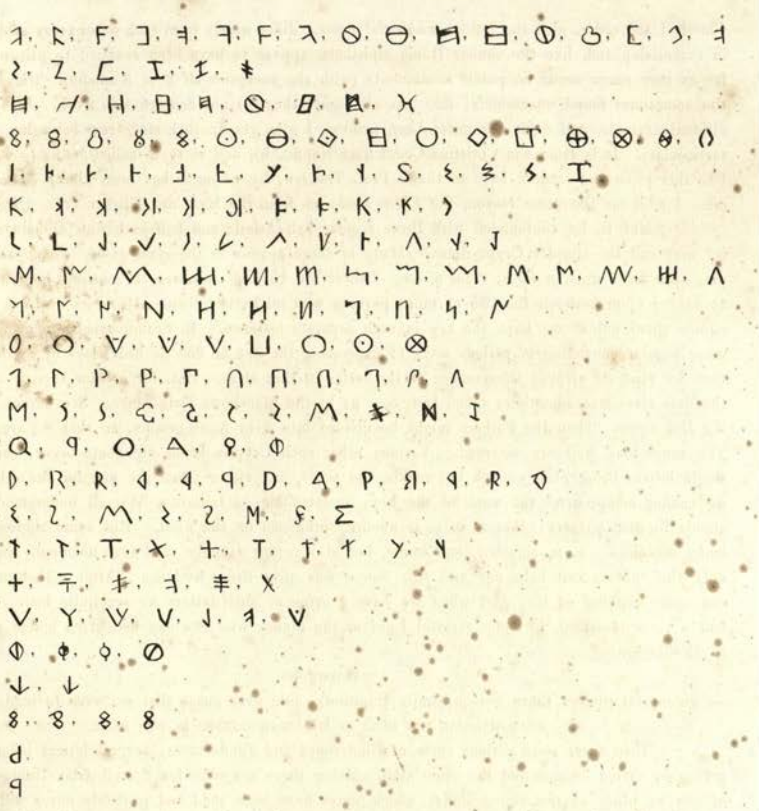
23. U, Y. 
24. PH. 
25. CH. 
26. PS. 

THE OLD ITALIAN ALPHABET.

Chiefly from MOMMSEN:

1. A. 
2. B. 
3. (C) G. 
4. D. 
5. E. 

6. V.
7. Z.
8. B.
9. TH.
10. I.
11. K.
12. L.
13. M.
14. N.
15. O.
16. P.
17. S.
18. Q.
19. R.
20. (SH) S.
21. T.
22. X.
23. U, Y.
24. PH.
25. CH.
26. F.
27. (s).
28. RS.



For the sake of completeness, I have drawn up the following Tables of the signs in the Alphabets. All are, as far as may be, proximately in chronological order. In this way we can follow them from the earliest to the latest times.

It will be observed that several of these alphabets approach very nearly, or have been more or less influenced by, quite another class of Abecedaria occurring frequently in manuscripts, and which may be called SECRET, MAGICAL OR FANCIFUL. Some of these are doubtless very old, perhaps older than the time of Christ if we could trace them back; others are later, some comparatively young. In fact we have similar CIPHER alphabets in every century, and may make them ourselves if we like. Bastard Scandinavian-Runic stave-rows of the same sort exist *by scores*, down to the end of the last century, mostly used in Charms and Witchcraft, and other such barbarous characters occur in the famous CYPRIANUS- and FAUST- and other Witchcraft-books of the 16th and 17th centuries. These *older* stave-rows have various names, some of them fanciful enough, such as *Adam's letters, Angel staves, Noah's signs, Solomon's marks, the Egyptian alphabet*, &c. &c. Wuttke is right in his idea[1], that the best of these alphabets are barbarized corruptions of a common Asiatic original. They follow the usual

[1] H. Wuttke, Cosmographia Aethici Istrici, Lipsiæ 1854, 8vo. At p. 85 this excellent scholar has engraved yet another alphabet of this kind, taken from the Leipsic Ms. It begins: ALUCMOY, BECACH, CATHY, DELFOY, &c. — See also T. Bang, Cœlum Orientis et Prisci Mundi Trinde; Hauniæ 1657, 4to; — Ol. Bang, De quibusdam Babyloniorum & Chaldæorum Antiquitatibus; Hafniæ 1733, 4to; — the works mentioned by Wuttke, l. c. p. LXXVI. and others.

Classical ABC order, give the letters wonderful names, differ widely from each other (very seldom agreeing in essentials), and, like the similar Runic alphabets, appear to have been confined to private use, in so far as they never occur on public monuments (with the exception of 2 or 3 modern "tricks on stone"), tho sometimes found on amulets, &c. At all events they do not concern this work. Still, as an additional example, and as it has never been printed, I give yet another stave-row belonging to this fantastic class. It is from the Christina Codex (see No. 20, b), and is there called NORMA (= NORMANORUM). For this piece our readers have to thank Prof. Thorsen, by whom it has been kindly communicated to me. I add, for the same reason, the *Littere Gothorum* from the Ms. Cott. Titus D, XVIII. (See No. 54, b).

Not to be confounded with these regular half-Asiatic and half-barbarous alphabets, are what we may call the simpler Crypt-runes. Many of these appear in the stave-rows. Some are very simple, dots for vowels, B for A, C for B, &c. Others are twisted characters or entirely conventional signs, as agreed upon between the two or more persons who might use them. Of course we can seldom decipher them unless we have the key in each separate instance. In Scandinavia were many such, the more regular consisting of various ways of expressing the 1st or 2nd or 3rd Class of the Futhorc, and then by separate strokes the number of the letter in that class. But, for greater secrecy or ingenuity, the first class was sometimes taken last, &c., as in the Maeshowe Twig-runes. See hereon the text to the *Rök* stone. Then the Futhorc might be divided into 4 or more groups, so that we are never sure. We must look well ere we read. Various other such Cryptic Runic alphabets occur, sometimes the single letters being plain enough but making no sense, and either taken the one for the other in a way we cannot comprehend for want of the key, or standing as initials. We all understand that H. M. stands for HER MAJESTY, that K. C. B. is KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE BATH. But some abbreviations have many meanings. A. M. signifies ANNO MUNDI, but also ARTIUM MAGISTER, and ANTE MERIDIEM. In such cases only the context can help us, and this *context* was often *living tradition*. After a thousand years we can make nothing of it. And when we have a *string* of such letters we are quite lost. Suppose we had a stone inscribed, by some fanciful Lord of the Manor who one day had given a fête to the Duke of Wellington:

FMTDOWDITP.

— no mortal (unless there were a family tradition) could ever guess that we were to read:

FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON DINED IN THIS PARK.

Then there were various sorts of Bind-runes and Bind-staves, several letters being joined together or carved on one and the same staff. Hence there are some few Scandinavian-Runic monuments, of one or other of the above kinds, which never have been redd and probably never will. The obscurity of many among these Crypt-runes — obscure even in old days, and how much more so now — is well exemplified by an *historical* instance. When the famous Snorre Sturlason's death was resolved upon, he was warned by a friend, Odd Sveinbiornson, in a letter written in a kind of runes then called *Stafkarlaletr*. But Snorre, the most learned and accomplisht man then living in Scandinavia, *could not decipher the staves*. So he fell a victim to the death-plot, and was struck down September 22, 1241.

No one can look over the Alphabets and Tabulated Lists thus brought together, without at once recognizing the substantial unity of the Runic Alphabet. In some cases different elements have been variously employed, and have thus branched into separate forms. In others the variations are mere misreadings or misdrawings by rapid or unskilful copyists. In others they have been purposely twisted and altered in order to produce a private cipher. But the main features are everywhere nearly the same, and it is these main features alone which we meet with on the monuments. The exuberance of barbarized marks found in manuscripts is a sign of lateness of date, and, as far as we know, never merged from private into public life. The same thing holds good of the Scandinavian-Runic staverow, as compared with the crowd of later secret or magical characters. Many of these barbarizations spring from the efforts to make "differences", in order to accomodate the Runic to the Roman alphabet.

Everywhere we see the Scandinavian gradually, not suddenly, fashioning itself out of the Old-Northern staverow, and chiefly by casting away many of the letters. We must also remember the local variations ever and anon arising, the multitude of tribes and folk-groups, the great contrasts of dialect and pronunciation, the influences of the civilization of surrounding peoples or of visits, for war or peace, to other lands. This will more than explain all *real* differences, for most variations, as we have said, are merely in *the hand* or *the graving-tool*. Every fresh find brings to light new evidences of common

agreement and yet of multitudinous change. A "rare" form of a Rune is only a conventional phrase. Had we *thousands* of monuments instead of *units*, we should find in many cases our theories pitilessly overturned. All we can say with any certainty is, that there never was an iron uniformity in the use of their Runes in the Northern lands; and that we cannot be sure that the provincial peculiarities which show a certain amount of difference between the Scandinavian and English *olden* Runes, may not have existed while the English tribes were yet settled in their Scandinavian home. Once more, whether as to Runes or Language, let us not generalize too hastily. Let us perpetually remind ourselves that we have only a very few fragments remaining of the Lingual Culture which reigned supreme among our forefathers during the first thousand years of the Christian era, and which was partially in use for centuries later, especially in the Scandinavian lands.

RUNIC ALPHABETS.

It is a singular piece of good fortune, and a wonderful help to the reading of the monuments, that so many Runic Staverows have come down to our time. Most precious of all are the Metallic Alphabets — all of them older than the year 500, all of them genuine (not book-made or fanciful), and all of them clearly of Northern origin. All three, as we might expect, are in the ancient Futhorc order, for not till about the 9th century do we find these runes manufactured and arranged in the order of the Latin ABC.

I have copied with scrupulous exactness *all* the runic alphabets known to me. Others will perhaps turn up from time to time, but this collection is by far the richest which has hitherto appeared. Of course I have not engraved the many Scandinavian Futhorcs found on stones, bells, wood, &c. &c., in the Scandian lands. This would have been useless, as they are mostly of a comparatively later date and offer nothing new. But I have given every Scandinavian staverow found in any old codex, and some on stone or metal when they offered anything of interest.

The total number thus brought together is 61. Of these no fewer than 40 are from the North itself (35 from England, 5 from Scandinavia); the rest are from manuscripts which have wandered to other countries or have been transcribed there, namely: 8 from Germany, 4 from Switzerland, 2 from France, 2 from Italy, 1 from Belgium, and 4 from Printed Books manuscript authority unknown.

Entirely barbarous and fanciful alphabets for secret writing, such as were fabricated so largely in the middle age, and are so still, I have not been anxious to collect. But a couple of the oldest and most interesting are given among the rest, whenever they have any smell of the runes still lingering about them.

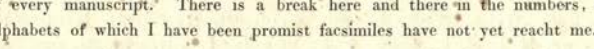
In every case I have given both the names and the powers of the staves, whenever they are found added to the runic characters. All have been engraved most carefully as they appear in the codices or my authorities, but they have been copied after one general scale, for practical use in my work. We gain nothing by having a rune half an inch long, or so small as to be scarcely legible. Those in the ancient or Futhorc order come first, then those arranged as a Latin-ordered alphabet. I have given, distinctly but in few words, *all* the information known to me as to the character and resting-place of every manuscript. There is a break here and there in the numbers, as one or two O. N. Runic Alphabets of which I have been promist facsimiles have not yet reacht me.

OLD-NORTHERN (AND SCANDINAVIAN) STAVEROWS.

A. THE FUTHORC.

N°. 1. ? *Earlier than the 5th century.* The Bracteate Letter-row. East-Gotland, Sweden. — Bracteate No. 22.

WEND-RUNES (letters retrograde):



O; NG; L; M; E; B; T; S; A; P; YO; Y; I; N; H; W; G; C; R; Æ; D; U; F

N°. 2. ? *5th century.* The Charnay Brooch, Burgundy, France.

RUNES:

ᚠ ᚢ ᚦ ᚫ ᚱ ᚳ ᚷ ᚹ ᚻ ᚾ ᛁ ᛄ ᛇ ᛈ ᛉ ᛋ ᛏ ᛒ ᛖ (ᛗ) (ᛜ) ᛞ

F; U; Þ; Æ; R; C; G; W; H; N; I; Y; yO; P; X; S; T; B; E; (M); (NG); D

The edge of the fibula stopt the alphabet; but we have, among the other staves carved, the additional ᚠ ᛯ ᛝ ᚠ and ᚳ (A; A; O; K and K), besides slight variations of runes already given, ᚢ ᚠ ᚹ ᚦ ᚾ (U; Æ, Æ, Þ, N).

3. ? *5th century.* The Thames Knife.

RUNES:

ᚠ ᚢ ᚦ ᚩ ᚱ ᚳ ᚷ ᚹ ᚻ ᚾ ᛁ ᛄ ᛇ ᛈ ᛉ ᛋ ᛏ ᛒ ᛖ ᛗ ᛚ ᛝ ᛞ ᛟ ᚪ ᚫ ᚣ ᛡ ᛠ

F; U; Þ; O; R; C; G; W; H; N; I; Y; yO; P; A; S; T; B; E; NG; D; L; M; Œ; Á; Æ; Ú; eA.

In the name at the end are also the slight variations: ᚦ ᚷ (Þ and G).

4. ? *8th century.* Isidorus-Codex, Brussels, No. 155. — From Mone, Quellen und Forschungen, 8vo, Aachen 1830. P. 552 and facs. No. 1. (Same as W. Grimm's Tab. 2, No. 5, only more correctly copied.)

Nationality of this Ms. not mentioned; but as the vowel-sounds are *Old-English* the book has of course, directly or indirectly, the same origin.

RUNES, LETTERS and NAMES:

ᚠ, f, fech; ᚢ, u, ur; ᚦ, th, thorn; ᚩ, o, os; ᚱ, r, rad; ᚳ, c, ken; ᚷ, g, geuo; ᚹ, uu, uung; ᚻ, h, hagal; ᚾ, n, not (*twice written, and therefore the one nearly scratcht out*); ᛁ, i, is; ᛄ, ger, iar (*may also be redd* iur); ᛇ, ih, hic; ᛈ, p, pert; ᛉ, il, ilix; ᛋ, s, sigil; ᛏ, t, ti (*with a mark, perhaps of contraction, over the* t); ᛒ, b, berc; ᛖ, e, hæc (*perhaps* hæ); ᛗ, m, man; ᛚ, l, lag; ᛝ, in, hinc; ᛞ, d, dag; ᛟ, oe, othl; ᚪ, a, as; ᚫ, [æ], e... (? esc; *the letter, the rune all but a side-stroke, probably a part of the usual* ᚪ, *and the name all but* e, *cut away*); ᚣ (*no name or letter, but doubtless* Q); ᛡ, eo (*no name*); ᛠ, k (*no name*); ᛤ, g... (= gar; *half of the rune, and all but the* g, *cut away*).

5. ? *9th century.* Old-English Ms., *now lost*, Cotton Otho, B. 10. Wanley, in his Catalogus, p. 190, speaks of it as "Codex membr. et antiquus in fol." From this Ms. Hickes also printed the appended famous and invaluable O. English Runic Poem, best edited and translated by Kemble in his Runes of the Anglo-Saxons, pp. 13-19. — From Hickes, Thesaurus, Vol. 1, p. 135.

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

ᚠ, f, feoh; ᚢ, u, ur; ᚦ, ð, ðorn; ᚩ, o, os; ᚱ, r, rad; ᚳ, c, cen; ᚷ, g, gyfu; ᚹ ᛈ, uu, wen, w; ᚻ ᚼ ᚽ, h, hægl; ᚾ ᛦ, n, nyd; ᛁ, i, is; ᛅ, gæ, ger; ᛋ ᛊ, eo, eoh; ᛇ, p, peorð; ᛉ, x, eolhx; ᛋ, s, sigel; ᛏ, t, tir; ᛒ, b, beorc; ᛖ, e, eh; ᛗ, m, d, man, deg; ᛚ, l, lagu; ᛜ ᛝ, ing, ing; ᛟ, oe, eþel; ᛞ, d, m, dæg, mann; ᚨ, a, ac; ᚫ, ae, æsc; ᚣ, y, yr; ᛡ, io, io, iar; ᛠ, ear, tir ear; ᛣ, q, cweorð; ᚴ (*no name or letter, but doubtless* K); ᛋ, st, z, stan; ᚸ, g, gar.

6. ? *9th century.* Codex containing Isidorus de Accentibus, &c. St. Gall, Switzerland, No. 878, p. 321.

The SCANDINAVIAN Futhorc.

From W. Grimm, Zur Lit. der Runen, in Jahrbücher der Literatur, 1828, 8vo, Wien, Vol. 43, p. 27, from a transcript by Ildefons von Arx.

RUNES and NAMES given in alliterative lines, which I read and divide thus:

ᚠ feu forman wreat[1]	*FEU foremost write,*
ᚢ ur after	*UR after,*
ᚦ thur is thiritte stabu	*THUR is third stave,*
ᚩ os is thimo oboro	*OS is to-that over (next);*
ᚱ rat end os uuritan	*RAT and OS written*
ᚳ chaon thanne chumet	*CHAON then cometh;*
ᚼ hagal ᚾ naut habet	*HAGAL NAUTH hath-next-him,*
ᛁ is ᛇ ar ᛋ endi sol	*IS, AR and SOL,*
ᛏ...[2] ᛒ brita[3] ᛘ endi man	*TIR, BRITA and MAN,*
ᛚ lagu the leohto	*LAGU the light (bright),*
ᛉ yr al bihabendi.	*YR all be-having (ending).*

The nationality of this Ms. is not ascertained, and Grimm, p. 27, thinks that the above was written first by an "Anglosaxon", and copied with some alterations by a German. But it is all good Old-North-English, and the codex has probably the same origin.

In this *"Abecidarium Nordi"*, [Nordmannicum], as it is called in the manuscript, the Old-Northern Runes are added by the same hand, where they differ. Thus, above the F is written ᚠ, above and below the H we have ᚺ and ᚻ, above A ᚨ, and above Y ᚣ.

In Hattemer's facsimile of this alphabet (Denkmahle des Mittelalters, 8vo, Vol. 1, St. Gallen 1844, Plate 1, No. 2) the form of the Runes is substantially but not minutely the same, while the text is not so correct. There is, however, one improvement. The Old-Northern Rune *under* the H and *above* the M is here not N but ᛗ (M), to which it therefore belongs. The name *brita* may also here be redd *birca*.

The above Old-English Runic lines have lately been printed as "German" by K. Müllenhoff and W. Scherer (Denkmäler Deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII-XII Jahrhundert, 8vo, Berlin 1864, p. 10). In the notes, p. 271, they further define them as Low-Saxon copied by an Anglosaxon. They are as incorrectly redd here as elsewhere, and out of the mistakes have been manufactured "Germanisms". But we must not complain. All this is a small matter to the wholesale annexation and appropriation of which many Germans have been guilty of late years. Not only have they printed extracts from our noblest Old-English remains (including Cædmon) in their "Old-German" Reading-books, but they have done the same exploit to the Scandinavian dialects, even the Eddas. They have also begun to speak in their books of our ancient monarchs as the "German Kings" of England. I have not yet seen the olden rulers of Denmark or Sweden or Norway spoken of as the "German Kings" of those countries. But the one is not more immoral and absurd than the other, and we may live to see even that excess of mistaken national vanity. What would the Germans say if English or Scandinavian authors were to plunder all their older authors, and print the extracts as specimens of Old-English or Old-Scandinavian dialects, and talk and write about "the English" or "the Scandinavian" Kings of Germany? They might laugh at the folly, but they would grieve at the despicable moral perversion.

N°. 6½. ? *9th century.* The Stave-row on slab No. 5 in the Picts-house at Maeshowe, which see in the Appendix. The runes there scribbled are the SCANDINAVIAN letters, 16 in number:

ᚠ ᚢ ᚦ ᚬ ᚱ ᚴ ᚼ ᚾ ᛁ ᛅ ᛋ ᛏ ᛒ ᛘ ᛚ ᚮ (ᚯ, ᛦ).

F, U, Þ, O, R, K, H, N, I, A, S, T, B, M, L, Ö (Œ, Y).

The stoopt M is ornamental.

7. ? *9th century.* Same codex and same hand as No. 6; at p. 137. This alphabet is called by the scribe (*"Abecidarium"*) *"Angdiscum"*, the Stave-row of the Angles. Neither names nor letters given. Two or three of the staves are imperfect, from the paling of the ink.

From W. Grimm, Ueber Deutsche Runen, Tab. 2, No. 3.

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[1] The copies differ. Reagents have been employed, but still some letters are indistinct and doubtful. In this word, which is written in runes, either the last stave was A, T, or, as is sometimes the case, Þ stands for T. In Hattemer it is a clear T.

[2] The left arm gone, and only traces of the TIR left.

[3] The copyist has made BRICA into BRITA.

81397

RUNES only:

F, U, TH, O, R, C, G, W, H, N, I, Y, yO, P, X, S,

T, B, E, M, L, NG, D, Œ, A, Æ, Ū, EA, IO,

Besides the alphabet in 2 lines, there is a third line of runes, thus:

A couple of these letters are not in the above staverow, and what the whole signifies has not been ascertained. Perhaps it is one of the many fanciful specimens of secret writing.

Of this alphabet also, Hattemer's facsimile (same book, Plate 1, No. 1) is not minutely tho substantially the same. He adds at the top on the right a short line of 10 runes, which give no meaning.

N°. 8. *About 890-910.* Vienna codex, Salisb. No. 71 (now No. 140), supposed by W. Grimm to be a transcript of an English Ms. brought to Germany by Arno, Archbishop of Salzburg in the last half of the 8th century; he was the brother of St. Alcuin, whose work on Orthography, &c., it contains. The alphabet, written in red, occurs at fol. 19, a.

From W. Grimm, Wiener Jahrbücher, Vol. 43, p. 1.

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

f, fe, fech; v, ur; ð, ðorn; o, os; r, ræda; c, cen; g, geofu; uu, uyn; h, haegil; n, naed; i, is; gg, gaer; i et h, ih; p, peord; i et x, ilcs; s, sigil; t, ti; B, B, berc; e, eh; m, mon; l, lagu; n et g, lug (*read* ing); d, daeg; oe, oedil; a, ac; ae, aer; ea, eor; y, yr; a : ; e : ; i ⁝ ⁝ o :: ; u ⁙ .

9. ? *10th century.* From the Cotton Ms. in 8vo, Domitian A 9, on a leaf older than the rest of the skinbook. See Wanley, Cat. p. 239.

Copied from Hickes, Thesaurus, Vol. 1, p. 136.

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

f, feoh; u, ur; ð, ðorn; o, os; r, rad; c, cen; g, gifu; uu, wen; h, hegel; n, nead; i, eac; gæ, geor (*corrected to*) gear; eo (*name omitted*); ... (*Rune omitted*), sigel; p, peorð; x, (*name omitted*); r, (*name omitted; thus* R is repeated here instead of s); t, tir; b, berc; e, eþel (*should be* eh); d, m, deg; l, lagir; ing, inc; m, d, mann; pro oe (*i. e. this stands for* oe; *but the name*, ethel, *is omitted*); a; ac; ae, æsc; y, yr; ear, tir; orent ior; q, cur cweorð; k, iolx, (*iolx, which does not belong to this nameless letter, ought to have been affixt to the x*); z, se, st, stan; et g (= *and g*), gar; (*no letter-power affixt*), calc.

OR-ENT IOR apparently means the UR-ETTIN (primitive Giant) IOR, from whose corpse the earth and the visible heavens were made. In Scandinavia he is AUR-GEMLIR, ÖR-GELMIR[1], and also YMIR, YMER, IMIR. Another Scandian name for this ETEN, ETTIN, EOTEN, ETAYN, is FORNIÓT(R), the FORN (ancient) IÓT(R), obsolete N. I. for IOTUN, IÖTUN, Giant. And under this name also he is found in England, in the wort called FORNETES FOLM, the palm or hand of FORN-ETE[2].

10. ? *10th century.* St. Gall skinbook, Switzerland, No. 270, 4to, p. 52. — From W. Grimm, Ueber deutsche Runen, Tab. 2, No. 1 (and p. 107).

Nationality of this codex not mentioned. Probably transcribed by a German, as the staverow is the usual O. Eng. Futhorc altered and corrupted in the copying by a Germanizing scribe.

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[1] "Ymer alio nomine vocatur *Aurgelmer* (luteus, aqvosus aut humidus senex &c.) vel Örgemler (perantiqvus)". F. Magnusen, Lexicon Mythologicum, 4to, p. 870.

[2] "FORNETES FOLM hatte wyrt". Cockayne, Leechdoms, Vol. 2, p. 144. — "Nim FORNETES FOLM". Id. p. 146.

RUNES, LETTERS, NAMES:

ᚠ, f, feh; ᚢ, u, uur; ᚦ, d, dorn; ᚫ, oo, oos; ᚱ, r, rat; ᚳ, c, cen; ᚷ, g, gebo; ᚹ, uu, huun; ᚻ, h, hagel; ᚾ, n, nod; ᛁ, i, iis; ᛄ, g, ger; ᛈ, k, ih; ᛇ, p, perd; ᛉ, x, elux; ᛋ, s, sigi; ᛏ, t, ti; ᛒ, b, borg; ᛖ, e, eh; ᛗ, m, man; ᛚ, l, lago; ᛝ, n, (*read NG*), ine (*read inc*); ᛞ, t, tag; ᛟ, o, (*read oe*), odil; ᚨ, a, ac; ᚪ, aa, asc; ᛩ, q, (*read y*), yur; ᛣ, z, (*read ea*), aer.

Hattemer (same book, p. 417) decides (and he ought to know!) that this bookfell is from the 9th century, not the 10th. His facsimile (Plate 1, No. 3) is *substantially* the same; but for *hagel* he gives *hâgal*, for *borg* he reads *berg*, and *in inc* for *n inc*. No wonder copyists "corrupted" texts in the 9th or 10th century, when they cannot give them correctly in the 19th! — Hattemer adds, that this Ms. contain's Alcuin's Dialectics, a treatise on Music, Runes and Secret Writing, Rhetorical and Gloss pieces and an Epitaph.

N°. 11. *Vacat.*

12. ? *10th or 11th century.* Cotton Ms. Galba A. 2, of which Wanley, Catalogus p. 231, says: "Codex membranaceus & antiquus in Octavo, qui quondam fuit, ut dicitur, peculium S. Anselmi". — From Hickes, Thesaurus, 3, Tab. 6, No. 5.

The SCANDINAVIAN Futhorc,

RUNES and LETTERS (only 2 Names given):

ᚠ ᚢ ᚦ ᚨ ᚱ ᚴ ᚼ ᛁ ᛅ ᛁ ᛏ ᛒ ᛦ ᛚ ᛆ ᛬

f. fer; u, ur; ð; o; r; c; h; n; i; a; s; t; b; m; l; œ; g.

13. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same skinbook. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 6, No. 6.

RUNES and NAMES (no letters):

ᚠ, feoh; ᚢ, ur; ᚦ, þorn, ᚩ, os; ᚱ, rad; ᚳ, cen; ᚷ, gyfu; ᚹ, wyn; ᚻ, hegil; ᚾ, ned; ᛁ, is; ᛄ, gyr; ᛇ, eth; ᛈ, peoih; ᛉ, eolhx; ᛋ, sigel; ᛏ, tir; ᛒ, beorc; ᛖ, eoh; ᛗ, man; ᛚ, lagu; ᛝ, ing; ᛞ, dæg; ᛟ, eðel; ᚪ, eðek; ᚫ, ac; ᚭ, æsc; ᚣ, yr; ᛡ, ear; ᛠ, cale; ᛣ, querð; ᛤ, ior; ᛥ, stan; ᛪ, gar; ᛎ, z.

It is not possible to know or see in the skinbook, whether the writer intended the CALC to be *one* Rune, or to have *two* separate signs, or that the whole was a *compound* mark. I take them as *two* distinct c-staves; see the mark for x, i. e. cs) in No. 42.

14. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same skinbook. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 6, No. 7.

The SCANDINAVIAN Futhorc.

RUNES and NAMES (no staves):

fe. ur. þors. os. reð. con. hagol. nod. is. ar. sol. tyr. beorc. mander. loer. yr. w. k. g. e. æ. d.

ᚠ · ᚢ · ᚦ · ᚩ · ᚱ · ᚴ · ᚼ · ᛁ · ᛅ · ᛋ · ᛏ · ᛒ · ᛦ · ᛘ · ᛚ · ᛉ · ᚹ · ᚳ · ᚷ · ᛇ · ᛝ · ᛞ · ᛟ · ᚪ · ᚫ · ᚣ · ᛡ · ᛠ · ᛤ · ᛥ · ᛪ · ᛎ · ᚭ · ᛣ · ᛈ · ᚻ · ᚾ · ᛖ · ᛗ · ᛂ · ᛃ · ᛄ · ᛜ · ᛧ · ᛨ · ᛩ · ᛫

15. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same skinbook. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 6, No. 8.

RUNES and STAVES:

f. u. d. o. r. c. g. uu. h. n. i. gg. x. p. iu. s. t. b. e. m. m. l. inc.

ᚠ · ᚢ · ᚦ · ᚩ · ᚱ · ᚳ · ᚷ · ᚹ · ᚻ · ᚾ · ᛁ · ᛄ · ᛉ · ᛇ · ᛜ · ᛋ · ᛏ · ᛒ · ᛖ · ᛗ · ᛘ · ᛚ · ᛝ · ᛧ ·

dd. oe. a. a. æ. y. ea. g. g. q. sund. k. œ. æ. ault. s. et.

ᛞ · ᛟ · ᚪ · ᚫ · ᚣ · ᛡ · ᛠ · ᚷ · ᛄ · ᛩ · ᚳ · ᛧ · ᚩ · ᚱ · ᛋ · ᛞ · ᚪ · ᚫ · ᛝ · ᛟ · ᛩ · ᛦ · ᛚ ·

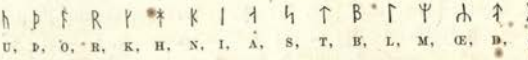
What is written above the last rune but one, is not easy to make out. It seems to be *merds e.*, perhaps a contraction for *meridies est.*

The double power, E and M over the ᛘ, can only mean that ᛘ is E as Runic and M as a Roman letter.

N°. 15, B. ? *12th century.* The stone font at *Bürse*, Sealand, Denmark. After two lines of Roman-Gothic letters follows the SCANDINAVIAN Futhorc, 19 Runes, thus:

F, U, Þ, O, R, K, H, N, I, A, S, T, B, L, M, Œ, D, G, E.

15, C. I add a Futhorc which has lately reacht me, and whose date I do not know, perhaps the *13th or 14th century.* It is on the small Bell in *Elgarås* Church, West-Gotland, Sweden, No. 1982 in Liljegren, and has been obligingly communicated to me by Prof. Säve of Upsala. The stave-row is SCANDINAVIAN, but it has the O. Northern ᚷ (G) for the usual ᚼ (H). All the Runes are reverst, and read from right to left. The barbarous forms, of the U (much like an R) the Þ, the K (a kind of ᚴ reverst) &c. will be at once observed.



M, Œ, T, S, A, I, N, H, K, R, O, Þ, U, F.

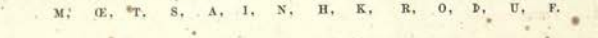
OLD-NORTHERN (AND SCANDINAVIAN) STAVEROWS.

B. AS A, B, C.

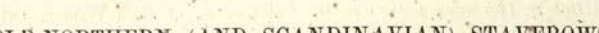
16. ? *9th century.* Cotton Ms. Otho, B. 10. (See No. 5.) From Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 2, No. 2.

RUNES and STAVES:

A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R.



S. T. Þ. V. W. Y. Z. eo. oe. ae. io. gæ. ing. ear. z.



17. ? *9th or 10th century.* From Hrabanus Maurus, De invéntione linguarum. Opera, Cölln 1626, fol., Vol. 6, p. 334.

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

ᚪ, a, asc; ᛒ, b, birith; ᚳ, c, chen; ᛞ, d, thorn; ᛖ, e, eoh; ᚠ, f, fech; ᚷ, g, gibu; ᚻ, h, hagale; ᛁ, i, his; ᛄ, g, gile; ᛚ, l, lagu; ᛗ, m, man; ᚾ, n, not; ᛜ, o, othil; ᛈ, p, perc; ᛩ, q, chon; ᚱ, r, rehis; ᛋ, s, sugil; ᛏ, t, tac; ᚢ, u, hus; ᛉ, x, halach; ᚣ, y, huyri; ᛎ, z, ziu.

This staverow is introduced with the words:

litteras quippe, quas utuntur Marcomanni, quos nos Nordmannos vocamus, infra scripta habemus: a quibus originem, qui theodiscam loquuntur linguam, trahunt. Cum quibus carmina sua incantationesque ac divinationes significare procurant, qui adhuc paganis ritibus involvuntur.

Below we have the letters used by the Marchmen, whom we call the Northmen, from whom they are sprung who speak the Theotise tung. With these letters those men who still practise heathen rites inscribe their songs, incantations and divinations.

Hrabanus, who died in 859, was the pupil of the Englishmen Bæda the venerable and Alcuin. He was a learned man, and died as Archbishop of Maynts. W. Grimm (Ueb. deutsche Run. p. 84) inclines to think that the above alphabet is later than his time, and that he could not have written such bad Latin. However this may be, we can all see that we have here only a mangled transcript of a barbarous adaptation of some Old-English runes to the Latin alphabet. Most of the names remain English, others have been altered or miswritten by the German copyist. It must be observed that B for F[1] and final T for D is no sign of "German" in old times. They occur frequently in our oldest

[1] Within a few pages in our Old-English Charters we have alB for alF, hiaBen for hiaFen, hlaB for hlaF, luBa for luFa, oB for oF, oBer for oFer, &c.; and fluBius, silBa, &c. in Latin.

English, and the T for D very largely in Early English and even in some of our living dialects. It is also clear that there is not *one single word* in the above extract about either "Germany" or the "Germans" or "German Runes". The *"who speak the Theodisc tung"* is, as W. Grimm himself naturally and justly points out, used in contrast to Kelts and other non-Gothic nations.

The *Marcomanni* are simply the *Marchmen*, the men of the march, the borderers, the inhabitants of South-Jutland in Denmark, who were still pagans; and that they were *Nordmanni, Northmen*, every schoolboy knows[1].

The above alphabet could scarcely have been foisted into the book of Hrabanus till a century after his death, say about 950, tho the Ms. itself may possibly be older than that date. All the *oldest* written Runerows are Futhorcs, not ABC's; this one *is* an ABC. But this date is some 150 years after the death of Charlemagne. Nay, even if we suppose the queer Latin and the corrupt ABC-runes to have been really from the pen of Hrabanus, this will still be about 50 years after the time of the great Christian Kaiser and relentless Crusader. But as for there being any "German" people whatsoever, call them by what name we will — Marchmen or Mountmen, Northmen or Southmen, Eastmen or Westmen — who 50, and still less 100 or 150 years AFTER THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE *practist heathen rites and used Rune-songs and Rune-books and Rune-carvings in incantations and divinations* — why the thing is ridiculous, unheard of, and can only bring down "inextinguishable laughter".

But all this is literally true of *West-Denmark*, where Willebrord the Englishman paved the way for Ansgar the Dano-Frank (died 865) in preaching the Holy Faith, and with some success. *The great mass* of the inhabitants, however, *remained heathens* till about the year 1000 and more, later still in the rest of Denmark.

That the Saxons *north of the Elbe*, a people at this early period largely mixt with and nearly allied to the southern portion of the Danish South-Jutlanders, were at this time occasionally and very naturally and properly called NORTLIUDI, NORDLIUDI[2] (sometimes, but very seldom, NORDMANNI, in a general sense, taken together with their Scandian neighbors, for all were North of the Elbe), and, more strictly, TRANSALBIANI, NORDALBINCI, NORTHÂLBINGI — is very true. But this will not mend the argument; for, unfortunately, these NORTH-LEDES (= North-folk), these NORTH-ELBERS, *were already Christians and had long been so.*

But even supposing that these Northern and Christian Saxons at this time used Pagan rites and Pagan Runes, this will not help to make the Runes "German". The Old-Saxons were much more nearly allied to the Scandinavians than to the Germans. At the best, we should only get *Saxon Runes*, which may have existed once upon a time, but of which we never heard. Certain it is, that the genuine Saxon Runes, should they ever turn up, will be found to be nearly identical with the Old-Northern, and will be very different from the bastard-Latin mis-spelt barbarisms attributed in certain manuscripts to Hrabanus Maurus — one of those men on whom so much has been fathered.

We have also other copies of this Marchman alphabet. See particularly Nos. 25, 44, 59. They all differ, and they are all the usual Old-Northern staverow, however disguised by time and by repeated transcribings.

I will not speak of the old school, for instance Olaf Worm (Danica Literatura, 4to, Hafniæ 1636, p. 46), who quite simply calls this an "ALPHABETA DANICA". Let us come down to our own age. The learned and impartial Frenchman Edélestand du Méril gives the weight of his great authority to this same view[3], and regards it as self-evident that the above "Marcomanni" and "Nordmanni" were simply SCANDINAVIANS. He says: "Ainsi, dans un traité spécial sur l'origine des différents alphabets, Hrabanus Maurus, qui avait eu des relations avec les savants anglo-saxons que les libéralités de Charlemagne avaient attirés en France, regardait les runes comme l'écriture propre des Northmanns, et l'idée que dans le IXe siècle on attachait à ce nom est clairement expliquée par un passage d'Einhard: Dani

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[1] After having stated that north of the Franks came the Frisians (Frixones), and north of them the Saxons, the Geographer of Ravenna (7th or 8th century), adds (ed. Pinder et Parthey, Berolini 1860, p. 27): "Quarta ut hora noctis Northomanorum est patria, quae et Dania ab antiquis dicitur", and again, p. 202: "Quae Dania modo Nordomannorum dicitur patria". Guido, a century later, repeats the same phrase (id. p. 554), with the addition that these Danes were Warings, Russian and Greek Bodyguards, as we all know they were: "Quae Dania modo Nordomannorum seu Warangorum dicitur patria".

[2] "NORD-LIUDI trans Albim sedentes". Pertz, Vol. 1, pp. 160, 184.

[3] Essai sur l'origine des Runes, p. 16.

et Suenones quos Nordmannos vocamus[1] [*the Danes and the Swedes, whom we call the Northmen*]. Les Anglo-Saxons eux-mêmes reconnaissaient aux runes cette origine: car on lit dans un ouvrage que Wanley nous a fait connaître dans son catalogue des manuscrits anglo-saxons[2]: Haec etenim literarum figurae in gente Nortmannorum feruntur primitus inventae. Quibus ob carminum eorum memoriam et incantationem uti adhuc dicuntur. Quibus et *runstafas* nomen imposuerunt ob id, ut reor, quod iis res absconditas vicissim scriptitando aperiebant"[3].

The Icelandic Scholar Jon Olafson, in his unpublisht work on Runology, discusses this alphabet at length. After having quoted and reiterated the wellknown passage in Tacitus[4], to the effect that writing was unknown to the Germans, to the men as well as the women, and remarkt that the Marcomanni here mentioned *could not* be the *old* Marcomanni of Cæsar and Tacitus, for that these had long ago disappeared from history, — he concludes that this staverow must be one of the many forgeries of later times. He adds the opinion of his celebrated and accomplisht countryman Arne Magnusson, that the leaf with the runes must have been a later scribble on a fly-leaf, as is so often the case in Mss., and could never have belonged to the original codex[5].

N°. 18. ? *9th or 10th century.* Bookfell from the monastery of Tegernsee, Bavaria, now preserved in Munich; when written not known. The last date is 843; whether transcribed 1 year or 100 after that time, we cannot tell. — Engraved in W. Grimm's dissertation, Wiener Jahrbücher, Vol. 43, p. 25.

Nationality, of this Ms., which contains "diversa", not ascertained. The scribe would seem to have been a German. The English Runic Names are sadly mishandled.

RUNES and NAMES (no staves):

Ag. car. beric. cen. dai. eh. feh. geuo. heih. is. ker. lago. man. *næer.* os. perd. cen.

rat. sil. tir. ur. elcd. uyr.

The CAAR is past by without a Rune, not to interrupt the order of the Roman alphabet. The last Rune, here used for z, which has no name attacht, is otherwise called CALC.

19. ? *9th or 10th century.* Codex in the Harleian Collection, British Museum, No. 3017. — From Kemble on Anglo-Saxon Runes, No. 10.

No NAMES or STAVES:

[A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, X, Y, Z.]

20. ? *10th century.* Codex Bibl. Christin. No. 338, small 4to, Library of Queen Christina of Sweden, now in the Vatican, Rome. This bookfell contains legal and biblical pieces, but also at folio 89 and foll. a small group of alphabets, that of the Hebrews, Greeks, Chaldeans, Egyptians, the Runes and the Normans (so-called).

At the request of Prof. Thorsen this Runic staverow, together with that called "Norman", was copied at Rome in Febr. 1855 by Dr. Johan Forchhammer, and forwarded by him to that great Runologist, who has kindly communicated them to me and allowed me to engrave them for this work. As far as I know, tho several times spoken of they have not yet been made public.

I omit a slight alteration or two by another and later hand.

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[1] "Caroli Magni Vita, par. 12."

[2] "Ce passage se trouve dans le ms. du Roi no. 5239, 5e feuillet avant la fin, dont l'écriture semble de la fin du XIe siècle."

[3] This passage is also found in Wanley, Catal. p. 247, from Ms. Titus, D. 18. There are only a couple of small variations. — See Alphabets Nos. 44 and 52.

[4] "Literarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant." Taciti Germania, Cap. 19.

[5] Johannis Olavii Runo-logia, þad er Joons Olafs sonar Rwna Reidsla. Kaupmanna Höfn, 1752. Fyrstr Partr, Capitule 7de, pp. 69-79 (and p. 56). — This manuscript is on paper in folio, and is in the University Library, Cheapinghaven, "Additamenta No. 8".

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

ᚨ, a, aac; ᛒ, b, berc; ᚦ, c, cen; ᛞ, d, daeg; ᛖ, e, eeh; ᚠ, f, feh; ᚷ, g, geos (*read geof*); ᚺ, h, hegil; ᛁ, i, iis; ᚳ, calc; ᛚ, l, lago; ᛗ, m, moun (*read monn*); ᚾ, n, need; ᚩ, o, os; ᛈ, p, pear; ᛇ, q, yymoth; ᚱ, r, raad; ᛋ, s, sigil; ᛏ, t, tu; ᚢ, u, ur; ᚣ, x, ilih; ᛉ, y, ir; ᛎ, z, gaar.

The Norma (*Normannica* or *Normannorum*?) Alphabet in the same codex is as follows. As we see, it belongs to the cipher or fanciful class.

ᛑ, a, æschot; ᛒ, b, berit; ᚳ, c, cecut; ᛞ, d, dardon; ᛠ, e, eruns; ᚠ, f, felet; ᛚ, e, g, hilod; ᚻ, h, terut; ᛡ, i, iopet; ᛢ, k, kaka; ᚳ, l, anau; ᚾ, m, menu; ᚿ, n, nut; ᛟ, o, otoc; ᛈ, p, piti; ᛩ, q, qām; ᚱ, r, refon; ᛋ, s, sutiltu; ᛣ, t, tucal; ᚼ, u, yfel; ᛍ, x, fymol; ᛦ, y, xri; ᛧ, z, zepput (the *zepp* added in the second hand).

N°. 21. ? *10th century.* St. Gall skinbook, Switzerland No. 270, 4to, p. 52.

From W. Grimm, Ueber deutsche Runen, Tab. 2, No. 2 (and p. 106).

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

a, a, b, c, d, d, e, f, g, g, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, o, p, p, q, r, s, s, t, t, u, x, z.

ᚨ ᚫ ᛒ ᚳ ᛞ ᚦ ᛖ ᚠ ᚷ ᚸ ᚹ ᚻ ᛁ ᚲ ᛚ ᛗ ᚾ ᚩ ᚯ ᛈ ᛇ ᚱ ᛋ ᛌ ᛏ ᛐ ᚢ ᛪ ᛉ ᛣ

Hattemer's facsimile (Plate 1, No. 4) offers small variations, but is substantially the same.

22. ? *10th century.* Vienna bookfell No. 828.

From W. Grimm, Ueber deutsche Runen, Tab. 1, No. 3 (and p. 80).

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

ᚪ, a, asc; ᛒ, b, birith; ᚳ, c, chen; ᚦ, d, thorn; ᛖ, e, ech; ᚠ, f, fech; ᚷ, g, gibu; ᚻ, h, hagale; ᛁ, i, his; ᚴ, k, gilch, ᛚ, l, lagv; ᛗ, m, man; ᚾ, n, not; ᛟ, o, othil; ᛈ, p, perc.

23. ? *10th or 11th century.* Cotton Ms. in 8vo Domitian A, 9. (Wanley, Cat. p. 239.) — From Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 2, No. 3.

RUNES and LETTERS (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, T,

ᚨ . ᛒ . ᚻ . ᛞ . ᛗ . ᚠ . ᚷ . ᚺ ᚾ . ᛁ . ᚳ . ᛚ . ᛗ . ᚾ . ᚩ . ᛈ . ᛩ . ᚱ . ᛏ .

Đ, V, W, X, Y, Ƶ. eo; oe; æ; io; gæ; ing; ear; z, se, st; et g; calc.

ᚹ . ᚢ . ᚹ . ᛉ . ᛟ . ᛊ . ᛋ . ᛝ . ᛠ . ᚸ . ᚷ . ᚹ . ᛞ . ᛝ . ᚠ .

s is forgotten and the rune for z omitted.

24. ? *10th or 11th century.* Cotton Ms. Tiberius D, 18. Not in Wanley. In some things resembles No. 16, in others is very different.

From Kemble on Anglo-Saxon Runes, Pl. 1, fig. 2 (and page 12).

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

ᚱ, a, asc; ᛒ, b, bira; ᚹ, c, cen; ᛞ, d, drom; ᛗ, e, ech; ᚠ, f, fech; ᚷ, g, gibu; ᚻ, h, hegl; ᛁ, i, is; ᚴ, k, kalk; ᚳ, l, lagu; ᛝ, m, man; ᚷ, n, not; ᛒ, o, otil; ᛩ, p, pert; ᛩ, q, qhon; ᚱ, r, rehrt; ᛊ, s, sigil; ᛏ, t, tac; ᚢ, u, ur; ᛣ, z, xelach; ᚣ, y, yn; ᛦ, z, ziu?

25. ? *10th or 11th century.* A copy of the "De Computo" by Hrabanus Maurus, preserved in the Capitular Library, Exeter. Wanley, Cat. p. 281. At the end of this are inscribed 3 Runo-Latin alphabets, all of them more or less differing from each other, especially No. 3 from the other two, and all of them very unlike No. 17, with which they yet sometimes agree.

From Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 2, No. 5.

RUNES and LETTERS (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z.

ᚱ . ᛒ . ᚻ . ᚾ . ᛗ . ᚠ . ᚷ . ᚾ . ᛁ . ᛦ . ᛞ . ᛖ . ᚾ . ᚺ . ᛉ . ᚱ . ᛊ . ᛏ . ᚢ . ᚻ . ᛦ . ᚹ

"supersunt istæ: ᛉ ᛝ ᚦ ᚦ", doubtless EO, NG, Þ and Æ.

N°. 26. *? 10th or 11th century.* Same Ms. — From Hickes, l. c.

RUNES and LETTERS (no names):

A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. V. X. Y. Z.

ᚨ. ᛒ. ᚳ. ᛞ. ᛖ. ᚠ. ᚷ. ᚻ. ᛁ. ᚴ. ᛚ. ᛗ. ᚾ. ᚩ. ᛈ. ᛩ. ᚱ. ᛋ. ᛏ. ᚢ. ᚳ. ᚣ. ᛘ

"supersunt istæ: ᛝ ᛠ ᚦ ᚹ", doubtless EO, NG, Þ and Æ.

27. *? 10th or 11th century.* Same Ms. — From Hickes, l. c.

RUNES and LETTERS (no names):

A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. V. X. Y. Z.

ᚨ. ᛒ. ᚳ. ᚦ. ᛖ. ᚠ. ᚷ. ᚼ. ᛁ. ᚸ. ᛚ. ᛗ. ᚾ. ᚩ. ᛈ. ᛩ. ᚱ. ᛋ. ᛏ. ᚢ. ᚠ. ᚣ. ᛘ. ᛉ

Appended to these 3 last staverows are the words PAX VOBISCUM ET SALUS PAX, in Latin and in Runic letters. We might suppose that these last would all agree with one or other of the above 3 alphabets. Yet we find ᚣ for X in the word PAX, twice repeated; by the alphabets it is Y. Again we have ᚳ for the first V in VOBISCUM, altho it is C in the alphabets. In fact we have here another instance that these staverows were often mere fanciful and capricious learned trifles, where they were not used for secret writing or for magical signs.

28. *? 10th or 11th century.* From the bookfell Vitellius A. 12, in the Cottonian Library, as engraved by Hickes in his Thesaurus, Vol. I, p. 148.

In his Catalogue, p. 239, Wanley says of this Ms.: "Cod. Membr. in Quarto in quo invenire licet plurima Latina scripta, quæ memorantur in D. Tho. Smithi Catalogo: ad nostram vero rem propius accedunt I, fol. 62. Alphabeta Runica tria, cum his verbis Runicis litteris PAX VOBISCUM ET SALUS PAX. Eadem Alphabeta occurrunt in libro veteri Exoniensis Ecclesiæ, ex quo ea descripsi haud ita pridem, in usum D. Georgii Hickesii".

This is not quite correct. This and the following ABC are substantially the same as the *first* and *third* staverow in the Exeter "De Computo" codex (here No. 25) referred to by Wanley. But the *third* alphabet in this Vitellius skinbook does not agree with the *second* in No. 25. On the contrary, i is the *Scandinavian* Futhorc arranged in the Latin order. This last is therefore derived from an independent source.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. V. X. Y. Z.

ᚨ ᛒ ᚳ ᛞ ᛖ ᚠ ᚷ ᚻ ᛁ ᚴ ᛚ ᛗ ᚾ ᚩ ᛈ ᛩ ᚱ ᛋ ᛏ ᚢ ᚳ ᚣ ᛘ

ᛝ ᛠ ᚦ ᚹ

The four last runes are of course EO, NG, Þ and Æ.

29. *? 10th or 11th century.* From the same Ms. — Hickes l. c.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. V. X. Y. Z.

ᚨ ᛒ ᚳ ᚦ ᛖ ᚠ ᚷ ᚼ ᛁ ᚸ ᛚ ᛗ ᚾ ᚩ ᛈ ᛩ ᚱ ᛋ ᛏ ᚢ ᚠ ᚣ ᛘ ᛉ

30. *? 10th or 11th century.* Same skinbook. — Hickes, l. c.

The SCANDINAVIAN RUNES, 23 in number, arranged as the Latin alphabet.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. V. X. Y. Z.

ᛦ ᛒ ᛋ ᛏ ᚧ ᚠ ᚴ ᚼ ᛁ ᚴ ᛚ ᛘ ᚾ ᚮ ᛔ ᛩ ᚱ ᛊ ᛐ ᚢ ᚠ ᛦ ᛘ ᛌ

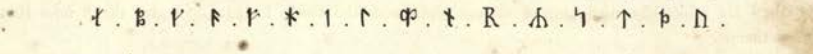
31. *? 10th or 11th century.* Ms. St. John's College, Oxford, c, 27. Not in Wanley.

The SCANDINAVIAN RUNES, 16 in number, as far as they go as a Latin alphabet.

From Hickes, Thesaurus, Vol. 3, Tab. 2, No. 6.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

A, B, C, E, F, H, I, L, M, N, R, S, T, Ð, V.

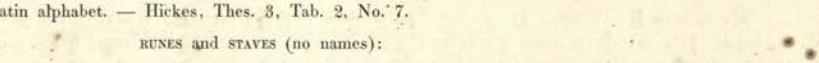


N°. 32. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same Ms.

The SCANDINAVIAN RUNES, 21 in number (and one bind-rune) arranged, as far as they go, as a Latin alphabet. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 2, No. 7.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, T, Ð, Y, W, Y, &.

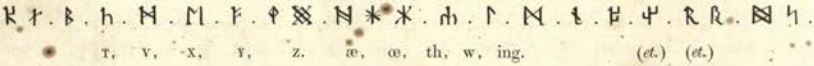


33. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same Ms. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 2, No. 8.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, K, L, M, N, O, Q, R, S,

T, V, X, Y, Z. æ, œ, th, w, ing. (*et.*) (*et.*)

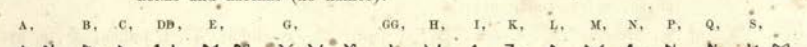


The last rune unmarkt is doubtless meant for EA. — See the nearly similar alphabet No. 40.

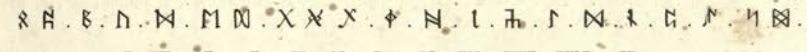
34. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same Ms. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 2, No. 9.

RUNES and LETTERS (no names):

A, B, C, DD, E, G, GG, H, I, K, L, M, N, P, Q, S,



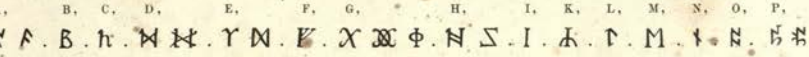
T, W, X, Y. IV, OE, EA, OE, INC, SVNT, VVLT, ET.



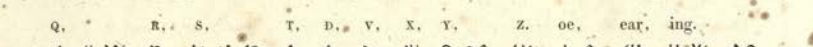
35. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same Ms. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 2, No. 10.

RUNES and LETTERS (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P,



Q, R, S, T, Ð, V, X, Y, Z. oe, ear, ing.

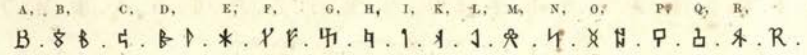


The last sign is probably intended for ET (&).

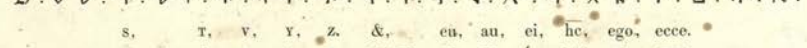
36. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same Ms. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 2, No. 11.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R,



S, T, V, Y, Z. &, eu, au, ei, hc, ego, ecce.



Alphabets No. 33, 41 show that the compound Rune after & is Æ. The *hc* contraction probably stands for *HUNC*.

See the nearly similar staverow No. 41.

37. ? *10th or 11th century.* Codex Ratisbon., now 1443 b in München, Bavaria.

Taken from Eccardus, De Origine Germanorum, 4to, Goettingae 1750, Tab. 14, with the corrections of Lauth, Das Germ. Run. Fudark, Tab. 1, lit. *β*, (p. 45 and fol.).

This Ms. contains 7 alphabets, all more or less absurd and fanciful, called by the high-sounding names *Hebraice, Siriace, Arabice, Ægyptiace, Gothice, Caldaice, Alanice.* Every body must see that they are arbitrarily made up of various alphabets, the Runic included. I give the 3 *most* Runic among them.

The following is called *2. Siriace.*

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

ᚨ, a, ac; ᛒ, b, berg; ᚦ, c, con, ᚦ, d, dorn; ᛦ, e, ear; ᚠ, f, feb; ᚷ, g, gebo; ᚺ, h, hagal; ᛁ, i, is; ᛇ, i, calc; ᚳ, k, ker; ᛃ, k, ki; ᛚ, l, lago; ᛗ, m, man; ᚾ, n, nod; ᛟ, o, odil; ᛈ, p, perd; ᚱ, q, qur, ᚱ, r, rat; ᛋ, s, sigo; ᛏ, t, tac; ᚢ, u, uur; ᛉ, x, elux; ᛇ, y, inc.

N°. 38. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same Ms. — From Eccard, same plate, and Lauth, same plate, lit. *γ*.

The following is called *3. Arabice.*

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

ᚨ, a, asc; ᚷ, a, caar; ᛚ, b; birca; ᛒ, b, berih; ᚳ, c, caon; ᚠ, d, doro; ᚷ, e, eor; ᚢ, f, feu; ᚷ, g, geuo; ᚻ, h, heil; ᛦ, i, ios; ᚷ, k, keir; ᛚ, l, lin; ᛗ, m, men; ᛇ, n, naut; ᚾ, n, net; ᚨ, o, os; ᛈ, p, pern; ᚳ, q, quor; ᚱ, t, tir; ᚱ, s, sol; ᛉ, t, tau; ᚢ, u, ur; ᚷ, x, elx.

39. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same Ms. — From Eccard, same plate, and Lauth, same plate, lit. *δ*.

The following is called *7. Alanice.*

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

ᚨ, a; ᛒ, b, bem; ᚲ, c, cem; ᛞ, d, dem; ᛖ, e, ethim; ᚠ, f, fethim; ᚹ, g, gyth; ᚺ, h; ᛁ, i; ᚴ, k; ᛚ, l; ᚾ, m; ᚷ, n; ᚱ, o; ᛈ, p; ᛇ, q; ᚱ, r; ᛊ, s; ᛏ, t.

40. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same skinbook as No. 12. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 6, No. 9.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p,

ᚨ · ᛒ · ᚲ · ᚦ · ᚺ · ᛗ · ᛇ · ᛈ · ᛁ · ᚴ · ᛚ · ᛗ · ᚾ · ᚨ · ᛈ ·

q, r, s, t, u, x, y, z, &, w, th, ae.

ᛈ · ᚱ · ᛋ · ᛏ · ᚢ · ᛉ · ᛦ · ᛉ · ᛋ · ᚹ · ᚦ · ᚨ · ᛖ ·

The twelfth sign in the 2nd line is for AND (ET, &), here a bind-rune, E and T.

This alphabet is almost identical with No. 33.

41. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same skinbook as No. 12. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 6, No. 10.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, x, y.

ᛒ . ᛒ . ᛞ . ᛒ . ᚼ . ᚴ . ᚻ . ᛚ . ᛇ . ᛁ . ᚱ . ᚴ . ᛉ . ᚠ . ᛏ . ᛟ . ᚱ . ᛜ . ᛦ . ᚢ . ᛉ . ᛁ .

&, æ, eu, au, ei, hunc, b, ego, ecce.

ᚠ . ᚼ . ᛠ . ᛅ . ᛇ . ᚺ . ᛒ . ᛝ . ᛝ .

The stave z would seem to have been accidentally omitted after the Y.

This alphabet is evidently an altered copy of No. 36.

42. ? *10th or 11th century.* Same skinbook as No. 12. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 6, No. 11.

The SCANDINAVIAN RUNES, 25 in number, arranged as the Latin alphabet.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, x, y, z, ð.

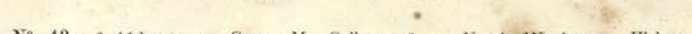
ᛅ · ᛒ · ᛁ · ᛏ · ᚴ · ᛒ · ᚠ · ᚼ · ᛁ · ᚴ · ᛚ · ᛘ · ᚾ · ᚬ · ᛒ · ᚴ · ᚱ · ᛋ · ᛏ · ᚢ · ᛦ · ᛁ · ᛘ · ᛋ · ᛦ · ᛐ ·

N°. 43. ? *11th century.* Cotton Ms. Galba A, 3. — Not in Wanley. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 6, No. 12.

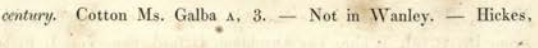
The SCANDINAVIAN RUNES, 27 in number, arranged as the Latin alphabet.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q,



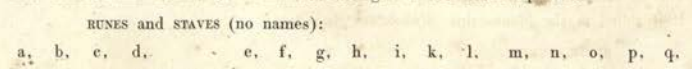
r, s, t, v, x, y.



44. *11th century.* Paris Codex No. 5239.

From W. Grimm, Wiener Jahrbücher, Vol. 43, p. 23.

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:



ᚹ, a, asc; ᛒ, b, bira; ᚠ, c, ché; ᛞ, d, dhron; ᛗ, e, eth; ᚠ, f, fec; ᚷ, g, gibu; ᚷ, h, agalc; ᛁ, i, his; ᛣ, k, kilc; ᛦ, l, lac; ᛗ, m, mam; ᚷ, n, not; ᚠ, o, otil; ᚺ, p, perc; ᛊ, q, chon; ᛦ, r, rehit; ᛊ, s, sigil; ᛦ, t, tac; ᚢ, u, hur; ᛗ, x, helac; ᛘ, y, hyr; ᛘ, z, ziu.

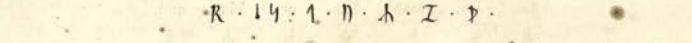
This skinbook, now in the Bibliothèque Imperiale, is of the 11th century, and was probably written at Limoges. It is the one referred to by M. du Méril. See Nos. 17, 52.

45. *11th century.* Vienna Codex No. 64.

W. Grimm, Ueber deutsche Runen, Tab. 1, No. 2.

RUNES and LETTERS (no names):

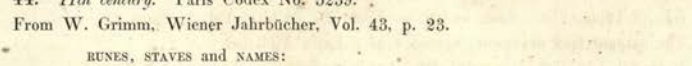
a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, d, r, s, t, v, x, y, z.



46. *11th century.* Same Codex.

From W. Grimm, Ueber deutsche Runen, Tab. 1, No. 1.

RUNES, LETTERS and NAMES:

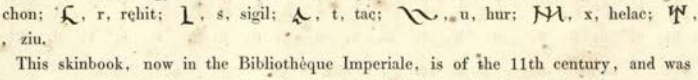


ᚨ, a, asch; ᛒ, b, birith; ᚠ, c, chen; ᛞ, d, thorn; ᛗ, e, eho; ᚠ, f, fehc; ᚷ, g, gibu; ᚷ, h, hagale; ᛁ, i, his; ᛣ, k, gilch; ᛚ, l, lagv; ᛞ, m, man; ᚴ, n, not; ᚴ, o, othil; ᚴ, p, perch; ᛊ, q, chon; ᚱ, r, rehit; ᛋ, s, suhil; ᛏ, t, tac; ᚢ, u, hur; ᛘ, x, helahe; ᛘ, y, huyri; ᛘ, z, ziu.

47. *12th century.* Sir Thomas Phillipps' Skinbook entitled: Mappæ Clavicula; a Latin Ms. treatise on Painting, Architecture, and other arts, by an unknown English author.

From Archæologia, 4to, London, Vol. 32, 1847, p. 241.

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:



ᚨ, a, ag; ᛒ, b, berch; ᛋ, c, cen; ᛞ, d, derhu; ᛗ, e, eg; ᚠ, f, feu; ᚷ, g, genue; ᚺ, h, he; ᛁ, i, (*no name*); ᛘ, k, cer; ᛚ, l, la...[1]; ᛞ, m, man; ᚾ, n, net; ᚾ, o, os; ᚺ, p, perd; ᛟ, q, cui; ᚱ, r, rat; ᛋ, s, sigil; ᛏ, t, tir; ᚢ, u, ur; ᛋ, x, xen; ᛘ, y, uir.

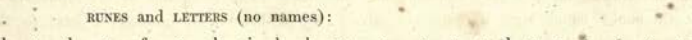
super su(nt) ᛊ ᛝ ᚦ

The last are, of course, Z, NG, TH.

48. *12th century.* Same skinbook. — From Archæologia, Vol. 32, p. 243.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, x, y, z.



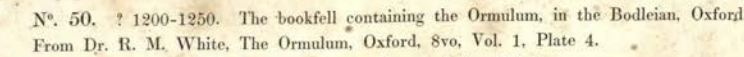
49. See No. 15, B.

[1] The margin of the Ms. is cut away here, so that the rest of the word is gone.

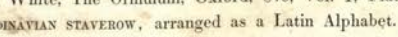
N°. 50. ? 1200-1250. The bookfell containing the Ormulum, in the Bodleian, Oxford. From Dr. R. M. White, The Ormulum, Oxford, 8vo, Vol. 1, Plate 4.
This is the SCANDINAVIAN STAVEROW, arranged as a Latin Alphabet.
It is called in the Manuscript *Alphabetum Anglicum.*

RUNES, STAVES, &c.:

g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, x.

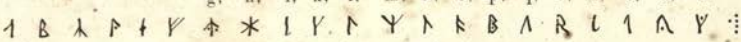


he, ho, hethe[1], has, ge, che, and.



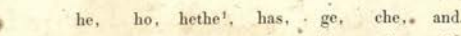
51. ? 1200-1250. Same codex. — From Dr. White, Vol. 1, Plate 1.
The SCANDINAVIAN STAVEROW, arranged as a Latin Alphabet.
It is called in the Manuscript *Alphabetum Anglicum.*

RUNES, (no staves, &c.):



[A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, X.]

henc, he, ho, hethe[1], has, ge, ge, che, and.

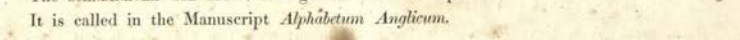


52. ? 1350-1400. Cottonian Ms. Titus D. XVIII, now in the British Museum. Noticed by Wanley in his Catalogus, p. 247. For splendid and most exact facsimiles of the alphabets engraved from this skinbook, which were executed by Mr. F. G. Netherclift of London, I have to thank the kindness of Sir Frederick Madden, the distinguisht Keeper of the Manuscripts in our National Bookhoard. He remarks, in a note to me dated British Museum, March 22, 1863: "The Ms. containing these Alphabets is of 12mo or very small 4to size, consisting only of 12 leaves, written on vellum about the latter half of the 14th century, and besides those you have had copied contains the Alphabets of the Hebrews, Greeks, Latins, Chaldee, Syriac, and English; also the Lord's Prayer (Latin in Greek characters) and the Versus Sibillæ de Adventu Domini', &c."

At folio 7, then, in this bookfell, we have:

De litteris Nortmannorum quarum forme sequntur;

Hec etenim *litterarum* figure *in* gente Nortmannorum feruntur primitus inuente · quibus ob carminum eorum memoriam et incantacionum vti adhuc dicuntur; Quibus *et* runstafas [*may also be redd* rimstafas] nomen imposuerunt · ob id vt reor. *quod* hijs res absconditas vicissim scriptitando aperiebant:[2]

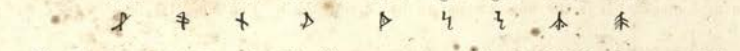


a, asc; b, bira; c, cen; d, drom; e, ech; f, fech; g, gibu; h, hegl; i, is; k, kale; l, lagu; m, man; n, not; o, otil; p, pert; q, qhon; r, rehit; s, sigil; t, tac; u, ur; x, xelach; y, yri; z, ziu.

The above interesting annotation, as to the use of these Runes by the heathen Northmen, is, as we see, almost letter for letter the same as that in No. 44 (copied by M. du Méril in No. 17). And the appended Staverow is essentially the same. This codex of the 14th century is therefore a copy's copy of No. 44 from the 11th century, at least as regards this part of its contents.

53. ? 1350-1400. Same bookfell, folio 7 b:

Item aliter:



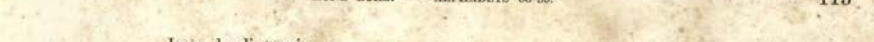
a, alar; b, braut; c, cusil; d, dexu; e, egui; f, fich; g, guichr; h, huil; i, iechua; k, kain; l, louber; m, muin; n, nihn; o, or; p, parth; q, quith; r, rat; s, surg; t, traug; u, uir; x, xeil; y, oyr; z, zeirc; z.

---

[1] May also be redd *heche.*

[2] Of the letters of the Northmen, whose figures follow: — For these figures of letters are said to have been first invented in the folkship of the Northmen, by whom, as it is affirmed, they are still employed to preserve their songs and charms. They call them *rune-staves* [or, *rime-staves*]; as I suppose, because they much used them to discover hidden things.

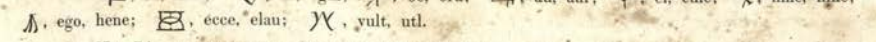
Item de diptongis:



æ, ae, arm; eu, eu, egui; œ, oe, oru; au, au, aur; ei, ei, cuic; hinc, hinc; ego, hene; ecce, elau; yult, utl.

No. 54. ? 1350-1400. Same bookfell, fol. 6 b:

"RVNES":



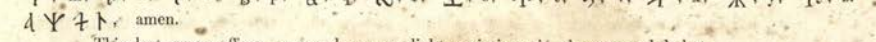
a; b; c; d; e; f; g; h; i; k; l; m; n; o; p; q; r; s; t; v; x; y; z. amen.

This last *amen* offers, as usual, some slight variations in the same alphabet.

The SCANDINAVIAN FUTHORK, modified for the Latin abc.

On the same page is another example of the fanciful Stave-rows. As not hitherto engraved, I give it here:

Litteræ Gothorum:



No explanations or values are added by the scribe, and I shall take care not to try to lift the veil.

55. ? *Date* —. Codex in the Gottorp Library, South-Jutland. — Hickes, 3. Tab. 2. No. 4.

The SCANDINAVIAN FUTHORK, arranged as a Latin alphabet.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z.

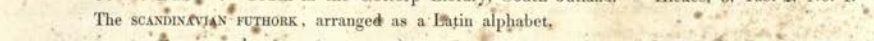
These staves are supposed by Worm to have been taken from Runic stones in South-Jutland.

56. ? *Date* —. Same Codex. — Hickes, 3. Tab. 2. No. 4.

The SCANDINAVIAN FUTHORK, arranged as a Latin alphabet.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z.

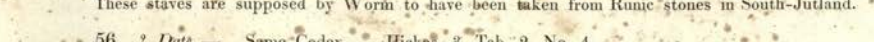


57. ? *Date about 1500.* From Joh. Trithemius, Polygraphiæ Libri 6, Argent. 1600, p. 591 (1st ed. 1510, fol.).

This absurd alphabet, merely fanciful or for secret writing, and in its present shape of a *modern* character, was baptized by Trithem with the sounding title *Alphabetum Normannorum*, and was fathered on the Venerable Bæda. Of course nobody has been able to find it in his pages.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

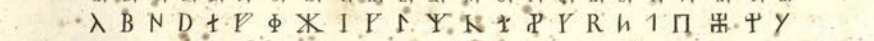
a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, v, x, y, z, w.



58. *Date?* — Olaf Worm, in his "Danica Literatura Antiqvissima", fol. ed. 2. Hafniæ 1651, p. 49, gives another copy of this *Normannorum Alphabetum* so foolishly ascribed to Bæda. His words are (p. 47): "Alphabetum Normannis a Beda presbytero adscriptum, cum adfinitatem cum nostris aliqvalem præ se ferat, ex Cryptographia Augusti Ducis Luneburgensis, hisce subnectere placuit, ne qvid desideraret curiosus Lector".

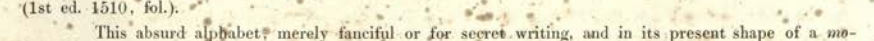
As the "Curiosus Lector" will see, this transcript differs considerably from the "Norman Alphabet" given by Trithem. In fact no two copies agree. — Worm's staverow is as follows:

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z.



59. ? *Date about 1550.* — From Wolffgang Lazius, De Gentium Migratione. (Opera, Antwerp. 1698, fol., Vol. 2, p. 514.)

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:



a, asc; b, byrith; c, chen; d, thorn; e, ech; f, fech; g, gibu; h, hagale; i, his; k, chilch; l, lagu. m, man; n, not; o, othil; p, perc.

Unhappily, only a fragment.

The author's words are: "In antiquissimis annalibus Francorum historiam & Caroli Magni genealogiam continentibus, membrana longè omnium antiquissima scriptis, hæc nominatim verba excerpsissimus: — "Literas quippe quibus sunt usi Marcomanni, quos nos Normannos vocamus infra scriptas addidi, a quibus originem qui Theodiscam loqvuntur linguam, trahunt, cum quibus carmina sua, incantationesque ac divinationes significare procurant, qui adhuc pagano ritui involvuntur"." — See No. 17.

N°. 60. See No. 15, c.

I had hoped to have added at least one other Old-Northern staverow, that in the Lauderdale Oriosus-manuscript at Helmingham Hall in Suffolk, England. Prof. Bosworth fixes the date of this codex at the close of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century[1]. It was in the book-hoard of the vigilant collector Dr. Dee down to about the year 1583, whence it past to the Hatton library, from which it came to that of the Duke of Lauderdale who died in 1682. This nobleman married into the family of Tollemache, one of the oldest in Suffolk, which came in with the Angles. Their early arrival is commemorated by an inscription on the Manorhouse at Bentley, Suffolk:

"Before the Normans into England came,
Bentley was my seat, and Tollemache my name."[2]

The Tollemaches have since flourisht, in unbroken male succession, for more than 13 centuries. This skinbook is one of the treasures in the Tollemache book-hoard. Its present owner is John Tollemache, Esquire, M. P., son of the late Admiral Tollemache and nephew of the fifth Earl of Dysart. This gentleman kindly placed the codex in the hands of Prof. Bosworth in 1850, for use in his new edition of the Old-English version of Orosius by King Alfred. In reading the learned Professor's description of this venerable bookfell I was struck by the following paragraph:

"The first leaf is of the same parchment as the rest of the MS., but both of its pages are occupied with irrelevant devices. In the first page, there are emblematical representations of the four Evangelists, drawn with the pen in the same brown-black ink as the MS. Towards the left upper corner, within a circle, formed by a rough outline of a coiled serpent, over whose head is a small square with the letter T in red, there is a neat outline of an eagle with a rough stroke of red under the eye, extending to the end of the beak. Above its head is written aquila, ioha, thas is, Iohannes. Within a smaller circle, a little to the right of the last, a lamb is represented having the horns, and a square between the fore-feet, painted red, and Marcus written over its back, and Agnus Dei over its head. A little below, and to the right of the circle of Marcus, is an ox, without any circle, but with Lucus inscribed on its side. In a single line, below Aquila and Agnus Dei, a curious Runic alphabet extends nearly the width of the page, each Rune being accompanied with the small common letter, that represents the Rune. A little lower, and to the left of the middle of the page, there is a parallelogram filled with a rough, flourishing and fanciful drawing, some of the most prominent parts of which are painted red. Over the parallelogram is written, — Vinea Domini. In the right-hand lower corner, is a human figure with a glory surrounding the head, and with hands extended holding a globe. The face, the shoulder, and the globe are touched with red. Mattheus is written on the neck and over the head. The second page contains only an enlarged, rude and more recent outline of the figure last described, with Fulgens written over its head."[3].

I at once applied to Prof. Bosworth for his help in getting a Photograph or Facsimile of this first page, that I might add the Runic alphabet here preserved to the others in this chapter. But, up to this moment, (July 1865), various reasons have prevented Prof. Bosworth from obtaining what we both were so anxious to give. And, unfortunately, a Photograph previously taken by Prof. B. has been mislaid. So I must content myself with pointing out the whereabouts of this additional staverow. It will doubtless one day be made public. Should it reach me before my last pages are printed, I will add it at the end of this work.

1. The Rev. Joseph Bosworth. King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Compendious History of the World by Orosius. 8vo. London 1859. p. xviii. — 2 Id. p. xvi. — 3 Id. p. xvii.

RUNIC TABLES.

FROM THE ANCIENT AND MANUSCRIPT ALPHABETS.

The following columns will show at a glance the Old-Northern and the Scandinavian stave-rows in their own primitive order, the Futhorc, and also as afterwards accommodated to the order of the Latin ABC; together with the chief Types and the appended Names (when given), arranged in one body chronologically. We can thus easily follow the stream of these alphabets, and see how they become more and more fanciful or barbarized, until at last they altogether disappear from the skinbooks. The Runic Types employed on the monuments will be detailed and discust in the chapter which follows. The curious reader will continually and carefully compare these two sources of runic knowledge, — the fact and the theory, the *carvings themselves* and the usually far later and more or less corrupt and artificial *staverows found in codices.*

OLD-NORTHERN FUTHORC.

Imp. signifies that the letter is partly cut away, or otherwise *imperfect*.

	F	U	TH	O, Æ	R	C, K	G	W	H	N	I	Y	yo	P
[Scand.]							"	"					"	"
[Later Scand.]	"	"	"	"	"	"		"	"	"	"	"	"	
N° 1														
" 2														
" 3														
" 4														
" 5														
" 6	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"		"	"	"	"	"
" 7			(ᚦ, imp.)						(ᚺ, imp.)					
" 8														
" 9														
" 10														
" 13														
" 15														

OLD-NORTHERN FUTHORC (CONTINUED).

	A	S	T	B	E	M	L	NG	D	Œ	Á	(Æ)	Û	IO	EA	(O)	Q	ST	Z	? V	ET, AND
[Scand.]					"			"	"		"		"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
[Later Scand.]	"	"	"	"		"	"	"		"	"	"		"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
N° 1									"	"	"	"	"	"	"		"	"	"	"	"
" 2							"			"		"	"	"	"		"	"	"	"	"
" 3														"		"	"	"	"	"	"
" 4													"	"		"		"	"	"	"
" 5																"			"	"	"
" 6		"	"	"	"		"	"	"	"	"	"		"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
" 7																"		"	"	"	"
" 8														"		"	"	"	"	"	"
" 9		"														"			"	"	"
" 10														"		"	"	"	"	"	"
" 13																"				"	"
" 15																"			"		

OLD-NORTHERN RUNES MADE INTO THE LATIN ALPHABET.

N°	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	46	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
16																			
17																			
18																			
19																			
20																			
21																			
22																			
23																			
24																			
25																			
26																			
27																			
28																			
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35																			
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37																			
38																			
39																			
40																			
41																			
44																			
45																			
46																			
47																			
48																			
52																			
53																			
57																			
58																			
59																			

N°	T	TH	U, V	W	X	Y	Z	EO	Œ	Æ	IO	IU	GÆ	ING, INC	EAR, EA	Z, SE, ST, SUNT	G	VVLT	CALC	ET	EU	AU	EI	HINC, HUNC	EGO	ECCE
16	ᛏ	ᚦ	ᚢ	ᚹ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛗ, ᛗ	ᛇ, ᛇ	ᛟ	ᚨ	ᚼ	ᛉ	ᚽ	ᛝ, ᛝ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
17	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
18	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᚼ	ᛗ	ᛗ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
19	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛗ	ᛗ	ᛗ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
20	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛗ	ᛗ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
21	ᛏ, ᛞ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᚷ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
23	ᛏ	ᚦ	ᚢ	ᚦ	ᛘ	ᛗ	ᛉ	ᛇ	ᛟ	ᚨ	ᚼ	ᛉ	ᚽ	ᛝ	ᛘ	ᛞ	ᛝ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
24	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛗ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
25	ᛏ	ᚦ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᚱ	ᛘ	ᛗ	ᛇ	ᛉ	ᚨ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛝ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
26	ᛏ	ᚦ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᚱ	ᛘ	ᛗ	ᛇ	ᛉ	ᚨ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛝ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
27	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᚼ	ᛘ	ᛗ	ᛇ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
28	ᛏ	ᚦ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᚱ	ᛘ	ᛗ	ᛇ	ᛉ	ᚨ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛝ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
29	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᚼ	ᛘ	ᛗ	ᛇ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
33	ᛏ	ᚦ	ᚢ	ᚦ	ᛘ	ᛗ	ᛗ	ᛇ	ᛟ	ᚨ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛝ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛏᛏ, ᛁ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
34	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᚦ	ᛟ	ᛟ	ᛟ	ᛟ	ᛟ	ᛟ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛝ	ᛘ	ᛞ	ᛉ	ᛝ	ᛉ	ᚨ, ᚨ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
35	ᛏ	ᚦ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᚢ, ᛞ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᚽ, ᛟ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛝ, ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛚ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
36	ᛇ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛗ	ᛇ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛝ	ᛝ	ᛝ	ᛝ	ᛝ	ᛝ
37	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛗ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
38	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᚼ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
39	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
40	ᛏ	ᚦ	ᚢ	ᚦ	ᛘ	ᛗ	ᛗ	ᛇ	ᛉ	ᚨ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛏᛏ, ᛁ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
41	ᛇ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛟ	ᛗ	ᛇ	ᛇ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛝ	ᛝ	ᛝ	ᛝ	ᛝ	ᛝ
44	ᛇ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛗ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
45	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
46	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
47	ᛏ	ᛋ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛝ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
48	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛟ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
52	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛗ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛘ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
53	ᛗ	ᛉ	ᚢ	ᛉ	ᛟ	ᛗ	ᛇ, ᛟ	ᛉ	ᛇ	ᛇ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛝ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛝ	ᛝ	ᛝ	ᛝ	ᛝ	ᛝ
57	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛗ	ᛘ	ᛏ	ᛏ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ
58	ᛚ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛗ	ᛁ	ᛁ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ	ᛉ

SCANDINAVIAN FUTHORC.

	F	U	TH	O	R	K	H	N	I	A	S	T	B	M	L	(1) Y, (2) Ū, (3) Œ, (4) R	W	K, ? KA	G	E	Æ	D
N° 6	ᚠ feu.	ᚢ ur.	ᚦ thur.	ᚬ os.	ᚱ rat.	ᚲ chaon.	ᚼ hagal.	ᚾ naut.	ᛁ is.	ᛅ ar.	ᛋ sol.	(ᛏ, imp.) ? tir.	ᛒ brita.	ᛘ man.	ᛚ lagu.	(1) ᛦ yr.	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,, 6½	ᚠ	ᚢ	ᚦ	ᚬ	ᚱ	ᚲ	ᚼ	ᚾ	ᛁ	ᛅ	ᛋ	ᛏ	ᛒ	ᛘ	ᛚ	(2) ᚱ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
,, 12	ᚠ F.	ᚢ U.	ᚦ Þ.	ᚬ O.	ᚱ R.	ᚴ C.	ᚼ H.	ᚾ N.	ᛁ I.	ᛅ A.	ᛋ S.	ᛏ T.	ᛒ B.	ᛘ M.	ᛚ L.	(3) ᛆ Œ.	,,	,,	ᚵ G.	,,	,,	,,
,, 14	ᚠ fe.	ᚢ ur.	ᚦ þors.	ᚬ os.	ᚱ reð.	ᚴ con.	ᚼ hagol.	ᚾ noð.	ᛁ is.	ᛅ ar.	ᛋ sol.	ᛏ tyr.	ᛒ beorc.	ᛘ manðr.	ᛚ loer.	(1) ᛦ yr.	ᚹ W.	ᚴ K.	ᚵ G.	ᛇ E.	ᛈ Æ.	ᛉ D.
,, 15, B	ᚠ	ᚢ	ᚦ	ᚬ	ᚱ	ᚴ	ᚼ	ᚾ	ᛁ	ᛅ	ᛋ	ᛏ	ᛒ	ᛘ (2)	ᛚ (1)	(1) ᛦ	,,	,,	ᛯ (2)	ᛜ (3)	,,	ᛏ (1)
,, 15, C	ᛦ	᛬	᛭	ᛮ	ᛯ	ᛰ	ᛱ	ᛲ	ᛳ	ᛴ	ᛵ	ᛶ	,,	ᛘ (2)	,,	(1) ᛦ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

SCANDINAVIAN RUNES MADE INTO THE LATIN ALPHABET.

HEAD-TYPES AND NAMES ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY FROM ALL THE ALPHABETS.

	N° 4.	5.	7.	8.	9.	10.	13.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.
ᚠ	F, fech	F, feoh	[F]	F, fe, fech	F, feoh	F, feh	feoh	F	F	F, fech	feh	[F]	F, feh	F	,,	F	F, fech	,,	,,
ᚡ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚢ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚣ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚤ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚥ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚦ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚧ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚨ, ᚩ, ᚪ	U, ur	U, ur	[U]	V, ur	U, ur	U, ur	ur	U	V	U, hur	ur	[U]	U, ur	U	,,	V	U, ur	V	V
(1) ᚫ (2) ᚬ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚭ, ᚮ	TH, thorn	Đ, ðorn	[Đ]	Đ, ðorn	Đ, ðorn	Đ, dorn	þorn	Đ	Đ	,,	,,	,,	,,	Đ	,,	Đ	,,	,,	,,
ᚯ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚰ, ᚱ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚲ, ᚳ	O, os	O, os	[O]	O, os	O, os	OO, oos	os	O	O	O, othil	os	[O]	O, os	O	O, othil	O	O, otil	O	O
ᚴ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚵ	R, rad	R, rad	[R]	R, ræda	R, rad	R, rat	rad	R	R	,,	rat	[R]	R, raad	R	,,	R	R, rehrt	R	R
ᚶ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚷ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚸ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚹ, ᚺ, ᚻ	C, ken	C, cen	[C]	C, cen	C, cen	C, cen	cen	C	C, P	,,	cen	[C]	C, cen	C	,,	C	,,	C, X	C, X
ᚼ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᚽ, ᚾ, ᚿ (2) ᛉ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	C, chen	,,	,,	,,	C	C, chen	cen	,,	F	F
(1) ᛁ, (2) ᛣ, (3) ᛦ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᛅ, (2) ᛋ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛆ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛇ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛈ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q, chon	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛉ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛊ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	calc	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛋ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛌ	,,	,,	,,	,,	calc	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	calc	,,	,,	,,

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED).

	N° 27.	28.	29.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	52.	53.	57.	58.	59.
F, 1	F	,,	F	F	,,	F	F	,,	,,	,,	F	,,	,,	,,	,,	F, feu	F	F, fech	,,	,,	,,	F, fech
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	F, fich	,,	,,	,,
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	F	F, fehc	,,	,,	,,	,,	F	F	,,
– 6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 7	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
U 1	V	V	V	V	C	U, Y	V	U, uur	U, ur	,,	U	U	U, hur	Q, V	U, hur	U, ur	U	U, ur	U, uir	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	V	V	,,
TH, 1	D	,,	D	TH	,,	D	D	D, dorn	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	[TH]	D	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	D, dexu	,,	,,	,,
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
O, 1	,,	O	,,	O	,,	O	O	,,	O, os	,,	O	,,	O, otil	O	,,	O, os	,,	O, otil	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	A	O, othil	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	O, othil
R, 1	R	R	R	R	,,	R	R	,,	,,	,,	R	,,	R, rehit	,,	R, rehit	R, rat	R	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	T, tir	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	R	R	,,
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	R	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	R, rehit	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	R	,,	,,	,,	,,	R	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	R, rat	,,	,,	,,
C, K 1	C	C, X	C	C	,,	C	,,	C, con	,,	C	C	,,	,,	C	,,	C, cen	C	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	C, caon	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 3	,,	F	,,	,,	,,	,, S	F	,,	F, feu	,,	,,	,,	C, ché	,,	C, chen	,,	,,	C, cen	,,	C, (2) H	,,	C, chen
– 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	I, ios	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	(2) K	(3) K	,,
– 5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	(2) X, xen	,,	,,	,,	,,	(1) G	,,
– 6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	C	,,	,,	,,	,,	C	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	C, cusil	,,	,,	,,
– 7	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	C	,,
– 8	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	H	,,
– 9	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	K	,,	,,	,,	,,	K	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 10	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 11	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	K, ki	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 12	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

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OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED)

	No 4.	5.	7.	8.	9.	10.	13.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.
ᚲ ᛏ	K	[K]	..	..	K, iolx	..	calc	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛝ	..	..	[? x]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᚺ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	K	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CAAR (no rune)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	caar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛇ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᚷ ᛋ ᚸ	G, geuo	G, gyfu	[G]	G, geofu	G, gifu	G, gebo. x, elux	gyfu	G	G	..	..	..	G, geos	X	..	G	..	..	..
ᚸ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᚺ ᛋ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	G	..	..	..	..	..
ᛝ ᛝ	G....	G, gar	..	..	G, gar	..	gar	..	..	..	..	..	Z, gaar	..	..	G	..	..	..
ᛝ ᚸ ᚸ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	K, gileh	..	K, kalk	G	..
ᚸ ᚸ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	G, gibu	..	..	..	..	G, gibu	..	G, gibu	..	..
ᚺ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	G, gile	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᚸ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᚸ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	G	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᚹ	UU, uung	UU, w, wen	[W]	UU, uyn	UU, wen	UU, huun	wyn	UU	W	..	..	..	..	D	..	W	..	..	..
(1) ᚹ (2) ᚹ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᚻ ᚻ	H, hagal	H, hægl	[H]	H, haegil	H, hegel	H, hagel	hegil	H	H	..	heih	[H]	H, hegil	H	..	H	V	H	H
ᚻ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(1) ᚾ (2) ᚾ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(2) H, hegl	..	..
(1) ᚾ ᚾ (2) ᚾ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	H, hagale	..	..	..	..	H, hagale	..	..	..	..
ᚾ ᚾ ᚾ	..	H, hægl	..	..	H, hegel	..	..	..	H	..	..	..	..	..	..	H	..	..	..
ᚾ	N, not	N, nyd	[S]	N, naed	N, nead	N, nod	ned	N	N	N, not	næer	[N]	..	N	..	N	..	N	N
ᚾ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	N, need	..	N, not	..	N, not	..	..
(1) ᛇ (2) ᛇ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(1) ᛁ (2) ᛁ	I, is	I, is	[I]	I, is	I, eac	I, iis	is	I	I	I	is	[I]	I, iis	I	I, his	I	I, is	I	I
ᛇ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛡ ᛡ ᛡ	GER, iar	GÆ, ger	[GÆ]	GG, gaer	GÆ, gear	G, ger	gyr	GG	GÆ	..	ker	[G]	..	G	..	GÆ	..	..	..
ᛡ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛦ ᛦ ᛦ	IH, hic	EO, eoh	[EO]	IH, ih	EO.	K, ih	eth	X	EO	..	..	..	..	K	..	EO	..	..	..

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED).

	N° 27.	28.	29.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	52.	53.	57.	58.	59.
C, K 13	,,	,,	Q	,,	,,	K	,,	K, ker	,,	,,	K	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 14	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q	EU	,,	,,	,,	,,	EU	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	K, kalc	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 15	,,	,,	,,	,,	K	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 16	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 17	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ls calc	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
G, 1	,,	,,	,,	,,	G	G	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	H, agalc	,,	H, hagale	,,	G	,,	,,	G	G	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	H, heil	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 3	G	,,	G	,,	,,	,,	G	G, gebo	,,	,,	,,	G	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	G, guiclr	,,	,,	,,
– 4	K	,,	K	G	G	G	,,	,,	A, caar	,,	G	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	K	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 5	,,	G	X	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	E, cor. R, keir. X, elx	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	K, gilch	G, genue	X	,,	Z	,,	,,	K, chilch
– 6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	G, gibu	,,	G, gibu	,,	,,	G, gibu	E, egui	,,	,,	G, gibu
– 7	G	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 8	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	G, geŭo	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 9	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	G, N	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
W, 1	,,	,,	,,	W	W	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	W	,,	A, asc	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	B, bira	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ⓐ W	,,	,,
H, 1	,,	H	,,	H	H	H	,,	H, hagal	,,	,,	H	,,	,,	H	,,	H, he	,,	,,	N	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	H	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	H	,,	,,	,,	,,	H,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	H, huil	,,	E	,,
– 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	H, hegl	,,	,,	,,	ⓐ H, hagale
– 5	H	,,	H	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	H	,,	K, kain	,,	,,	,,
N, 1	N	N	N	N	N	N	,,	N, nod	N, net	,,	N	,,	,,	,,	,,	N, net	N	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	N	,,	,,	N, not	N, G	,,	,,	,,	N, not	N, nihn	,,	,,	N, not
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ⓘ N	ⓐ N	,,
I, 1	I	I	I	,,	I	I	I	I, fs	,,	,,	,,	I	I, his	I	I, his	I	I	I, is	I, iechua	ⓐ I	ⓘ I	I, his
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	I, K	G	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Y, 1	,,	,,	,,	G	GG	G, OE	,,	,,	D, doro	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Y	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	G, gyth	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
yO, 1	,,	,,	,,	[EO]	X	H	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED).

	N° 4.	5.	7.	8.	9.	10.	13.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.
ᛁᛑ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛈ	ᚹ, pert	ᚹ, peorð	[ᚹ]	ᚹ, peorð	ᚹ, peorð	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛉ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᚺ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	ᚹ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᚹ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛞ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛋ	..	..	..	..	..	ᚹ, perd	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	ᚹ	..	..	..	..	..
ᚾ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᚺ, ᛕ	..	..	..	..	..	..	peoih	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛋ, ᛞ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	ᚹ, pert	..	..
ᛪ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	ᚹ, perc	..	..	..	..
ᛦ, ᛠ	ᚢ, ilix	ᚷ, eolhx	[ᚢ]	ᛁ et ᚷ, ilcs	ᚷ	..	..	ᚢ	ᛦ	ᛦ, huyri	..	[ᚴ]	ᚴ	..	..	..	ᛦ, yn	ᚴ, ᛦ	ᚴ, ᛦ
ᛯ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	[ᚷ.] elcd	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛮ	..	..	..	..	..	..	eolhx	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛰ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᚿ, ᚻ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛋ, ᚴ	ᛋ, sigil	ᛋ, sigel	[ᛋ]	ᛋ, sigil	sigel	ᛋ, sigi	sigel	ᛋ	ᛋ	ᛋ, sugil	sil	[ᛋ]	ᛋ, sigil	ᛋ	..	..	..	ᛋ	ᛋ
(1) ᛘ (2) ᚺ, ᛋ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛊ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	ᛋ	..	..	..	..	..
ᛊ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	ᛋ, sigil	..	..
ᛚ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛈ, ᛇ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛟ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛞ, ᛟ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛏ	ᛏ, ti	ᛏ, tir	[ᛏ]	ᛏ, ti	ᛏ, tir	ᛏ, ti	tir	ᛏ	ᛏ	ᛏ, tac	tir	[ᛏ]	ᛏ, tu	ᛏ	..	ᛏ	ᛏ, tac	ᛏ	ᛏ
ᚨ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(1) ᚴ (2) ᚺ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛇ (2) ᚳ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ᛗ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED).

	N° 27.	28.	29.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	52.	53.	57.	58.	59.
yo, 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Ė	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
P, 1	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	P, perd	P	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	P	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	P	,,	,,	,,	,,	P	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	P, parth	,,	,,	,,
- 6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	P	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 7	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	P, perd	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 8	,,	P	P	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 9	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	P, pert	,,	,,	,,	,,	P, pert	,,	P	P	,,
- 10	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	P, perch	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	P, perc
(A), 1	Y	K. Y	Y	,,	IV	X	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Y, hyr	Y	,,	K, cer. Y, uir	Y	Y, yri	EI, cuic	,,	,,	,,
- 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	E. X	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	X, xeil	,,	,,	,,
- 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 4	,,	,,	,,	[? EA]	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	E	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	K, kilc	,,	,,	,,	,,	X, xelach	,,	X	X	,,
S, 1	S	S	S	S	S	S	N	S, sigo	,,	,,	S	N	,,	D. R. S	,,	S, sigil	S	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	(2) S, suhil	,,	,,	,,	,,	(1) S	(2) S	,,
- 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	S, sigil	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	S, sigil	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	S	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 7	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	S, surg	,,	,,	,,
- 8	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	S	,,	,,	,,	,,	S	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
T, 1	T	T	T	T	T	T	,,	T, tac	,,	,,	T	,,	,,	T	T, tac	T, tir	T	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	T	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	T, tac	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	T, tau	,,	,,	,,	T, tac	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	T	,,	,,
- 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	T	,,	,,	,,	T	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	T	,,
- 5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	T, traug	,,	,,	,,

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED).

	N° 4.	5.	7.	8.	9.	10.	13.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.
ᛒ, ᛒ	B, berc	B, beorc	[B]	B, berc	B, berc	B, borg	beorc	B	B	B, birith	beric	[B]	B, berc	B	B, birith	B	B, bira	B	B
(1) ᛒ, (2) ᛒ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᛓ, (2) ᛓ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛖ, ᛖ	E, hæc	E, eh	[E]	E, eh	E, eþel	E, eh	eoh	E. M	E	E, eoh	eh	[E]	E, eeh	E	E, eeh	E	E, eeh	E	E
(1) ᛅ, (2) ᛅ, (3) ᚼ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛗ, ᛘ, ᛘ ...	M, man	M, man. D, deg	[M]	M, mon	D, M, deg	M, man	man	M	M	M, man	man	,,	M, moun	M	M, man	M	,,	M	M
ᛆ, ᛆ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	M, man	,,	,,
(1) ᚮ, (2) ᚾ, (3) ᛎ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	(2) [M]	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛟ, ᛟ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛚ	L, lag	L, lagu	[L]	L, lagu	L, lagir	L, lago	lagu	L	L	L, lagu	lago	[L]	L, lago	L	L, lagu	L	L, lagu	L	L
ᛦ, ᛦ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛇ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚠ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛇ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛝ, ᛝ	,,	ING, ing	[NG]	NG, ing	ING, inc	,,	ing	INC	ING	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ING	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᛉ, (2) ᛉ	IN, hinc	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛊ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	N, ine	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛞ, ᛞ, ᛞ ...	D, dag	D, dæg. M, mann	[D]	D, daeg	M. D. mann	T, tag	dæg	DD	D	D, thorn	dai	[D]	D, daeg	T	D, thorn	D	D, drom	D	D
ᛑ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚩ, ᛟ, ᚪ	,,	OE, ethel	[OE]	OE, oedil	OE,	O, odil	eðel	,,	OE	,,	,,	,,	,,	O	,,	OE	,,	Q	Q
ᛩ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	eðel	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛯ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	A. OE	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛯ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	A. OE	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᛯ, (2) ᛋ	OE, othl	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚨ, ᚨ	A, as	A, ac	[A]	A, ac	A, ac	AA, asc	ac	,,	A	,,	ag	[A]	A, aac	A	A, asc	,,	,,	A	A
ᚭ, ᚭ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	A	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᚱ, (2) ᚴ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚴ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛦ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED).

	N° 27.	28.	29.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	52.	53.	57.	58.	59.
B, 1	B	B	B	B	B	B	A. B	B, berg	B, berih	,,	B	B	,,	B	B, birith	B, berch	B	,,	,,	,,	,,	B, byrith
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	B, bem	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	B, bira	B, braut	(2) B	(2) B	,,
E, 1	E	E	E	E	E	M	,,	,,	,,	,,	E	,,	E, eth	E	E, eho	E, eg	E	,,	E, ech	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	E, ethim	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	(3) E	,,	(2) E, ech
M, 1	M	M	M	M	M	,,	,,	M, man	M, men	M	M	,,	,,	M	M, man	M, man	M	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	M, mam	,,	,,	,,	,,	M, man	,,	,,	,,	M, man
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	(1) M	(3) M	,,
– 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	M	,,	,,	,,	,,	M	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	M, muin	,,	,,	,,
L, 1	L	L	L	L	L	L	,,	L, lago	L, lin	,,	L	,,	,,	L	L, lagv	L, la...	L	,,	,,	,,	,,	L, lagu
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	L, lac	,,	,,	,,	,,	L, lagu	,,	L	L	,,
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	K	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	L	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	L	,,	,,	,,	,,	L	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	L, louber	,,	,,	,,
NG, 1	,,	,,	,,	ING	INC	ING	,,	,,	,,	,,	I	,,	,,	,,	,,	[NG]	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	HINC, hinc	,,	,,	,,
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
D, 1	,,	D	,,	D	D. E	D. E	,,	,,	,,	D, dem	D. E	,,	D, dhron	,,	D, thorn	D, derhu	,,	D, drom	,,	D	D	D, thorn
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	D	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
OE, 1	O	Q	O	OE	,,	OE	,,	,,	,,	O	I	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q, cui	O	,,	OE, oru. AU, aur	O	O	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	A	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	A	,,	,,	O, odil	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 5	,,	,,	,,	,,	OE	,,	O. AU	,,	,,	,,	,,	O. AU	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	D, or	,,	,,	,,
A, 1	A	A	A	A	A	,,	,,	A, ac	,,	,,	A	,,	,,	,,	,,	A, ag	A	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	A	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	P	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	(1) A, asc	(2) A, alar	,,	,,	,,
– 4	,,	,,	,,	A	,,	,,	,,	,,	S, naut	,,	A	,,	,,	,,	N, not	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 5	,,	,,	,,	Æ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	C, cem	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED).

	N° 4.	5.	7.	8.	9.	10.	13.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.
ᚨ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚫ, ᚪ, ᚬ ...	e...	æsc	[Æ]	AE, aer	Æ, æsc	A, ae	æsc	Æ	AE	A, asc	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	A. Æ	A, asc	,,	,,
ᚮ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Æ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛄ, ᛇ	,,	AE	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛇ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛈ, ᛉ, ᛊ, ᛗ, ᛏ	,,	Y, yr	[Y]	Y, yr	,,	,,	yr	Y	Z	,,	uyr	[Y]	Y, ir	,,	,,	Y	,,	Z	Z
ᛒ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛓ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᚻ, (2) ᛘ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q, yur	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚼ, ᚽ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᚾ, (2) ᛟ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛁ	,,	IO, io, iar	[IO]	,,	IOR, orent	,,	ior	OE	IO	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	IO	,,	,,	,,
ᛂ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛇ, ᛋ, ᛎ ...	EO	EAR, tir car	[EA]	EA, eor	EAR, tir	Z, aer	car	EA	EAR	X, halach	,,	,,	,,	Z	,,	EAR	Z, ziu	,,	,,
ᛏ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛐ	[Q]	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	P	,,	,,	,,
ᛑ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛒ, ᛦ	,,	Q, cweorð	,,	C	Q, cur, cweorð	,,	,,	,,	Q	Q	,,	[Q]	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛓ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛔ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	querð	Q	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛕ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᛖ, (2) ᛞ, ᛝ ..	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛗ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᛚ, (2) ᛩ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛘ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛙ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q, qhon	,,	,,
ᛚ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛛ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛜ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q, yymoth	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED).

	N° 27.	28.	29.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	52.	53.	57.	58.	59.
Á, 6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	A	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Æ, 1	,,	,,	,,	,,	Æ	A	,,	,,	A, asc	,,	AE	,,	,,	,,	A, asch	,,	,,	,,	,,	A	A	A, asc
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	A	,,	,,	,,	,,	B	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	A	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Ú, 1	,,	,,	,,	Y	Y	,,	,,	R, rat	,,	,,	Y	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Y, huyri	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Y	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	(2) Y	,,	,,
– 5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Y	,,	,,	,,	,,	Y	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Y, oyr	,,	,,	,,
– 6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Y, inc	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Y	,,
IO, 1	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	E	,,	,,	,,	I	E, X	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	H	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
EA, 1	,,	,,	,,	X	EA	EAR	ET	E, ear	,,	,,	,,	,,	Y, hyr	,,	z, ziu	,,	,,	z, ziu	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Z	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Q, 1	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	z, ziu	X	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 5	,,	,,	,,	Q	Q	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 7	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	(2) Q	(2) Q	,,
– 8	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q, quith	,,	,,	,,
– 9	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q, chon	,,	,,	(2) Q, qhon	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 10	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 11	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q, chon	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 12	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 13	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Q, quor	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
– 14	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED).

	N° 4.	5.	7.	8.	9.	10.	13.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.
ᛋ	,,	ST, Z, stan	,,	,,	Z, SE, ST, stan	,,	,,	sund	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Z	,,	Z, SE, ST	,,	,,	,,
ᛌ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	stan	S	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᛝ, (2) ᛞ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛏ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛒᛋ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛗ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛚ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛟ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛇ, ᛯ, ᛊ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	z	,,	,,	,,	,,	[z]	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᛐ, (2) ᛑ, (3) ᛘ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
(1) ᚿ, (2) ᚥ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛋᛋ, ᛥ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	z, ziu	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛪ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	UULT	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛞ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	? meridies	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᚴᛏ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛘᛘ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛘᛘ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛎᛏ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ET	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛚᛇ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛎᛎ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛎᛏ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛎᛎ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ᛎᛎ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
•	,,	,,	,,	A	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
:	,,	,,	,,	E	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
⁘	,,	,,	,,	I	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
⁙	,,	,,	,,	O	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
⁖	,,	,,	,,	U	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED).

	N° 27.	28.	29.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	52.	53.	57.	58.	59.
ST, 1	,,	,,	,,	,,	SVNT	,,	,,	,,	,,	P	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 2	,,	,,	,,	S	S	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	S	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ECCE	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ECCE	,,	,,	,,	,,	ECCE	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	(2) ECCE, elau	,,	,,	,,
EI	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	EI	,,	,,	,,	,,	EI	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
X	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	x, helac	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
HINC, HUNC	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	HUNC	,,	,,	,,	,,	HUNC	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Z
EGO, 1 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	EGO, hene	,,	,,	,,
- 2 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	EGO	,,	,,	,,	,,	EGO	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Z, 1	Z	,,	Z	Z	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Z	,,	,,	,,	,,	[z]	Z	,,	z, zeirc	,,	,,	,,
- 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	(2) Z	,,	,,	,,	,,	(2) Z	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	(1) Z	(3) Z	,,
- 3	,,	(2) Z	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Z	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	x, elux	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	x, helahe	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
VVLT	,,	,,	,,	,,	WLT	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	VULT, utl	,,	,,	,,
? MERIDIES	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
ET, 1	,,	,,	,,	ET	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	[ET]	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ET	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ET	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 5	,,	,,	,,	ET	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	&	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	[? ET]	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
- 7	,,	,,	,,	,,	ET	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Æ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Æ	,,	,,	,,	,,	Æ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	AE, arm	,,	,,	,,
EU	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	EU, egui	,,	,,	,,
A	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
E	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
I	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
O	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
U	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

ON THE RUNIC LETTERS.

It is not my intention in the following lines to write a History of Runic Literature, which would require a large book for itself if done as it ought, nor of Runes in general, for which I have neither time, talent nor money. I only wish to bring together the various Old-Northern types for each letter as actually found on the monuments — for here as elsewhere the comparative method is the only sure one —, and to show the chief corresponding forms on the Scandinavian-runic pieces. These latter might have been indefinitely multiplied, but I wisht to be short, to give what was sufficient to assist the beginner, and to use only those stones and other monuments copies of which exist in a trustworthy shape, and these are only a small minority. But their number is rapidly increasing, and in a few years another and abler hand will have the materials from which to fill in or correct what may here be only meagre or defective. The only condition is, to *follow* the monuments, not to *doctor* them. These materials are so much the more interesting, as they fill such a sweep of centuries; for they partially remained in more or less public use (in the outlying and less "educated" districts) in Scandinavia down to within 2 or 3 hundred years, in Sweden and Norway even to the close of the 18th century. Their great store-house is Sweden, which can show nearly three times as many Runic Monuments as *all* the other Northern lands put together. Sweden numbers not far from 2000 runic pieces. And what Sweden is to the rest of the North, Upland is to the rest of Sweden, that province boasting about 800 carved runic remains.

A.

This being such an important vowel, and occurring so frequently, we cannot be too careful in defining the staves by which it has been represented.

My greatest discovery in this branch of science, and without which I should not have been able to read these Old-Northern monuments, is, that in the Old-Northern Alphabet the characteristic rune for A is ᛅ.

But in the later or Scandinavian stave-row ᛅ is the sign for M. — See that letter.

How ᛅ could *provincially*, in Scandinavia and its *later* colonies, pass over from A to M, while *originally* both at home and in the *earlier* Scandinavian settlements it was always A, I cannot explain. This change may have been connected with some literary or political Reformation or Revolution of which we now know nothing, but which perhaps future discoveries may tend to elucidate.

In the *oldest* (*metallic*) alphabets, which date say not later than the year 500, this ᛅ is *always* in its usual place (between P and S) as what the carved stones &c. clearly show was A.

But in the *later* and *parchment* alphabets, the *oldest* of them from about the year 800 to 1000, for we need not trouble ourselves here with those of a later date, the power of ᛅ is strangely mystified or troubled or modified, and is given as I or IL or Y or X, &c., while at the same time these same parchments give a separate rune, frequent on English monuments but as yet occurring only on one Scandinavian piece (a Bracteate), the stave ᛆ, as EA (= YA or YA, the A with the half-vowel prefix so common everywhere but especially in English dialects). Thus 2 runes have arisen out of one, ᛅ for A and ᛆ for YA, and *both* these letters are found on the Thames Knife. So early is the YA.

The difficulty of understanding what sound was intended for ᛅ by the parchment alphabet-makers is so much the greater, as this rune so very seldom occurs (as yet) on purely English monuments, while the parchment alphabets themselves are all directly or indirectly English!

I have as yet only found ᛅ on *three* pieces of English workmanship, the St. Andrews Ring, the Thames Knife and a Runic Coin (Wyk), and on them all it is apparently A, as in Scandinavia.

Now as the parchment staverows, which are all comparatively modern, regularly give ᚬ as the rune for A, and as this ᚬ was evidently a letter of later and provincial English growth which became almost everywhere employed on English monuments, the ᛅ as A was evidently become obsolete, a duplicate and useless. Therefore the alphabet-writers, unwilling to omit it altogether, seem to have given it a fanciful value, perhaps chiefly for secret and private writing. What that value was, as we have said, we cannot tell; for it was, so to speak, never used, so far as the monuments yet discovered go. If it

ever had a real practical value in *later* times, it was perhaps ᛦ, one of the many variations of that letter. At least among the Coins of Eanred, King of Northumbria 810-832 (Archæol. Brit., Vol. 25, p. 295), we have, besides pieces with the mintmaster ᛒᚱᚩᚦᛖᚱ (BRODER), also one with the mintmaster ᛈᛦᚺᚢᛦᛚᚠ (CYNVVLF). But the second rune is on others of these latter pieces found as ᚢ and as ᚡ; thus showing that all three were ᛦ, as indeed the name requires. And, accordingly, ᛦ is the sound given to ᛘ in many of the Old-English ABC-arranged skinbook alphabets, as well as in the "Coelbren y Beirz" (Stave of the Bardic Signs, Old Welsh Alphabet).

We need not stop to consider the ᛘ in the alphabet of Ulfilas, for this letter with him is ᚦ (TH), and is merely an arbitrary use in his artificial alphabet of the Greek PS-mark (ᛘ).

The regular Old-Northern rune, then, on these monuments, for ᚪ is ᛘ. We have it on Bracteates Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 59, and on the monuments from Årstad, Belland, Björketorp, Bratsberg, Gallehus, Istaby, Konghell, Krogstad, Lindholm, Möjebro, Nydam, Osthofen, Reidstad, Runic Coin (Wyk), St. Andrews, Sigdal, Stenstad, Tanem, Tanum, Thames Knife, Thisted, Thorsbjerg (Shield-boss and Sword-sheath), Tjängvide, Tomstad, Tune, Væblungsnæs, (? Vånga), Varnum, Veile, Vi Plane and Vordingborg.

Here and there are small accidental variations, as usual. Thus on the Krogstad and Möjebro pieces the one arm is a little shorter than the other; on the Thorsbjerg Shield-boss the one arm is a little higher than the other. On Bracteate No. 37 the shank or foot is absent, so that it becomes ᚡ. A greater variety is shown on the Charnay Brooch, where the arms are doubled, thus ᚼ, while on the Stentoften and Voldtofte stones the whole letter is upside down, and we thus get ᛦ, which reminds us that as we have seen ᛘ used for ᛦ in England, so ᛦ is usually found for ᛦ in the Scandinavian futhork.

The regular Scandinavian rune for ᚪ is ᚨ or ᛅ. But it goes back in Scandinavia to Old-Northern times. We have it on Bracteate No. 1, and on the Björketorp, Charnay, Lindholm and Stentoft pieces, clearly as a broad ᚪ; the 4 last have both signs, ᛘ (or one of its modifications) for ᚪ and ᚨ for Å. The ᛅ occurs on the Holmen and Mörbylånga pieces, and on the Bridekirk Font, in the modified form ᛇ, all which three monuments are from the middle age. Besides these standing forms ᚨ and ᛅ, there are manifold variations on Scandinavian-runic stones, often *several* forms on the *same* stone; thus Saleby, West-Gotland, it is ᛅ; Hammel, N. Jutland, Vederslev, N. Jutl., Gjerde, Norway, Grindem, Norway, Skeberg, Norway, &c., it is ᛇ; Mälby and Norby and Vänderstad, Upland, and Sylling, Norway, it is ᛁ; Ed, Upland, has ᛐ; and quite or nearly so on some other stones, perhaps intentionally or else from the difficulty of always bending the stroke more downwards. Properly this last stands for ᛖ. In one place, from there being so very little room at that particular spot, the rune-carver has ᛁᛁ for ᚪ, otherwise always ᛅ; this is the Skilstad stone, Upland. Another and later shape is ᚴ, as on the Skönabäck Horn, Lund. There are other occasional modifications, as on the Fockstad stone, Upland, where the pillar-stave has a twist; the Dammark stone, Upland, where the cross-stroke is in two pieces, the one a little below the other, and so on. Such small variations were partly fanciful, and partly caused by some peculiarity in the stone at that place. They are common in all alphabets, and in all lands and times, and neither surprise nor puzzle any one. Entirely fanciful and capricious, a mere ingenious trick to try the skill of the reader, is such a rune as ᛏ (otherwise ᛐ) for ᚪ on the Flatdal stone, Norway, which in other places has the regular ᛅ. This stone has several other such mystifications, and they also occur on other monuments.

But the slant of the ᛅ may be variously placed. Thus on the Charnay Brooch we have ᚬ for ᚪ, and this form is not uncommon on Scandinavian-runic pieces, some of them excessively old. We have it at Horning, North-Jutland; at Tång and Varpsund and Gran and Viggby and Ulstämma and Örsunda in Upland; Saleby and Flo in West-Gotland; Rök in East-Gotland; Forsa in Helsingland; Maeshowe (Nos. 3 and 19). This ᚬ vowel may also be weakened, and may stand for ᛖ, as on the Thisted stone, N. Jutland. — But the side-stroke may be reverst, and we thus get ᛋ as ᚪ, sometimes on the same stone interchanged with ᚬ. This form perhaps occurs once on the Glavendrup stone, but it is sure at Nyby, Upland, at Öresund, Folsberga, Friberg and Vaxala in the same province, and elsewhere. — We may even have the side-stroke alone, the stave being absent; thus ᛌ is ᚪ in the *staveless* Helsing-runes, and now and then elsewhere, as on the second wooden wand at Vinje in Norway.

In the Tree-runes and other such artificial and secret staves the ᚪ may of course have many forms, of which we shall find examples in the two stones here engraved from Maeshowe.

When a distinction is made between ᚾ and ᛅ, as often happens, then that futhork which has ᛅ as ᚨ has ᚾ as ᚫ.

One peculiarity is here deserving of especial notice. It is that, by an elegance or caprice or fashion of writing widely prevalent at certain times and in certain districts, there has sometimes been the custom to use this ᚾ (ᚨ) *reverst* (ᚾ). But this is properly the rune for N. Accordingly on all those pieces where ᚾ stands for ᚨ, ᚾ of course stands for N. I do not remember to have yet met with this ᚾ ᚨ on any English monument, but we have it in Scandinavia from very early times, even on an Old-Northern piece, the Upsala Axe. — In Scandinavian-runics it is found all thro, 8 times, on the Great Ångeby stone, Upland, which has ᚾ for N. It occurs again on the South Kirkeby stone, Falster; the Tång stone, Upland; the Glia stone, Upland; the Lundby stone, East-Gotland; the Abrahamstorp stone, West-Gotland, and the Sanda and Lagnö stones, Södermanland, &c., &c., interchanging with the more usual forms for ᚨ.

So when ᚾ is ᚫ and ᚾ N, we may have ᚾ for ᚫ and ᚾ for N. We even find ᚾ for N on Old-Northern monuments, including the Golden Horn (Gallehus), which have quite other letters for ᚨ and ᚫ. Thus the position of the stroke has often been regarded as immaterial.

I have said that ᚠ for ᚨ is apparently later, and provincial English. As the ᛉ died out in Scandinavia, it was replaced by ᚾ or ᛅ; as it died out in England, it was replaced by ᚠ. At least this is the conclusion of the monumental evidence. We have ᚠ as ᚨ only on one Bracteate, No. 58. Either therefore this Bracteate was made in England, or the letter was taken from an English futhorc. Other finds may prove that ᚠ was also Scandinavian; but otherwise, with the exception of Bracteate No. 58, it has only been found in England, namely: Æðred's Ring, Alnmouth, Bewcastle, Collingham, Falstone, the Franks Casket, ? Hackness, Lancaster, Leeds, Ruthwell and the Thames Knife. It constantly appears on English Runic Coins and in English parchment Alphabets, &c. On the Wyk Coin ᚠ would seem to have been ᛟ, rather than ᚨ.

When we find a skinbook giving in its futhorc *points* for the *vowels* —· for ᚨ, : for ᛖ, ⁝ for ᛁ, :: for ᛟ and ⁘ for ᚢ, we must remember that this is chiefly for fanciful and secret writing, just as these manuscripts sometimes inform us how we may substitute one letter for another for the same purpose, or leave the vowels out, and so on. Such things are seldom or never found on any carved monument. Only one such, the Franks Casket, has *mayhap* · for ᚨ, but I do not believe it. I look upon it as a stop.

For various forms of modified Roman letters for ᚨ, see Æðred's Ring, Alnmouth, the Franks Casket and Ruthwell.

There are few Bind-runes beginning with ᚨ on the pieces in the text, only ᚨᛚ on the Holmen piece, ᚨᛟ on Bracteate No. 56, and the usual English mark for ᚨᚾᛞ on the Bridekirk Font.

But as specimens of the frequency of these monograms on Scandinavian-runics I would mention the Runic Ties for ᚨᛒ, Sõby, N. Jutland; ᚨᛖ, Skönabäck Horn, Lund; ᚨᛖᛚ, on an unnamed Danish Censer; ᚨᛖᚾ, Skönabäck Horn, Lund; ᚨᚠ, several varieties, Hesselager, N. Jutland, Lye stones, Gotland, and Tinn, Norway; ᚨᚷ, varieties, unnamed Danish Censers, and the 2nd wooden wand, Vinje, Norway; ᚨᚴ, many varieties, Såstad, Upland; Hõsmo, Småland; Flatdal, Norway; Lye, Gotland; Lunde, N. Jutland; unnamed Danish Censer; Bergemoen, Norway; Maeshowe, No. 1; ᚨᛚ, Flatdal, Norway; another form, Gerum, Gotland; Tingvold, Norway; Flatdal, Norway; Lye, Gotland; Uglum, W. Gotland; ? ᚨᛚᚨᚾᛏ, Maeshowe, No. 22; ᚨᚾ, various forms, Barnspike, England; Skeberg and Flatdal, Norway; Såstad, Upland; Bryndersley, N. Jutland; 2nd wand, Vinje, Norway; unnamed Danish Censer; Lye and other stones, Gotland; Nyble, East-Gotland; Tandberg, Norway; Vrickstad, Småland; Haide, Gotland; Årsunda, Gestrikland; Björnum, Upland; Ingle, Upland; Honungsby, Upland; ᚨᚾᚺ, Ingle, Upland; ᚨᚾᚾ, Tinn, Norway; ᚨᛟ, Vesterby, Upland; ᚨᛈ, Tinn, Norway; ᚨᚱ, many varieties, Barnspike, England; Gerum, Gotland; Bryndersley, N. Jutland; Randers, N. Jutland; Söborg, Sealand; Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland; Holme, Ringsager, Tandberg, Tossoug, 2nd wand from Vinje, Norway; Maeshowe, Nos. 2, 11, 19, 20; Bergemoen, Norway; Tingvold and Flatdal, Norway; Långthora, Upland; Haide and Lye, Gotland; Hafsloe and Skeberg, Norway; Såstad, Upland; ᚨᛋ, Barnspike, England; Marma, Upland; ? ᚨᛋᛏᚢᛚ, Såstad, Upland; ᚨᛋᛏᛁᚫ, Barnspike, England; ? ᚨᛋᚢᚢ, Maeshowe, No. 22; ᚨᛏ, different shapes, Barnspike, England; Såstad, Upland; Mälby, Upland; Maeshowe, No. 22; ᚨᛞ, Sielle, N. Jutland; Carlisle, England; Haide and Lye, Gotland; ᚨᚢ, various, Barnspike, England; Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland; Vrickstad, Småland;

Haide and Lye, Gotland; Tinn, Norway; Aska and Gripsholm, Södermanland; Tuna, Södermanland; AU, Sanda, Upland; AUÆ, Herljunga, West-Gotland; AUE, unlike, Söborg, Sealand; Malma, West-Gotland; AUF, Kirk Onchan, Man.

(EA) YA.

As I have said, this sound, tho found everywhere, is peculiarly Old-English. And so is the rune, ᛉ, which expresses it, which would seem to have been of provincial English origin. Besides in English skinbook Alphabets and on English Runic Coins, we have it on the monuments at Dover, Nethi's Casket, Ruthwell, and the Thames Knife. It has only been found on one other piece, the Golden Bracteate No. 56. This also, therefore, like No. 58, I suspect to have been made in England or by an English artist, or to have copied this letter from the English futhorc. That it was not universally used even in England itself, is proved by such facts as that the Bewcastle Cross uses E and A separately, instead of this one rune for both, which the Carver would seem not to have approved. The Old-English spelling continually prefixt E before a vowel with the power of our Y, but of course in some dialects this E would be pronounced more or less separately. In fact the sound was probably often a very rapid EA, rather than a mere hard and mechanical YA.

This continual change and interchange of A, EA, EA (= YA), and other such combinations by which Y may be prefixt in some dialects and periods, omitted in others, — a process we meet with all the Northern lands over —, is well exemplified as to Southern England by the following extract:

"Traces of the modern Western provincial pronunciation of BEAM, CART, GATE, LEAP — *i. e.*, BE-AM, KY-ART, GA-UT, LE-AP — are found in the Kentish works of Dan Michel and William of Shoreham. In these works BEAM, BREAD, CHEEK, CLEPE (call), CHESTE (strife), DEAF, DEW, HEAP, LEAF, &c., are written BYEAM, BRYEAD, CHEAK, CHYEASTE, CLEAP, DYEAF, DYEAU, HYAP, LYEAF, &c. No trace of this is found in any other Southern writer. Sometimes the initial EA is represented by YA, YE, — as YALD, EALD, old; YEAR, ear; YERTH, earth; YESTRE, Easter, — just as in the Western counties we find YARM, arm; YEAT, eat, &c."[1]

Æ.

As this stave is common, in its regular shape, ᚠ, to the whole North, we have of course a wide range of examples. Besides occurring in its *reverst* form, ᚡ, on Bracteates Nos. 6, 17, 18, the Thorsbjerg Shield-boss and the Varnum stone, — we have it in its simple shape on Bracteates Nos. 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 49, 51, 52, 55, 57, 61, 63, 67, and on the remains found at or called Æðred's Ring, Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-3, Årstad, Belland, Berga, Bewcastle, Bratsberg, Buzeu, Charnay, Collingham, Etelhem, Falstone, Gallehus, Gjevedal, Hackness, Helnæs, Himlingöie, Istaby, Kragehul, Krogstad, Lancaster, Lindholm, Möjebro, Nethi's Casket, Nydam, Osthofen, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Seude, Sigdal, Sölvesborg, Stenstad, Stentoften, Tanem, Tanum, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg (Sword-sheath), Tjängvide, Tune, Væblungsnæs, Varnum, Veile, Vi Comb and Plane. Some of the oldest Scandinavian-runic stones have also ᚦ as Æ, for instance the famous block to King Gorm, Jellinge, N. Jutland, and the grand Glavendrup, Tirsted, Tryggevelde and Källbyås stones; probably also the Nærå block.

Of course I need not remark that there will be slight differences. The pillar-stave will be longer or shorter, more or less straight, the side-strokes nearer or farther apart, the top-stroke at the very tip or lower down, sometimes even nearly in the middle, and so on. But the type is always a clear ᚠ, sometimes on the same stone also carved ᚦ.

The figure with 3 side-strokes on Bracteate No. 19 would seem to be a kind of compound, = YÆ.

I have said that ᚠ is Æ. And so it is. But we all know how the vowels fluctuate. We all know how for instance A and Á and Æ and O interchange from time to time and from county to county. At this very moment in any part of the North we may have local dialects pronouncing HAND or HÆND or HOND, &c., and we write HALT, MALT, SALT, but pronounce the vowel nearly as AU or O, and so on in

[1] Mr. R. Morris, "On the Characteristics of the Southern Dialect in Early English", redd before the Philological Society, May 6, 1864, reported in "The Reader", May 28, 1864, p. 689.

hundreds of other words. To this day the South-English prefers its narrow Æ to the noble manly North-English A. Hence the value of this ᚠ is continually exposed to modification. Most of the vellum alphabets and of the few manuscript Rune-words make it Æ, but some A or O. And so on the monuments. It is convenient, as far as we can, to preserve the value, Æ, once given to this rune, but we are never quite sure that in some particular locality, it may not have had a slightly differing sound. Certain it is that in Scandinavia ᚠ, in its various shapes, had a tendency to be = Ö, and at last became the acknowledged representative of that sound. In other words, as the Old-Northern rune for O, ᛟ, died out in Scandinavia, it was replaced by ᚠ, which gradually became ᚬ and other forms; as it died out in England, or was modified into Œ, it was there replaced by ᚱ.

In this case, ᚬ having now become O, the sound Æ was exprest in Scandinavia by the rune ᛏ, — a clear distinction being thus made between ᛏ and ᛅ, for ᛏ was now Æ, but ᛅ was A —, or by the rune ᛆ. Instances of this ᛏ as an undoubted Æ on Scandinavian-runic pieces are very common, for instance: Vordingborg, Sealand; Lunde, Hesselager, Söby, Thisted, N. Jutland; Stokkemarke, Lolland; unnamed Danish Censer; Hvam, Iceland; Bergemoen, Grindem, Tingvold, Norway; 2 stones at Långthora, Upland; Ölstad, Upland; Dial. of the Virgin, Ms. Stockholm; Skoné Law, Ms. Denmark.

Sometimes this Æ-mark assumes nearly the form of an X, the figure leaning to the right, as at Maeshowe, No. 19; or of ᛉ, which otherwise stands for R, as at Folsberga, Upland; and apparently on the ancient Rök stone (where it is also nearly ᛏ) this mark is most likely = E; or of ᛯ, AE, ås on the Skönabeck Horn, Lund, or of ᛥ, as on the Kallehauge Seal[1].

By the principle of ornamental or careless reversal, of which we have spoken, ᛏ can be used for N; the N-mark ᚾ will then signify Æ, as for instance at Bergemoen, Norway, 3 times; Sylling and Raudland and Flatdal, Norway; Dial. of the Virgin, Ms. Stockholm; Kyrketorp, West-Gotland. And ᚾ often stands for Æ where ᚬ is used for N.

But there is also another Scandinavian, or rather there is an Old-Scandinavian, sign for Æ in the shape of the Scandinavian Aspirate or Guttural (for it is often used not only for H but also for GH or G) — ᚼ. This is so old in Scandinavia, as Æ, that it is found on numbers of the monuments called Old-Northern, on which, where ᚼ is Æ, ᚠ is O. As yet I have not met with this ᚼ as Æ on any English piece. To mark the distinction between this mark and the usual old Æ-runes ᚠ or ᛏ, I have everywhere given this Aspirate-Æ by $\overset{a}{H}$. This ᚼ, then, this Æ or $\overset{a}{H}$, is found on the Old-Northern and overgang stones at Björketorp, Gommor, Kallerup, Sæding, Snoldelev, Sölvesborg, Stentoften, Thisted, Tomstad, Upsala, Veile and West-Torp. As might be expected, it runs down into later stones called Scandinavian, as at Carlisle, England; Flemlöse and Frederiksgave and Hesselager, Fyn; at Maeshowe No. 22; Hällestad, Skoné; Bjälbo, East-Gotland; and at Skjern, N. Jutland, the large stone. Sometimes, as at Thisted, N. Jutland, ᚼ stands for both Æ and H in the same inscription; sometimes, as at Carlisle, England, and at Hesselager, Fyn, and Thisted, we have both ᚼ and ᛏ for Æ.

But on the older stones, those which are either wholly Old-Northern or Transitional, where both H and Æ happen to occur in the same carving, we have always ᚺ (or ᚻ, &c.) as H, and ᚼ as Æ. This ᚼ as $\overset{a}{H}$ may therefore be a mark of high antiquity. Where a stone has $\overset{a}{H}$ (ᚼ) but no H, the H, if it had occurred, would probably have been ᚺ, and thus the stone would either have been Old-Northern or Transitional. Thus for instance the Flemlöse block is doubtless *overgang*. Of course on stones with ᚼ as Æ, ᛏ will be A.

This overgang of H into Æ reminds us of the same tendency in other alphabets. Thus in Greece the old Guttural (ᚽ or ᚺ). Heta (from Chet), was early softened down, and at last was often omitted altogether; but usually it became a fixt mark for the long E (= Æ, $\overline{e}$). From that period all the Greeks save the Athenians used the one half of the old guttural sign to express the *spiritus asper*, thus ᚴ, while the other half markt the *non aspirate*, thus ᚾ; as we all know, this ᚴ afterwards became ', and ᚾ became '.

In some Greek inscriptions we have what we might call a transition-period. The ᚽ on *one and the same stone*[2] has the powers of both H and Æ. This exactly corresponds to the same use of the

[1] Seal of the Guild of S. Eric of Kallehauge, Sealand, now in the Cheapinghaven Museum. The inscription, in Roman-Gothic uncials &c. runs: S' CONVIVAR SCI ERICI REGIS IN KALWEHAVÆ. But the last letter is the above rune. — This piece was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Herbst.

[2] Franzius, Elementa Epigraphices Graecae, 4to, Berlin 1840, p. 24.

Scandinavian ᛆ, and we might equally express this power of the Scandinavian olden ᛆ and of the old Greek Β by the sign ᚮ where the value was Æ.

So in Latin carvings there are several examples of the Greek H having been used for E.

But this Greek H was sometimes used even for A, and this down to a very late period. Thus on Frankish Golden Bullas struck at Byzantium, that of Balduin I is spelt BADOVINOS, with a clear A, while that of Balduin II is inscribed BALDOINOS, with a clear H for A.

There is a Roman Æ on the Chertsey dish.

The Old-Northern Bind-runes beginning with Æ are only: ᚮᛖ, Bewcastle: ᚮᚺ, Varnum: ᚮᚿ, Bracteate No. 48; and ᚮᛋ, Bracteate No. 30. On the Varnum stone we have the sam-stave ᚮ (or ᛅ).

The Carlisle stone has the tie ᚮᚿ.

B.

The rune ᛒ, B, is a common letter, running thro the Old-Northern and Scandinavian alphabets. It, as usual, may have many variations. The curves may be angular or round, large or small, slim or bulging; they may stand close together, the one meeting the other, or they may have a small or wide space between them; and these bows may end at top and bottom of the stave, or they may have a large or small portion of this stave jutting out above or below or both. But in spite of this and other differences, and whether carved carelessly or carefully, elegantly or barbarously, there is no doubt of the type. We have it at Bewcastle, Björketorp, Brflekirk, Charnay, Falstone, Franks Casket, ? Hackness, Kallerup, Kragehul, Lancaster, Lindholm, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Stentoften, Thames Knife, Tune, Varnum, Veile, Vi Plane and West-Torp; as well as on the Bracteates Nos. 22, 57, 63.

Among varieties on Scandinavian-runic stones may be mentioned, taking for instance ᛒ as normal, that we may fancy the pillar-stave altogether absent and only the lowermost or 4th half-angle remaining. This ᛬ will then be the B of the so-called Helsing-runes. — But if we let half the stave remain and the first or uppermost of the 4 half-curves, we shall then have ᛓ B found on the Varpsund stone, Upland. — Or we may have the whole stave, and one of the two bows, for instance the lower one. This is ᛓ (B) as found at Söby, N. Jutland, and Maeshowe No. 22. Another elegant variety, nearly identical with a form on some Old-English Coins, is ᚦ, as on the Folsberga stone, Upland. — Occasionally the curves may stand apart from the stave, ᛒ, as at Friberg, Upland. — Or only 2 half-angles may be employed, as ᚴ at Ryda, Upland, or ᚴ, at Ryda and Balsunda, Upland. Ornamentally and to save space on the right side; it is ᚿ on the Blackstad stone, Upland.

But, in addition to this ᛒ, there is a second and quite independent type for B, both on Old-Northern and Scandinavian pieces. This may be described as an application of the O-type ᛅ. Whether it has arisen from a thickness in the sound of O by which it became more or less like B in utterance, we cannot positively say. But the fact is there. We have ᛅ as B on Bracteate No. 24, and it enters into the Bind-rune for BÆ on Bracteate No. 30, (as ᛯ on Bracteate No. 28); and the Bind-rune for BL on Bracteate No. 30. — Singularly enough, as our ancestors thus used this O-type also for B, so the Lycian alphabet expresses the vowel O by the letter B.

Scandinavian-runic pieces, as we have said, follow up the same custom. Thus we have ᛅ for B on stones at Kirk Ballaugh, Kirk Braddan, Kirk Michael, Kirk Andreas and Kirk Onchan, Ile of Man; Alvstad and Nærheim, Norway; Kälfvesten, East-Gotland.

This B may also be carved reverst, ᚹ, as at Forsa, Helsingland; Rök, East-Gotland. — Or it may go right thro the stave, ᛯ, as on the Kleppe stone, Norway, and 3 times on the stone at Igelstad, Upland. The Gilberga stone, Upland, has both ᛯ and ᛒ for B, each once, using ᛃ for O.

The Sästad stone, Upland, has a Bind-rune for BT. As it is peculiar, I copy it — ᛒᛏ. So at Barnspike, England, we have ᛒᚢ for BU.

In the Old-English skinbook futhorcs, to which the reader will of course perpetually refer, will be found some other *entirely fanciful* characters for B, sometimes to some degree founded on the acknowledged type. There are yet others in a comparatively modern codex now at Freisingen (? 10th or 11th century)[1], which contains a few Latin words written in Old-English Runic characters. B is here ᛒ and ᛓ.

For the use of B for F, see under F.

[1] Kemble, The Runes of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 40, and fig. 20.

C.

As we know, C and K singularly interchange, for the sound of the ancient C was often soft or sibilant, as in modern English and Italian, as well as hard, which it always was in the Old-English alphabet and elsewhere. So the primitive C, the rune or mark ᚲ, may have had different powers in different dialects or times or places. Of this we know nothing, and shall confine ourselves to the sign strictly interpreted by C, whatever that C may have signified. The characters for this letter are modified even in Classical alphabets. While ᚲ is C in Constantinopolitan, ᛘ is C in Lycian, and yet this latter has ᛕ for K.

In the Old-Northern staverow the favorite type for C is ᚲ, as in Old-Welsh. This may be larger or smaller, and sometimes more or less rounded and then in addition squared, but the prevailing mark for this — doubtless here always hard — consonant remains the same. We have this ᚲ on Bracteates Nos. 5, 17, 22, 25, 35, 36, 38, 41, 56, and at Belland, Charnay, ? Collingham, Etelhem, Gallehus, Reidstad, Tomstad, Tune (? and Vånga). — More rounded, it occurs, Bracteates Nos. 2, 10, 11, and Stentoften. — Still more rounded and curved nearly together, at Chertsey. — As an early Latin letter, ᛈ, on Bracteates Nos. 2, 3, 58, and Æðred's Ring, the Franks Casket, and Ruthwell where it is also C.

Besides the usual ᛈ, such old forms as ᚳ, ᚴ, ᚿ, &c., are found on Old-English Coins, and other Northern pieces.

But this ᚲ may also be reverst, ᚳ, and it occurs thus accordingly on Bracteate No. 39.

Still further varied, we have it as ᚳ on the Wyk Coin, a form which is ᛫ on the Holmen Bell. In the above-named Freisingen Ms. this mark is upside down, ᚴ, but it also has ᚺ for C, "fancifully".

Sometimes this ᚲ is placed downwards and bears a handle, so to speak, becoming ᛦ. In this shape it meets us at Lindholm and Sigdal.

Yet more varied, a kind of modification of the Roman C, is the ᛈ at Lindisfarne.

A second type for C in the Old-Northern Alphabet is ᚳ or ᚴ, sometimes the one passing into the other, as might be expected. This is the usual type given in the Old-English skinbook alphabets, where we also sometimes have the sidestroke doubled, producing ᛦ or ᚴ, variously modified; and this again may have its legs uppermost, thus becoming ᛘ. Now and then the singlelimbed ᚳ is thus turned, giving ᚴ, — and we then have the common ᚴ of the Scandinavian staverow. Compare the remarks on K.

ᚳ or ᚴ, then, as C, occurs on Bracteate No. 6, and at Bewcastle, Franks Casket, Lancaster, Leeds, Osthofen, Thames Knife, Ruthwell and Veile. On the Osthofen Brooch the second instance of this letter gives it as ᛉ, because there was no room there to carve the side-mark on the right side.

As a third Old-Northern, or more properly Old-English, type — for it has not yet been found in Scandinavia — must be mentioned the ᛯ of the Falstone Cross, and its variation the ᛯ of the Ruthwell Cross. But these are mere adaptations of the Old-Northern rune for G, and remind us of the way in which these gutturals continually pass over into each other, C, CH; K, KH; G, GH; as well as H. And all these may be weakened or strengthened in the different dialects, sometimes becoming deep and harsh, and at other times disappearing from the word altogether. It may be, therefore, that this third C in some localities has had a kind of CH or GH sound. — Ruthwell has also the variation ᛯ.

But C early fell away in Scandinavia, which only kept K, and this had thereafter to do duty for both C and K. But C and K are only variations of one and the same letter in the Old-Northern futhorc, and therefore this change in the Scandinavian futhorc was but the gradual preference of one form before another.

We have, however, traces of this C low down thro the middle age on various Scandinavian monuments.

The type ᚴ continues to subsist for the hard C (K), but is also sometimes used for the soft C (S) or its equivalent Z, or IS, &c. It is found in Slesvig Cathedral, South-Jutland; Lunde, North-Jutland; three unplaced Danish Censers; the Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden; the 2nd part of the Sconé Law, Ms., Denmark; Ekerö, Upland; Svinninge, Fyn; Mogens Gyllenstjerne's Journal, anno 1543; &c. So it lingers long in England. This type, with slight variations, is occasionally continued on Old-English Coins, &c.

We have seen that one of the types for C in the Old-Northern pieces was ⅄. A variation of this is found in Scandinavian-runics as ⇣, or ↓, also both as C (S) and C (K). Thus, Flekkevik, Iceland; Saleby, West-Gotland, anno 1228; Runic lines in a Danish Album, anno 1644; Kolding, Denmark, anno 1683; and several printed books containing Runic pieces.

At Alrum, Sconé, and other places, we have ᛉ (properly K) used for the Latin hard C.

As C, properly K, is sometimes used in Scandinavian-runics for C as S, so the rune for S (ᛋ) is occasionally employed not only for C as S but also for C as K. So on the Icelandic Stool, the Gerpin Bell, Norway, &c. In like manner the Greek Σ is sometimes found for C (K) on Old-English Coins.

On some pieces containing a few Latin words written in Runes, we find the other Scandinavian type for S used for the soft C, thus *then* evidently pronounced like S, as now. So at Vrickstad, Smoland, ᛊ in the word GRACIA; and at Hardeberga, Lund, ᛁ in the word KRUCIS, ᛉ being used for the hard C.

In alphabets which artificially make up the 16 letters of the Scandinavian futhorc to the full number of the Latin staverow, ⅄ and other arbitrary marks are given as C, in contradistinction to ᛉ for K.

See the observations on K.

D.

The only letter for D in the Old-Northern futhorc is ⋈, which is also the regular type in the Old-English bookfells. But of course it may be slightly modified, as usual, according to material and taste. As ⋈ we have it Bewcastle, Dover, Falstone, Hartlepool, A, Lancaster, Rök and Ruthwell. — In a shape more easy to cut, without the projecting points, as ⋈, it appears on Bracteates Nos. 25, 27, 28, 32, 49, 59, and Charnay, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Hartlepool, B, Möjebro, Monk Wearmouth, Nydal, Sigdal, and Tune. — But it may also have the bows rounded, ⋈, as at Björketorp and Stentoften. — We may even have a still simpler form, as ⋈ on the Thames Knife, or as ⋈ on Bracteate No. 17. — A Ms. of Aldhelm de Virginitate in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge[1], which contains the name of the lady who transcribed the book (ÆDILFLED DESCRIPSIT), has ⋈ for D.

This rune, there usually penned ⋈, is often written for DÆG (day) in Old-English codices, that being its oldest name, as preserved to us in the English futhorcs &c. It is as if *we* should write — to save time and room — A FINE D, instead of A FINE DAY; but we cannot if we would, because D is now pronounced and called DE.

As we have seen, a rapid or careless or current way of carving or writing may give us both ⋈ and ⋈ for D. But so of M, whose rune is ⋈; rapidly or carelessly or currently carved or written, it becomes also ⋈. Accordingly both the monuments and the Old-English skinbooks give us ⋈ for both D and M. In reading any inscription, therefore, only the context can tell us whether this ⋈ is D or M, ⋈ or ⋈. It is just the same as when *we* do not carefully dot i or cross t, the i or t or l will often be almost or quite identical. Such things must always be remembered by the student. If duly considered, the difficulty will not be so great as might appear at first sight. — See M.

Roman D's are found — Æðred's Ring and Alnmouth.

The rune for D was gradually or suddenly laid aside in Scandinavia, in the same strange and rapid tendency towards a "short and simple" alphabet which spoiled the stave-rows of half the East and of all the West. But when the mischief was done, people found out how stupid they had been, and, as elsewhere, begun to invent substitutes for at least some of the lost signs. So of D. Various methods were resorted to by which the loss of the old D-mark could be repaired. Sometimes we have the one-armed T-mark with a dot between the arm and the shank (ᛏ), as at Bergemoen and Gerpin, and an unnamed Danish Censer. Sometimes the arm is crost (ᛏ), as at Thisted, North-Jutland, and Brattahlid, Greenland. Or the arm may be doubled (ᛏ), as at Skeberg, Norway. But we may also cross the stem, not the arm; horizontally (ᛏ), as Gerum, Gotland; Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden; Haide, Gotland; Skoné Law, Ms., Denmark; or obliquely (ᛏ), as Söby, N. Jutland; Hvam, Iceland; Dial. of Virgin, Ms., Sweden; or the thwart may sink into a mere dot (ᛏ), as Brattahlid and Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland; an unnamed Danish Censer; a stone at Lye, Gotland; or expanded into a ring (ᛏ), as at Hallbiarnar-eyri, Iceland. Or the double-armed T may have a side-mark (ᛏ), as at Bårse, Sealand; Skivum, N. Jutland. Sometimes the dotted Ð stands for D, reverst, (ᛏ), as at Buns-

[1] Kemble, The Runes of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 40, fig. 23.

næs, Norway; or in its common form, (ᚦ), as Skeberg, Norway. We have also the ᚦ itself for D, as at Alrum, Sconé; Skönabeck Horn, Lund; Runic lines in Danish Album, anno 1644. In this last case the þ may really in certain positions have been occasionally sounded TH, as is the D in several living Scandinavian dialects.

But the common ᛏ (T) was also used for D in Scandinavian-runics.

The Old-Northern Bind-runes hitherto found are, DÆ, Tune; DAL, Charnay, and DE, Falstone.

As examples of the Scandinavian, I would mention the DR, Lye, Gotland, and the DU on the same stone.

E.

The E of the Old-Northern futhorc is ᛖ, with the usual slight variations. We have it on Bracteates Nos. 6, 8, 9, 22, 23, 25, 30, 43, 44, 45, 51, 56, 59, 63, and Amulet-Ring No. 4, Bakewell, Belland, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Charnay, Falstone, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Gommor, Hackness, Istaby, Kragehul, Lancaster, Lindholm, Nethi's Casket, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Sölvesborg, Stentoften, Thames Knife, Tune, Varnum, ? Vi Plane. — On the Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath the bend between the pillars has become nearly a straight line, (ᛖ). — Bracteate No. 53 has the character cut in half, (ᚴ ᛁ). — On the Mörbylånga stone the figure is still more ornamental, (ᛗ).

But there is also another antique type for this letter, ᛈ. We have it on Bracteates Nos. 17, 56, 57, the comparatively modern Bridekirk Font having the cross-line slanting, (ᛯ). — On the also comparatively modern Holmen and Mörbylånga pieces the line has sunk into a dot, (ᛇ), its usual form in the Scandinavian futhorc. — But the cross-stroke may only be on one side, (ᚹ), as on Bracteate No. 28; or it may become a footpiece, (ᚳ, otherwise a form of C), as at Holmen. — Or we may have 3 side-strokes, thus nearly resembling the Roman E, from which indeed it may possibly have been taken, thus ᛮ, as on Bracteate No. 28; and this again may be reverst, (ᛣ), as on the same Bracteate. So we have ᚺ for E on Old-English Coins. — The rune ᚪ, properly Æ when not A, may also be used as E, as in Valdemar II's futhorc.

Forms of the Roman E appear on Bracteates No. 5, 30, and on Æðred's Ring, Almouth, Franks Casket. — The two dots, Lindholm, I take to be a mark of division (:), not E.

The vulgar Scandinavian alphabet has no E, the ᛖ having been laid aside when the futhorc was "reformed", or gradually reduced to 16 letters. The E afterwards introduced, ᛁ, when a mark for this sound was indispensable, is therefore called a stung or dotted rune.

But it may be doubted whether this ᛁ is not in fact merely a short form of ᛇ, which, as we have seen, undoubtedly occurs many times on Old-Northern monuments in Scandinavia. The ᛁ will therefore have been a restoration or revival or continuation, tho in a slightly modified form, rather than a new invention. Certain it is that ᛇ, ᛁ, is found on many Scandinavian monuments, some of them dating very far back, thus a Danish unnamed Censer; Söby, North-Jutland; Skoné Law, Ms., Denmark; Åmodtsdal, Bergemoen, Grindem, Tandberg, Urdal, Norway; Tynvald, Ile of Man; Rök, East-Gotland. This last stone must be from the 9th century at the latest, and yet it has this ᛁ = E (? or Æ) *many times*. Suhm[1], ad annum 1017, refers to a Diploma of Archbishop Wulfstan of York, signed by Duke Eadric, in which the rune ᛁ = E occurs frequently. This is not the only instance of a rune called "modern" being far older than has been supposed, and shows how careful we should be. We must study the monuments, before we can theorize and assert[2].

Among the variations of this ᛁ I would mention the ᛁ = E in the staverow called the Danish king Valdemar's (about 1238-1240); at Hardeberga, Lund; Alrum, Sconé, &c.; this is reverst, (ᛉ = E), on the Icelandic stool. — We have the stroke on the left only, (ᛋ), Gjerde, Norway; on the right, (ᚿ), Lund Cathedral, and Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden. It slants to the left, (ᛎ), at Hardeberga, Lund; to the right, (ᚾ, otherwise A, as we have seen), at Saleby, West-Gotland; Thisted, North-Jutland. In the form ᚴ (otherwise K) it is either E or YE on the Dref Bell, Småland, in the word ESUS or YESUS (JESUS); on this bell ᚴ stands for G in the word GRASIA = GRACIA, and ᚴ for K in the word

[1] Danmarks Historie, Vol. 3, 4to, Kjobenhavn 1787, p. 494.

[2] Perhaps as the O. N. runes fell away, when ᛇ was used for ᛉ (A), it first was divided into ᛋ (A) and ᛇ (E), and then this ᛇ gave birth to the thinner vowel ᛁ (E), which eventually was shortened to ᛁ.

KRISTAS = CHRISTUS. On the Holmen Bell the up-stroke is at the foot of the stave, (ᒪ), which is otherwise C.

Then we have the point as a ring. Thus ᛋ = E on some Gotland stones; ᛋ or ᛋ or ᛋ = E, Bårse, Sealand; Bergemoen, Bunsnæs, Hafsloe, Ringsager, Tingvold, Norway; Halbiarnar-eyri, Iceland; Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland. On the last monument it is also found pointed, ᛋ. In the Runic Lines in the Danish Album, anno 1644, ᛋ is used for the number 10.

But this ᛋ is one of the many signs given in the Old-English manuscript alphabets for G, both in the Old-Northern and Scandinavian staverows. And, as we have ᚴ for a vowel, E or YE or Y, so also ᛋ has occasionally the same value, a guttural and unguttural sound continually passing into each other. Another instance of the difficulty of always deciding the particular power, *in that place*, of every alphabet character. Similar cases occur in the engraved monuments of all times and peoples.

Another mark for E in the skinbook futhorcs is ✱, which we have already identified as Old-Scandinavian for Æ. But neither does this surprise us, for E and Æ are very near each other, and may even sometimes have had quite or nearly the same sound, as in modern English. Thus another instance of a guttural (here H) passing into E.

Old-Northern Bind-runes beginning with E are: ? EAT, Bracteate No. 48; EL, two varieties, Bracteates No. 17 and 47; EN, Bracteate No. 61; and ER, two varieties, Falstone and Varnum.

As examples of Scandinavian-runic similar Ties may be mentioned the Bind-runes for EF, Fläräng, Gestrikland; ENT, Tystberga, Södermanland; ER, several varieties, Barnspike, England; Maeshowe No. 11; Tandberg, Norway; Tossoug, Norway; Vinje, Norway; Thisted, N. Jutland; ES, Barnspike, England; and ED (= ET), Gerpin, Norway; Barnspike, England.

F.

ᚠ, with the variation ᚦ, &c., for F, is common to both the Old-Northern and Scandinavian alphabets. It appears on Bracteates Nos. 22, 26, 56, 57, and Berga, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Charnay, Coquet Iland, Collingham, Falstone, Franks Casket, Istaby, Gommor, Konghell, Lancaster, Leeds, Monk Wearmouth, Osthofen, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Stentoften, Thames Knife, Tjängvide and Tune. It is modified as ᚠ on Æðred's Ring and the Amulet-Ring No. 3. — On Amulet-Ring No. 2 it is ᚠ. — We have it reverst, (ᚡ), on Bracteate No. 14. — It appears as V on the Gommor stone, a form which it has on some Old-English Coins, and also in some of the parchment futhorcs. — The Roman F is found at Alnmouth and on the Franks Casket.

Of course this figure will be sometimes nearly or quite ᛒ, a form which it also has in Scandinavian-runics, as at Haning and Lunde, North-Jutland; a Danish unplaced Censer; East-Skam, East-Gotland, &c. — On these later pieces it may also be upside-down, ᚢ, as at Funbo, Upland.

On other of these Scandinavian-runics, probably by a thickening of the sound, B may be used for F. So HUSBROUIA = HUSFROUIA, Hainhem, Gotland; BOTOLBAR = BOTOLFAR, Gulldrupa, Gotland; ELEBA = ELEFA, Sproge, Gotland; UIBIAST = UIFIAST (= UIFAST), Stenstad, Upland.

Again, by a thinning of the sound, U may stand as equal to F. Thus SIHUÆSTR = SIHFÆSTR, Norby, Medelpad; SIHUASTR = SIHFASTR, Tensta, Upland; KAITLUASTR = KAITLFASTR, Löfstad, Upland; TIRUA = TIRFA, Ärlsunda, Upland.

So the Greek U was sometimes used or pronounced as F. "Scilicet ᛉ in his crassiorem habuisse sonum videtur, ut fere hodierni Graeci faciunt *afftos* (αὐτὸς) pronuntiantes"[1].

This ᚠ is used by itself in Old-English, and in the oldest Icelandic, manuscripts for the word FE (*fee, goods, property*), that being the name of this rune both in England and Scandinavia. In Scandinavia this use of a single rune for the whole word by which that rune was known is comparatively rare, in Old-English codices comparatively common, particularly in the poems thus acrostically containing the name CYNEWULF.

Among the many Bind-runes on Old-English Coins, &c., may be pointed out ᚠE (FE) and ᚠI (FI), both which show the F as ᚠ.

[1] Franzius, Elementa, p. 42.

The sign for F in the scarce and singular Helsing runes — that ingenious but not practical Scandinavian-runic Shorthand — namely the flatheaded half-stave, ı, must also be remembered. Other variations exist, but of minor moment. — F is also used for U (W), which see.

Bearing in mind that H is often added where it does not belong, and wanting where it should stand, there is an interesting substitute of HU, = U, for F on the Ed stone, Upland, Liljegren No. 396. This is now in Oxford, whither it was sent by Mr. Robinson, the English Minister at Stockholm, with the consent of Carl XI. It bears: ᚦᛁᛦ ᚼᚢᚾᚱᚢ, DIR HUARU, that is = FARU, they FOOR, went.

G.

This letter, which early died out in Scandinavia, has for its type in the Old-Northern stave-row X, or, slightly rounded, ᛉ. It meets us on Bracteates Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 10, 11, 22, 29, 30, 31, 40, 49, 51, 57, 61, and on the monuments at or called Æðred's Ring, the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-3, Årstad, Bakewell, Berga, Björketorp, Buzeu, Charnay, Chertsey, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Hartlepool, B, Lancaster, Lindholmen, Osthofen, Reidstad, Rök, Ruthwell, Stenstad, Stentoften, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg Shield-boss, Tjängvide, Tune and Vi Plane.

On Bracteates Nos. 51 and 52 this rune has the form of the Flanged Thwarts, commonly called the Filfot or Hammer-mark, ᛉ. — The Möjebro stone gives it as X. — But it is ᛉ at Gjevedal. — The variation ᛉ occurs at Bewcastle, Falstone and Ruthwell. — Dover and Nethi's Casket give ᚼ, otherwise H, H and G continually running in to each other, in sound as in form. — On Bracteate No. 52 we have only the lower half, ^, properly C, either for want of room or because C (K) is only a sharper G. So also on some Old-English Coins we have ⊏, L, and ⊂, (properly C = K) for their usual ⊏ (G).

Other forms of this rune, more or less allied, will be found in the Old-English bookfell alphabets.

But we have traces of this old stave also on Scandinavian-runics. Thus X (G) occurs in the Paradise-caves, Iceland. ᚼ as G is at Hardeberga, Lund, and often elsewhere. The Barse Font has ᛉ for G.

Otherwise the later or Scandinavian "invented letter" for G is the stung or dotted ᚴ (K), thus ᚴ. Besides other minor variations we have also ᚴ, on an unplaced Danish Censer. — On two stones at Häggeslätt, West-Gotland, beginning ..... LAGDI STIN, we have on the one ᛚᚾᚴᚦᛁ, and on the other ᛚᚾᚴᚦᛁ, thus showing that ᚴ is here not F but G. — Bengt Bille's endorsement, anno 1547, gives both ᚼ and ᛋ for G. — The Colding piece, anno 1683, and some early printed books with runes, give us ᛉ for G. As we see, there is no limit to such variations of a given type, exactly as in our own common European (Latin) hand at present, which differs everywhere, almost in the writing of every individual, except those who have the fear of a given writing-master before their eyes.

Variations of the Roman letter will be found, Alnmouth, Franks Casket, Ruthwell. — It is doubtful whether the sound of the well-known character З, on the Bridekirk Font is G or Y or something between the two, for this G-sound in many later dialects melted into Y, and at last it often fell away altogether. — See the remarks on the rune for Y, and on the Hartlepool stone, B.

There is one Old-Northern Bind-rune commencing with G, the GÆ on Bracteate No. 19.

H.

The common Roman H is also the type of the common Old-Northern H. Only this latter variously modifies the connecting bar. Thus it may slant down to the left, becoming H or N, &c. Thus we have it on Bracteate No. 1, 22, 24, 25, 28, 38, 49, 55, 56, 57, 61, and Bewcastle, Charnay, Gallehus, Kallerup, Möjebro, Rök, Stentoften, Tune, Væblungsnæs, Varnum. — Or the bar may be more or less horizontal, H, as on Bracteates Nos. 4, 12, 13, 57, 62, Æðred's Ring, Alnmouth, Årstad, Buzeu, Chertsey, Stentoften, Vordingborg. — Or it may slant upward, H, И, &c. So Bracteates Nos. 1, 6, 17, 30, 40, 55, and Bakewell, Björketorp, Gallehus, Helnæs, Himlingöie, Hörning, Istaby, Lindholm, Rök, Snoldelev, Stenstad, Stentoften, Tanum, Thorsbjerg Shield-boss, Tune, and Vi Comb and Plane.

But we may also have two bars, for instance slanting down, ᚺ, ᚻ, &c., as Bracteate No. 58, Bakewell, Bewcastle, Charnay, Dover, Falstone, Franks Casket, Hartlepool, A and B, Konghell,

Nethi's Casket, Thames Knife, Upsala, (? Vånga), Vi Plane, West-Thorp. — Or they may be horizontal, H, as Bracteate No. 4 and Ruthwell. — Or they may rise upward from left to right, H, &c., as Osthofen and St. Andrews Ring.

Another variation has no bar at all,)(, as Bracteate No. 2.

The skinbook staverows show us several other varieties, chiefly fanciful; and there are two other such in the Meisingen manuscript mentioned under B, namely H and ꟼ, both for H.

A Latin H of an early minuscule form will be found on the Franks Casket and the Ruthwell Cross.

On some Scandinavian-runics we have H-marks which are either the same as, or variations of, one of the old types in the parchment alphabets. Thus we have ✳ at Borg, Iceland; Haidé, Gotland; some early printed books, &c. — On the Hallahult stone, Bleking, +; on the Skönabäck Horn, Lund, and at Hallbiarnar-eyri, Iceland, we have ✳. — In Lund Cathedral, date 1447, is ✳. — In the same, date 1424, we have ✳.

But otherwise the usual Scandinavian Rune for H is ✱; at Maeshowe, No. 18, ✱, on the Kyrstad stone, Upland, ⋊.

All gutturals being elastic, this ✱ is sometimes used for GH or G.

On those old stones which have H for H, ✱ is Æ, which see. Where no H occurs, we cannot always say whether ✱ is Æ or H. And again, as a vowel is often omitted, for shortness, on old stones, we cannot always know whether such a word as ✱ᚴᚢᚾ is H(A)KUA or ÆKUA. There are sometimes very curious accidental or dialectic absences of letters. Thus it so happens that on all the many Manx stones there is no single H. And again, on the enormous Rök stone — a whole granite book with its 760 runes — there is no H! We should expect ✱ on the former, H on the latter.

Now and then † stands for H, and there is also the still further shortened Helsing-mark ⊥, &c.

Old-Northern Bind-runes beginning with H are: HA, three varieties, Hörning, North-Jutland; Bracteates No. 56 and 10; HÆ, Tune; and HU, Bewcastle.

I.

In the Old-Northern and Scandinavian stave-rows, as in such a sweep of others, the mark for I is I. I need not recapitulate the many examples. Nor need I dwell upon the many small variations. But I may mention the \ of Bracteate No. 38, and the / of the same.

I do not take the ⁝ of the Lindholm piece for I, but rather as a stop. The Cambridge Ms. mentioned under D has ⁘ for I, in the two Latin words written in runes.

In Scandinavian-runics, among other small differences, may be mentioned the ˈ of Bro, Upland, and the two stones at Hernevi, Upland. Possibly a part of these staves has weathered away.

For I in Tree-runes see the Maeshowe stones, and other such.

Perhaps a Bind-rune for ITO is on Bracteate No. 42. — Scandinavian Monograms beginning with I are also few, and some of them doubtful. One of the most curious is ᚴ for IT (I and the limb of ᛏ), Tibble, Upland.

J.

This modern letter is of course here unknown. See I and Y. When we alter the spelling and sound, and write JULIUS (instead of IULIUS) pronouncing DGULIUS (instead of YULIUS), that is no body's fault but our own. We must always remember that as a vowel I was I, as a consonant Y. — There is only one J on all these monuments; and that is (on the late Bracteate No. 61), not J, but +, G with the power of J, as on other middle-age pieces and in manuscripts of the same period.

K.

Strictly speaking, like as the provincial Scandinavian futhorc properly has no C, the mark for K having gradually driven it out, so the Old-Northern may be said to have had no K, its various C-marks being used also for K. But by degrees Classical influences brought in a K as separate

from C. For that purpose the C-type ᛦ was used almost exclusively, or at least figured in the vellum alphabets, for K.

But this ᛦ is properly only a still stronger C, if we may so speak; it is CC (ᛦ ᚳ) united on a common stock (ᛦ ᚳ, ᛦ). In fact it is a Bind-rune. Whether this CC may at one time have been still harder or more guttural than C, we cannot say, but it is neither impossible nor unlikely.

Now just as the single C (ᚳ) may be also lifted up, becoming the K (ᚴ) of the Scandinavian futhork, so this double C (ᛦ) may be lifted up (ᛉ), and therefore this also was originally a CC, and must not be mistaken for the old A-rune ᛉ, tho this gives another example of a guttural-mark and a vowel-mark coalescing.

From what has been said, we shall not expect many Old-Northern examples of K. There are only two, ᛦ, Ruthwell, and ᛦ, Bewcastle.

The Scandinavian ᚴ is therefore very old on Scandinavian monuments as K. We have it at Bridekirk, Holmen, Kallerup, Konghell, Mörbylånga, Sæding, Tjängvide, Upsala, Væblungsnæs, (? Vånga) and West-Thorp, as well as on Bracteates Nos. 41, 54, 56 and 60. — ᚼ (H) is often used for K; but *the sound intended* may in most cases really have been H, *not* K.

The variation ᛁ occurs on Bracteate No. 50, and interchanges with ᚴ on the Rök stone, &c. — Another slight change is ᛉ, Varnum. — Reverst, it is ᛉ on Bracteate No. 10, as sometimes on Scandinavian-runics (once on the Rök stone). — The Mörbylånga stone has ᛋ. — Bracteate No. 1 shows it as J. — The ᚴ of the Holmen Bell is KK, or possibly G, (if ᚴ is equivalent to ᚴ).

The Chertsey piece has a Latin K, as have some runic and other old Coins, &c.

On Scandinavian-runics we have traces of the old ᚳ for K, as at Tuna, Upland, which has always ᚳ for ᚴ, and ᚳ for ᚴ. We may indeed say that these marks are upside down, but that is only saying the same thing in other words. — Besides other small differences, we may mention the variation ᛉ, Hallahult, Bleking; Furby, Upland; Grensten, N. Jutland; Bustrup, S. Jutland. — Bendt Bille's endorsement, anno 1547, has ᛋ for K. — Of course this ᚴ may be reverst, (ᛋ), as at Sjustad and Friberg and Valby, Upland; Transjö, Värend; Rysby, Småland; Hainhem, Gotland; especially when this side-mark was carved on a winding worm-line, there being no room for it on the right. — For the variation ᛁ see Säfva and Tång, Upland; an unplaced Danish Censer; Rök, E. Gotland, &c. — And, as the C, = K, mark may be used for C, = S, so the S-mark, ᛋ, may be used for K, as on the Icelandic stool. — Now and then we have a character similar to the Roman K, as on the Lefvene stone, West-Gotland, Sweden, and on the golden finger-ring in the Cheapinghaven Museum[1]; on the Brynderslev stone, North-Jutland, it has the form ᚴ.

For a Twig-rune K see Maeshowe, No. 8. — The rare staveless Helsing-rune is ´.

Among the scarce Scandinavian-runic Bind-runes beginning with K, may be mentioned KT, Maeshowe, No. 22; KU, Barnspike, England; Urlunda, Upland; KUR, S. Kirkeby, Falster.

See Y.

L.

The wide-spread L-type ᛚ is also that for L in the Old-Northern and Scandinavian alphabets. A little more evenly or unevenly cut, standing more or less straight or leaning, a little more or less angular or rounded, &c., we have it on Bracteates Nos. 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 30, 31, 43, 44, 45, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 61, 67, on the Amulet-Rings 1, 2, 4, and at Årstad, Bakewell, Bergå, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Bratsberg, Buzeu, Charnay, Coquet Iland, Dalby, Dover, Etelhem, Falstone, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Gommor, Hartlepool, A, Holmen, Istaby, Lancaster, Leeds, Lindholm, Nethi's Casket, Nydam, Rök, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Stenstad, Tanem, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Tune, Upsala, Varnum, (? Vånga), Vi Plane, Wyk Coin. — On the Amulet-Ring No. 3 it is ᛚ. — The arm is quite horizontal, Γ, on Bracteate No. 13, as on some Old-English Coins, &c. — This is upside-down, L, on Bracteate No. 2, thus resembling the commonest Roman form. — The figure leans nearly to the ground, ᛦ, on Bracteate No. 57, — or the whole is thrown

[1] No. 440 in Worsaae's Nordiske Oldsager, 2nd ed.

up, ᛚ, as at Stentoften. — On Bracteate No. 46 the two pieces do not join, ᛚ. — On Bracteates Nos. 23, 67, and at Gommor, the arm is low down, ᚾ, resembling an N. This figure, reverst, (ᚾ, ᚴ), is not unfrequent on Old-English Coins, &c. — Or the arm may be cloven, ᛉ, as on Bracteate No. 17, and at Björketorp and Stentoften. — We have this same figure upside down, ᛦ, on Bracteates 12 and 61, which reminds us of a still more 3-figured form (ᛈ) on Old-English Coins, &c. — A Roman L is found, Alnmouth and Franks Casket.

Scandinavian-runics, besides the regular ᛚ, in various minor modifications and sometimes with the arm low down, occasionally even ᚾ (like N), also exhibit some uncommon varieties. Thus ᛏ, the rune reverst (thus becoming similar to T), Flatdal, Norway; Transjö, Värend; and Mogens Gyldenstjerne's Journal, anno 1543. — This is upside down (ᛇ), Hosmö, Småland, and so we have both ᛇ and ⊥ for L on some Old-English Coins. — At Kumla, Upland, the arm has fallen away altogether, and we have only ᛁ for L. — A Twig-rune for L may be seen on the 8th Maeshowe stone. — The staveless Helsing-rune is ᛊ.

There is one Old-Northern Bind-rune beginning with L, the word LIT on Bracteate No. 23.

As Scandinavian-runic Bind-runes may be mentioned LA, Skälfvum, W. Gotland; two forms for LANT, Maeshowe No. 22, and S. Kirkeby, Falster; LB, Tång, Upland; LE, Thisted, N. Jutland; LF, Urlunda, Upland; LK, Ramby, Upland, and Söndervissing, N. Jutland; two forms for LL, the one ᚨ, in Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden; the other, ᚨ, as at Barnspike, England; Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland; Tingvold, Norway; LR, Hvalstad, Södermanland; Såstad, Upland; and LY, Sanda, Södermanland.

M.

The oldest and the common type for M in all the Northern lands is ᛗ. It may be carved narrow or wide or dowdy, and the cross-bars may start at the very top or a trifle lower and lower down, but the shape remains substantially the same. It occurs on Bracteates Nos. 8, 22, 25, 49, 58, and at Bewcastle, Charnay (nearly obliterated), Etelhem, Falstone, Franks Casket, Hackness, Helnæs, Kragehul, Krogstad, Lindholm, Nethi's Casket, Osthofen, Rök, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Tanem, Thames Knife and Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath. — An elegant variation is ᛗ, as at Björketorp, Sölvesborg, Stentoften. — I have already said (under D) that when the cross-bars come low down (ᛞ), or when they are given without the tops and bottoms (ᛞ), the figure then becomes either M or D (as at Nydam), which can only be decided by the context. — So we have ᛞ, properly D, for M, at Etelhem and Sigdal, and ᛞ for M on Bracteate 67, at Osthofen and Seude, and on the Amulet-Ring No. 4.

But there are some characters for M which we might call half Roman and half Runic. Thus ᛠ, on Bracteate No. 5. — So ᛞ, on Bracteate No. 55. — Again, there is ᛯ, on Bracteate No. 2. So on Old-English Coins (not in Runes), and on some things carved or written in the middle age, we have such figures for M as (besides ᛗ), ᛗ, ᛗ, ᛗ, &c. — Among the varieties of ᛗ not in the vellum staverows, to which my reader will of course constantly refer, is ᛖ. This is in the Harleian Ms. 1772, a very early copy of the Latin Bible, written in Germany by a scribe who has inserted some *Latin* lines in chiefly *Runic* characters[1]. — Remark also the interesting and antique half Roman ᛗ and ᛗ for M in the Latin lines on the Ruthwell Cross, the latter form also at Alnmouth. More usual and quite Roman are the M's on Æðred's Ring and the Franks Casket.

But one of the Bracteates has quite a different character for M, namely — the usual *Scandinavian* M, ᛘ. This would at first seem to *disprove* my assertion that the Old-Northern rune ᛘ is *always* A. But in fact it *proves* it without a doubt. For the Bracteate in question, No. 61, is not Old-Northern at all! It is of *silver*, not of *gold*; its type is *middle-age*, not *runic*; and it is evidently copied from a middle or rather late *Greek* coin and must have been struck so late as the 11th or 12th age! — But in the 11th or 12th year-hundred the ᛗ for M had been dead *for centuries* in Scandinavia, and had long been supplanted by the rune ᛘ. This last is also M on the Bridekirk Font, which is as late in date as the above Bracteate.

The provincial Scandinavian rune for M, then, is ᛘ, with the usual minor differences. — Among the more striking variations are: ᛘ, Maeshowe, No. 11; ᛘ, Maeshowe, No. 18; ᛘ, Transjö,

[1] Kemble, The Runes of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 40, fig. 21.

Värend; Hällestad, Sconé; Sandby, Sealand; Rö, Bornholm; Y, Vedelsprang, S. Jutland; ᛋ, on some Gotland stones; T and ᛏ, Rök, E. Gotland; on the Maeshowe No. 5 (B in the Appendix), it is *upside-down* (⅄). Sometimes, as on the Holm stone, Norway, it approaches the rune for F.

Others are closed at the top; thus Φ, Haning and Söndervissing, N. Jutland; Φ, on a crowd of stones in Sweden and Denmark, chiefly the latter; ᚹ (as well as Y), Sjöring, N. Jutland; ⌽, Sweden, Denmark, Maeshowe No. 2. An abridged and Helsing-rune for M is ˋ, being only the left arm of the whole rune Y, or also two dots high up, ˙˙.

In Old-English manuscripts the rune ᛗ (usually there written ᚺ), and in the oldest Swedish and Icelandic manuscripts the rune Y, are used instead of the whole word MAN or MAÐER, this being the name of the M-consonant thro all the Northern lands. Thus the *name* remained unaltered in Scandinavia, tho the *character* was exchanged for another.

Old-Northern Bind-runes: — MA, Bewcastle; MÆ, Ruthwell; Falstone; MU; Sölvesborg.

So we have, as Scandinavian-runics: MA, Sanda, Upland; ME, Bridekirk; MU, Maeshowe, No. 20; MUL, a Danish unidentified Censer.

N.

Common to all the North in both older and later Futhorcs is ᚾ or ᚿ, N. — We have the ᚾ on Bracteates, Nos. 22, 25, 48, 59, 67, and Æðred's Ring, the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-4, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Buzeu, Charnay, Falstone, Franks Casket, Gjevedal, Hackness, Kallerup, Krogstad, Lancaster, Leeds, Möjebro, Nethi's Casket, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Stentoften, Tanem, Tanum, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, ? Væblungsnæs, Varnum, Veile, Vi Plane, Wyk Coin. — The slight variation ᚿ, Bracteates Nos. 9, 24, 27, 28, 50, 55, 56, 59, and Bewcastle, Bridekirk, Collingham, Coquet Iland, Lindholm, Mörbylånga, Osthofen, Reidstad, Rök, Tjängvide, West-Thorp.

We have ᚴ on Bracteates 6 and 20, as on some Old-English Coins, and ᚻ on Bracteates Nos. 1 and 11.

Under A I have spoken of the curious system of reversal, by which ᛅ (properly A or Æ) is carved for N, and ᚾ (properly N) for A or Æ. Accordingly we have ᛅ as N on Bracteate No. 25, and at Belland, Berga, Gallehus, Istaby and Tune.

The half Roman N (H, N, N) is on Bracteate 3, the Franks Casket and Ruthwell; this is reverst, (И), on Bracteate 53.

On Scandinavian-runics, besides the universal ᚾ and ᚿ, we have ᚴ, ᚺ, &c., as Vänderstad, Upland; Gjerde and Grindem, Norway; Hammel, N. Jutland; Maeshowe No. 19; ᚴ, Colding, N. Jutland, anno 1683, and on some Old-English Coins. The Bröta stone, Södermanland, which has usually ᚾ for N, has also once, as an elegant variation, ᚺ. — We have the form ᚻ at Klistad and Mälby, Upland, &c., and the Hornungsby stone, Upland, has ⊥ for N. — Sometimes, as Tossoug, Norway; Dial. of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden; Alrum, Sconé, the bar is doubled, ᚿ = N, while on the Bårse stone, Sealand, the bars fly apart, K. — There is also, as at Bro, Upland, only the half bar to the left, ᛋ, and this is particularly the case where the stave is a part of a winding line, and there is no room on the right, as at Kärnbo, Södermanland. — This bar may even fall away altogether (I), as at Kärnbo, Södermanland. — A Tree-rune for N is on the Maeshowe stone No. 18. The staveless Helsing-rune is ˋ only.

The reverst N (ᛅ) is found at Skjern, N. Jutland; Odensåker, E. Gotland; Great Ängeby, Upland; S. Kirkeby, Falster, &c. The Fleisborg stone, N. Jutland, has both ᛅ and ᚾ for N. — On the Icelandic Stool ᚾ stands for E.

As specimens of Scandinavian-runic Monograms: NK, Maeshowe No. 1; NN, — ᚿ, Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland; Gjerde and Tingvold, Norway; — ᚿ, Norum, Bohuslän; — ᛋ, Greby, West-Gotland; — ᚦ, Björkestad, Vestmanland; NT, Varpsund, Upland; Årsunda, Gestrikland; Skånum, West-Gotland; — NU, Barnspike, England.

NG.

Harder than H is G; harder than G is K (C). Now on referring to C we shall perceive that the oldest and standing type for C (K) is a Knee or Angle, ᚲ, however it may be modified.

It is also well known that a continual interchange is going on between KK and NK, or, softer, GG and NG. Hence the Greek AGGELOS, which was largely or usually pronounced by them ANGELOS, is the Latin ANGELUS, and so with hundreds of other words.

Thus has arisen a rune peculiar to the Old-Northern futhorc, by which was exprest this (CC = KK = GG) NG, called in the Old-English bookfell staverows ING, INC or HINC.

This stave is therefore in fact a double-rune.

Remembering then that the ground-type is a Knee or Angle carved twice, and that this second fork may be placed variously with regard to the first, while the figure will be more or less rounded according to the taste of the artist the material and the room, we have at once the key to this curious and interesting NASAL GUTTURAL.

We shall now see how variously this rune, or double-rune, is given on the monuments. It is:

ᛜ, Tanum.

ᛜ, Gallehus, and perhaps Veile.

Σ, perhaps Seude.

ᛜ, Nethi's Casket.

ᛇ, Tune.

X, Bakewell.

ᛋ, Krogstad.

ᛋ, Stenstad.

ᛋ, Bracteate No. 67.

◇, Bracteate No. 22.

⁘, Charnay.

$, Rök.

ᛝ, Thames Knife, Bewcastle and Ruthwell. This became the common English provincial form.

ᛋ, Vi Plane.

O, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Vi Comb. On this last the sign has apparently the power of its name, ING, rather than of NG.

For other variations and characters the reader will consult the manuscript alphabets. I have not found any example of this figure on the Old-English Coins. Nor does it ever appear on Scandinavian-runic monuments; it had long died out in the Scandinavian provinces of the common Northland. But it was probably a recollection of this double-rune which gave rise to a bind-stave found in very old Icelandic codices, where NG often occurs in the forms ᛋ, ᛋ, ᛋ, &c. These are not runes, but Roman letters tied together. They are all *n* plus *g*; as ϕ is not a rune but Roman *q* plus *p*, thus ᛉ is *q(u)ap*, and so on with many others. Somewhat resembling the old Runic is the Old-Welsh ᛝ for NGH and ᛝ for NG.

O.

As with regard to A the original rune, (ᛉ), died away in all the Northland, and was succeeded in England by ᚨ, in Scandinavia by ᚾ, or their several modifications, — so ᛟ, the primitive Old-Northern type for O, died out in the whole North, and was followed in Scandinavia by some variety of the ᚨ or ᚨ-type, in England by some variety of the ᚨ-type. The oldest name in the Mss. for this ᚨ and ᚨ is OS. The original name for A (ᛉ) may perhaps have been ANS; the oldest name in the Mss. for the Scandinavian A (ᚾ) is AR.

This ᛟ, O, is nearly the only real rune distinctly preserved by Ulfilas in his Mæso-Gothic alphabet. Hitherto found on only *one* monument in England (Hackness), it is yet continued in 3 or 4 of the Old-English parchment futhorcs, as equivalent to and interchanging with ᚨ.

In its usual type, then, ᛟ, we have this O on Bracteates Nos. 6, 8, 10, 14, 22, 24, 25, 27, 30, 48, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 59, and at Berga, Björketorp, Charnay, Dalby, Gallehus, Hackness, Himlingöie, Holmen, Maeshowe No. 9, Osthofen, Rök, Sigdal, Stenstad, Stentoften, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Tune, (? Vånga), and Vi Plane.

Open at the top, ᚷ, whether so carved or from the weathering of the stone, at Gommor and Reidstad.

With one foot not quite so perfect as the other, at Buzeu.

An ornamental circle on the top, ᛟ, on Bracteates 33 and 34.

Should the 4 dots on Bracteate No. 2 be a letter, which is most likely, they are probably here o, as in some of the vellum alphabets.

Half Roman, a nearly round o, Bracteate No. 2; an o with a dot in the centre, Bracteate No. 3; an o with a short perpendicular stroke in the centre, Bracteate No. 28.

Quite Roman, a lozenge or round o (sometimes both on the same piece as at Ruthwell), Bracteate No. 62, Chertsey and Ruthwell.

To come now to the later or provincial types. These are, generally speaking, ᚩ for England and ᚭ for Scandinavia, and these are clearly only modifications of each other.

The former, which is also almost universal in the Old-English bookfells, appears as ᚩ at Bakewell; — as ᚩ or ᚩ on the Amulet-Rings Nos. 2-4, at Bewcastle, Collingham, Fälstone, Franks Casket, Lancaster, Leeds, Ruthwell, Thames Knife; — as ᚩ on Bracteate No. 19 and the Amulet-Ring No. 1. — On the Wyk Coin ᚩ would seem to be o.

The latter is ᚭ at Bridekirk, Rök, West-Thorp; — ᚭ on the Bårse Font; — ᛅ at Holmen; ᛅ at Holmen, Maeshowe, Mörbylånge, Upsala; — ᛅ, ᚭ, apparently on Bracteate No. 23 which uses ᚭ for æ.

On the usual mass of Scandinavian-runics o is ᚭ or ᚮ, variously modified according to taste or accident, or the material on which they are carved, sometimes *various* forms on the *same* stone. — As the bars progress upward, we have them quite horizontal, ᚮ, as at Bälsunda and Hollberga, Upland, — or lifted, so as to be identical with one form of ᚠ, (ᚮ), as at Fjellerad and Vederslev, North-Jutland; Flemlöse, Fyn; Hjellstad, Björklinge, Örsunda and Öslunda, Myrby, Upland; Sproge, Gotland; Läckö and Särstad, and Källbyås, West-Gotland. — Sometimes both ᚭ and ᚮ are found on the same stone, as at Ärentuna, Upland. But on a host of stones this o is found reverst, in the usual way, and we then have ᛅ, ᛆ, &c., sometimes the bars touching the ground, ᛆ, as at Maeshowe, Nos. 13, 19, Söby and Colding, N. Jutland; — or horizontal, ᛆ, as on the monolith at Valby, Upland; — or lifted up, ᛆ, as at Holm, Mälby and Täby, Upland, &c., sometimes with *other* forms on the same stone, as at Axlunda, Upland; — or split open, ᚴ; or this type reverst, ᚴ, as at Björklinge, Upland.

Then again we have the bars passing right thro, ᛭, ᛯ, ᛰ, on stones too many to mention; — or only the one line carried thro, thus ᛯ, as at Hjellstad, Upland, ᛯ, Maeshowe No. 20; — ᛯ, Maeshowe No. 19; Hafsloe, Norway; — or opposed, ᛰ, as at Tidan, West-Gotland; and so with other varieties.

There may also be three bars, ᚯ, ᚰ, ᛱ, &c. But this reminds us that, with regard to these forms with 2 or 3 bars, we are not always sure whether they express the o or the OE, ø, ö. — See OE.

The Old-Northern and Half-Northern Binds are: OK, Holmen; ON, three varieties, Bewcastle and Holmen; OR, Holmen; OU, Holmen.

Among the Scandinavian Binds may be pointed out: OB, several kinds, Hesselager and Lunde, N. Jutland; a Danish unfixt Censer; Hösmo, Småland; OD, Skeberg, Norway; OF, Maeshowe No. 11; OK, several kinds, Flatdal, Norway; Vinje, Norway; Haide and Lye, Gotland; Tinn and Skeberg, Norway; Gerum, Gotland; OL, two varieties, Thisted, N. Jutland; Maeshowe No. 2; Lye, Gotland; OLAFSSON, Borg, Iceland; ON, many kinds; Folsberga, Upland; Gästebäck, Finnheden; Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland; Maeshowe No. 2; Lye, Gotland; Tinn, Norway; Maeshowe No. 21; Bergemoen, Norway; Maeshowe No. 19; OP, two kinds, Stokkemarke, Lolland; Lye, Gotland; OR, many kinds; Söby, N. Jutland; Bergemoen and Tandberg, Norway; Hösmo, Småland; Flatdal, Norway; ODU, Vinje wand No. 2, Norway; OU, same wand; OUÞ, Lye, Gotland.

For ᚠ as æ, see the letter æ.

(ᛖO) yO.

The Rune EOH (IH, HIC, &c.), to which the Old-English skinbook futhorcs give the power EO, that is yo (YO), for E was used very largely as a way of expressing the half-vowel Y before another vowel (our Y, the present Scandinavian and German J, which we also have in the word *Hallelujah*), occurs but sparingly on the monuments, and, as usual, both simple and reverst, and with slight variations of height &c.

Type ᒣ, Bracteates Nos. 22, 28, Krogstad, Thames Knife.
Type ᒍ, Bracteates Nos. 7, 8, 10, 17, and Charnay, Krogstad, Nethi's Casket, Rök.
This mark early past away both in Scandinavia and England, and left no successor.

OE.

ᛟ was, as we have said, originally the sign for the full deep O. But in England, perhaps accommodating itself to dialectic talk, it gradually came to mark a broken or weakened half-O. This is given in the Old-English skin-book staverows by the letters OE, doubtless answering pretty much to the Ø and Ö of Scandinavia. But the sound exprest by this letter must, in certain districts or periods, have approacht very near to OE or E. On the Lancaster Cross it is substantially equal to E, and E is its Latin double on the Falstone Cross. Of the grave Disc-stone found at Hartlepool (figured by Haigh in his Notes, p. 18, and elsewhere) we have only the fragments left which bear the words ..... (E)QVIESC.T .. ..CE, doubtless ..... REQVIESCAT IN PACE. This last letter is in the form ᛟ, which seems to be a variation of the stave before us, and here with the power of E. However, the alphabets show that the generally understood value of ᛟ was OE, altho one or two of them give as side and equivalent forms ᚼ = ᚼ = Æ, and ᛄ = Y. As to this last letter (ᛄ = Y) we know that OE and Y easily pass into each other, so much so that the Scandinavian ᛦ stands both for OE and Y.

With the usual slight modifications of shape, we have ᛟ = OE on (? Bracteate No. 1), and Falstone, Franks Casket, Lancaster, Ruthwell. — The Thames Knife has the variety ᛟ = OE. — At Chertsey it is ᛟ = OE.

The bare rune ᛟ often stands for ODIL (or EDEL, as it was spelt later), in Old-English skin-books, in the sense of *fatherland, birthplace*, for so this stave was called. Thus the first letter stood for the whole word.

The old Scandinavian mark for OE (and also for Y) was ᛦ. Its age is very great, for we have it on Old-Northern stones in Scandinavia; thus at Holmen, Sigdal, Stentoften, Varnum, as well as on later pieces in Scandinavian-runics, for instance: Bårse, Sealand; Hobro and Söndervissing, North-Jutland; Maeshowe Nos. 16, 18, 19, 20, 23; Löfsund and Sanda, Södermanland; Engeby, Mälby, Nyby, Såstad, Solna, Tjursåker, Tibble, Upland; and many more.

But Scandinavian stones also represent OE (Ø, Ö) by ᚠ, as Hämö, Upland; ᚼ, as Flatdal, Norway; Tingvold, Norway; a Danish unnamed Censer; Kyrkefalla and Saleby, W. Gotland; Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden; Skåné-Law, Ms., Denmark; — ᚼ, as Rolland, Norway; Dial. of the Virgin, Ms.; Höjentorp, W. Gotland; — ᚼ, as Skönabäck Horn, Lund; — ᚼ, Tingvold, Norway; &c. Also ᚼ and ᚼ, &c. — See O. — Rare is the staveless Helsing form, ∴, which is only the left foot of ᛦ.

P.

This Old-Northern rune, which occurs sparingly, has many forms.
On Bracteate No. 22 it is ᛒ.
On the Thames Knife it is ᛈ.
On the Charnay Brooch it is ᛞ.
On Nethi's Casket it is ᛋ.
On the Holmen Bell (transition) it is ᚴ.

There are also many varieties in the Old-English skinbook stave-rows, which see; but the commonest is ᛈ, as on the Thames Knife, ᛈ on the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-4. — There is another, fanciful sign in the Freisingen bookfell mentioned under B, namely ᚠ, which is half the figure for B invented by the same "ingenious hand". — Yet another has the Cambridge codex spoken of under D, in its two Latin words written in runes, namely ᛟ, (otherwise sounding O or OE).

Scandinavian-runics, which have no P, early replaced it by ᚴ, with slight variations, as at Klinte, Gotland; several times in Norway; in the Paradise-caves, Iceland; the Iceland Stool; the Dial. of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden; the Skåné Law, Ms., Denmark; Valdemar II's Alphabet; — but also by ᛒ[1].

[1] Especially on Gotland stones. But some may say that the sound was really B, in some cases.

— More common, and later, is the stung or dotted ᛒ, as ᛓ, Lye, Gotland; — ᛒ, Stenstrup, N. Jutland; Stokkemarke, Lolland; an unfixt Danish Censer; ᛓ, as Gerpin, Norway; Saleby, W. Gotland; Skåné Law, Ms., Denmark.

As a specimen of Scandinavian-runic Binds, we may take PR, Lye, Gotland.

Q.

As the Old-Northern futhorc has no Q, the alphabet-makers in the skinbooks, when they drew up the letters in the order of the Roman ABC and came to Q, at once set about making one. Some took the rune for C or K, otherwise some change of the same; others invented a fanciful mark. There is yet another variety, ᛩ, in the Old-English Ms. Poem (Corpus Christi, Cambridge) of Salomon and Saturn; — yet another, ᛧ, in the Freisingen codex; — and the Harleian Ms. spoken of under M has another, ᛯ. We ourselves can invent as many more as we like.

The Icelandic stool has ᛩ; the Runic Lines in the Danish Album, anno 1644, have ᛩ.

See the Roman Q on the Ruthwell Cross.

R.

The mark for R, so widely spread among the sister alphabets, is also common to the Old-Northern and the Scandinavian. It may be variously fashioned, ᚱ, ᚱ, ᚱ, and fifty other ways, often assuming different shapes on the same monument, may be thin or thick, close or open; but its type remains the same. We have it on Bracteates Nos. (? 17), 18, 22, 25, 30, and Æðred's Ring, Alnmouth, Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-4, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Bridekirk, Charnay, Collingham, Coquet Iland, Dalby, Dover, Etelhem, Falstone, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Gommor, Hartlepool, A, Himlingöie, Holmen, Istaby, Kallerup, Kragehul, Lancaster, Lindholm, Möjebro, Monk Wearmouth, Mörbylånga, Nethi's Casket, Osthofen, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Sölvesborg, Stentoften, Tanum, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Tjängvide, Tomstad, Tune, Væblungsnæs, Varnum, Veile, Vi Comb and Plane.

Among the more striking differences is ᚹ, Charnay, and nearly similar on Æðred's Ring. — Chertsey has ᚹ.

The Sæding overgang-stone has the Scandinavian ᛦ. So has the far older Snoldelev stone.

Scandinavian-runics sometimes carve more "elegantly", as ᛕ; Sylling, Norway: — ᛕ, Alstad and Dynna, Norway: — ᛕ, Dref, Småland; or more carelessly, as ᚱ, Söndervissing and Stenstrup, N. Jutland; — ᚱ, as Ekala, Upland; — ᚴ, as Friberg, Upland; — ᚢ, as Ekala, Upland; — ᚦ, as a Danish unidentified Censer. — Now and then we have merely ᛁ for R, as at Ulstämma, Upland; Rök and Kälfvesten, E. Gotland; Forsa, Helsingland; commonly R-final; — this is very near to the sign ᛚ, as at Berga and Tuna, Medelpad, and in the Helsing runes. For Tree-rune R, see Maeshowe, Nos. 8, 18.

But Scandinavian-runics have also quite another type for R, later but still *very old*, ᛦ; sometimes, as at Alsted, Sealand, ᛋ; in the Helsing-runes exprest by two dots low down, ⁚. This is commonly called R-final, but it very frequently occurs at the beginning or within a word, and this on very old monuments. The origin of this distinctively provincial mark is probably connected with a remarkable euphonic and literal tendency in the Scandinavian dialects in early times, — the inability to pronounce S, especially S-final, and the melting away of that letter into a dull consonantic or vowel sound, so that at the end of a word it either fell away altogether, or became a vowel, or hardened into R. This may also explain the remarkable fact that this rune ᛦ not only stands — on old and classical monuments — for R, but also for OE and Y. I imagine then that ᛦ was hit upon to express this dull S, and that it afterwards settled down into R-final or R generally, or in an indistinct *vowel*. Just so in Sanscrit we have *the vowels* ṛ and ṛ. These remarks will also apply to the very antique ᛁ for R (especially R-final). In fact ᛁ *may* only be a half-ᛋ, the upper part (ᛁ) being often a type for S, while the lower (ᛁ) becomes employed for this dim R-sound. ᛦ itself may only be a similar variation of one of the many S-types, purposely invented to signify this dull ˢ/ₒ or a still duller vowel.

The Holmen piece has the Bind-rune RT.

As Scandinavian-runic monograms may be mentioned: RÆ, Hesselager, N. Jutland; RK, Täng, Upland; RR, Såstad, Upland. This last is ᚱ, ᛦR.

It is important to remark once for all, that ᚱ and ᚢ (R and U) can sometimes scarcely be distinguisht. When ᚱ is carved with a very slight bend, for instance ᚱ, and when the ᚢ is unevenly cut, they may nearly coincide. But even in this case they can generally be at once identified by the different look and the slight bend *inward* (U) or *outward* (R).

S.

ᛋ, the type for S, is also in common to a sweep of other staverows, besides the Old-Northern and Scandinavian. But it every where assumes many forms, sometimes apparently very wide apart. They all, however, resolve themselves into what may be called an *upright wavy line*.

This wave may make *two bends*. Thus we have: ᛊ, Bracteate No. 67; — ᛊ, Charnay; — ᚴ, the Amulet-Ring No. 1, S. Cuthbert's Coffin and Thames Knife, which reminds us that ᚴ is S in the Old-Welsh alphabet. See the somewhat similar Roman S on the Franks Casket. — Besides other variations in the Old-English parchment futhorcs, we have, in the Freisingen Ms. referred to under B, both the usual ᛋ and also ᛋ, ᛋ and ᛋ for S.

But the wave may also make *three bends*, and the upper limb may start from the right or from the left. — ᛊ meets us Franks Casket, Gjevedal, Hackness; — ᛊ, ᛊ, &c. Bracteates Nos. 6, 22, 30, (? 58), and Berga, Björketorp, Möjebro, Stentoften, Tune; — ᛊ, Bracteate No. 3; — ᛊ, Bracteate No. 2; — ᛊ, Bracteate No. 20; — ᛊ, Reidstad; — ᛋ, ᛋ, ᛋ, &c., Amulet-Rings Nos. 2-4, Bracteates Nos. 6, 17, 55, 57, and Bewcastle, Collingham, Coquet Iland, Dover, Falstone, Franks Casket, Kallerup, Mörbylånga, Rök, Ruthwell, Sölvesborg, Wyk Coin; — ᛋ, Nethi's Casket; — ᛊ, ᛊ, &c., Bracteates Nos. 6, 14, 20, Årstad, Berga, Björketorp, Gallehus, Gommor, Lindholm, Seude, Tanem, Tune, Upsala; — but this figure may be quite or nearly square thus ᚺ, Bracteates Nos. 23, 28, 49; — ᚺ, Bracteates Nos. 23, 53; — ᚺ, Bracteate No. 56; — ᛊ, ᛊ, Alnmouth; — ᛊ, Bracteate No. 24.

We may also have *four bends*; thus ᛊ, Tanum.

Again, there may be *five or six bends*; as ᛊ, ᛊ, Himlingöie, Krogstad. The Vi Plane has both ᛊ and ᛊ. — Nearly allied is ᛊ, St. Andrews Cross.

But there is also another, and very old, Scandinavian variety for S, evidently sprung from the simplest of the former type. Thus we have ᛁ at Tjängvide and on the Rök stone; ᛉ, Sigdal; ᛁ, Bridekirk, Holmen; the latter modern.

So we have ᛊ, ᛊ, ᛊ, ᛊ, ᛋ, ᛋ, ᛋ, ᛋ, ᛋ, ᛋ, ᛋ, ᛋ, ᛋ, &c. &c., on a host of Scandinavian-runics, and ᛋ, Grindem, Norway; — ᚴ, Grönhögsvadsbro, E. Gotland; — ᛋ, Hörning, N. Jutland; — ᚺ, &c., on many stones. — See the closing remarks on R.

The simple type; — as ᛁ, every where; sometimes ᛁ, which is also on the Helsing stones; — ᛊ, Dref, Småland; — ᛊ, common; — ᛊ, ᛊ, Gerum, Lye, Gotland; Tandberg, Norway; — ᛊ, Flatdal, Norway. — See also Maeshowe, Nos. 18, 22.

Many of these, as well as ᚠ, ᚠ, ᚠ, &c., are on Old-English Coins.

For Scandinavian Binds see SL, Ekala and Varpsund, Upland; ST, two varieties, Marstad and Signilsberg, Upland; SU, Hösmo, Småland; SUA, Maeshowe 22.

T.

ᛏ is another letter common to a host of alphabets, as well as the several Runic. We have it on Bracteates Nos. 8, 22, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 43, 44, 45, 46, 50, 51, 56, 57, 59, and the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-4, Berga, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Bridekirk, Buzeu, Charnay, Collingham, Etelhem, Falstone, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Gommor, Istaby, Kallerup, Lindholm, Monk Wearmouth, Mörbylånga, Nethi's Casket, Osthofen, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Sölvesborg, Stentoften, Tanum, Thames Knife, Tjängvide, Tomstad, Tune, Varnum, Vi Plane, West-Thorp.

Among other minute variations may be mentioned forms of the Eared Cross or Cross with a Handle, such as the elegant, ball-bearing, ᛏ, Bracteate 33; — bubble-blowing, ᛏ, Bracteate 34; — arms deprest, ᛏ, Bracteates 53, 55[1]; — straight-armed, ᛏ, Bracteates 2, 4, 12, 13, 28, 53, and

[1] These CROSS-like variations of this letter are very ancient, and belong to several of the oldest Oriental alphabets. T (TAU) in the oldest Phœnician was a Cross-formed sign, and had its name from its form. This symbol for Divinity and Sanctity was also the mark mentioned in Ezechiel, ch. 9, v. 3. See hereon the valuable remarks of Dr. L. Müller in his "Religiøse Symboler af Stjerne-, Kors- og Cirkel-Form hos Oldtidens Kulturfolk", 4to, Kjøbenhavn 1864, p. 10.

Franks Casket; ornamented stave, ᛏ, Chertsey; — club-footed, ᛇ, Bracteate 1; — one-armed, ᛏ, Holmen, Seude, (? Tjängvide), Bracteates 8, 9, 10, 11, 32, 56; — arm deprest, ᛏ, Bracteate 23; — arm gone, ᛁ, Holmen.

So in Scandinavian-runics the ᛏ and ᛏ often interchange on the same stone, the arm or arms are sometimes lower and lower down, or one lower than the other, or doubled, or absent, or the letter is upside down. — More singular is ᚦ, Hardeberga, Lund; — ᚴ, (properly L), as Flatdal, Norway, which has also ᛏ, and Kyrketorp, West-Gotland; — ᚴ, Forsa, Helsingland; — left arm alone, ´, Helsingland; — pincht in, †, Kleppe, Norway.

Old-Northern Ties: TE, Bracteate 49; TR, Holmen.

Among the Scandinavian-runic binds we remark, TA, two kinds, Trinkesta, Södermanland; Danish unnamed Censer; — TÆ, Vederslev, N. Jutland; — TÆR, Hesselager and Söby, N. Jutland; Danish unnamed Censer; — TE, two kinds, Ed, Värend; Barnspike and Bridekirk, England; — TEK, Danish unnamed Censer; — TH, Näle, Upland; — TK, Hösmo, Småland; — TO, Börje, Upland; — TR, Barnspike, England; Maeshowe 17, and in many other places; — TT (ᛏ), Tingvold, Norway; — TU, Vrickstad, Småland; Tidam, W. Gotland; Danish unfixt Censer; and other variations; — TY, Holme, Norway.

Þ.

Another stave common to the Old-Northern and Scandinavian stave-rows is that TH which we have been foolish enough to let drop, but which it is to be hoped we shall restore — as we ought to have done long ago. It was one of the two letters wisely kept by the English and Scandinavians, when they otherwise adopted the Roman alphabet.

As usual, it may have many forms, particularly the rounded bow, ᚦ, or the angular, ᚦ, sometimes both shapes occurring on the same piece. We have it on Bracteates 3, 8, 17, 22, 23, 28, 59, the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-4, Belland, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Bratsberg, Bridekirk, Charnay, Coquet Iland, Dalby, Franks Casket, Gommor, Hartlepool, A and B, Holmen, Istaby, Kallerup, Lancaster, Monk Wearmouth, Mörbylånga, Osthofen, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Stentoften, Tanum, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Tjängvide, Tune, Væblungsnæs, (? Vånga), and Vi Plane.

The bow more or less at the top instead of the middle, ᚹ, otherwise W, occurs Bracteates 25, 26, and Bewcastle, Falstone, Konghell. — But both the projecting points may nearly or quite disappear, leaving only ᚦ, as Bracteates 1, 7, 27, (? 29), and Nethi's Casket, Reidstad, Stentoften, Upsala, Vi Plane.

Unusual is the figure, ᚦ, on the Rök stone.

Romanized shapes are on Æðred's Ring and the Alnmouth Cross.

Old-English Coins, &c., exhibit several curious and barbarous forms for Þ.

In the Old-Northern times the Rune ᚦ was used both for the aspirated T (TH in *thing, think, thief, wherewith, breath, wreath,* &c) and for the aspirated D (TH in *the, that, this, with, breathe, wreathe,* &c.). But the English early made a happy subdivision, inventing an additional sign (Ð, ð) for the latter or dull TH. This new symbol past over to Scandinavia with the rest of the Anglo-Roman alphabet; but the Scandinavians, like ourselves, foolishly suffered both Þ and ð to die out centuries ago. In Iceland Ð and ð have of late years been restored, Þ being used only at the beginning of a word.

So in Scandinavian-runics, besides the universal ᚦ and ᚦ, we have on hosts of pieces the shankless ᚦ. — Now and then we have also ᚹ, as at Åstrup and Fleisborg, North-Jutland, and Alstad, Upland. — Rårer are such forms as, ᛒ, Danish unnamed Censer, — ᛑ, Bunsnæs, Norway, — ᛑ, chiefly on Swedish stones, — ᛑ, Brattahlid, Greenland, — ᛁ, the Helsing runes. — A Tree-rune ᚦ may be seen on the Maeshowe stone No. 18. — Very scarce is ᚠ, as on the Broddby stone, Upland.

Þ is continued in Northern Mss. down to a late period. — Now and then (when it is not exprest by TH) T or D is used as its substitute. So the Latins, who had not the Etruscan TH, used T or D instead.

Old-Northern Ties are THE, Bridekirk; THU, Bewcastle. So we have the Scandinavian-Runic ᛟ, for *THR*, at Barnspike, England.

In a sense, this rune still lingers in England, but in a mask. When, either seriously or for fun as "old-fashioned", we write, *y*ᵉ for *the*, *y*ᵗ for *that*, *y*ˢ for *this*, &c., this y is the old þ. We can follow it quite plainly in manuscripts. These usually retain the þ down to about the 14th century, in

some places still later. But it then becomes so carelessly written that it soon sinks into a mere scribbled y, but still with the knowledge for a long time that this y was þ. Sometimes this symbol degenerated still further into z, and we may still see, in what is called "comic writing", z^e and z^t, &c., for *the, that*, &c. Thus both Þ and Y have sometimes been barbarized into z.

U.

ᚢ, ᚢ, &c., is common to all the Northern alphabets, and has many minor variations, particularly the carving of the bend low, even half way down, on the stave.

I have already said (see R) that, when carelessly or rapidly carved, ᚢ and R may so much resemble each other as sometimes to offer a moment's difficulty. We have examples of this on all our monuments, both Old-Northern and Scandinavian-runic.

As ᚢ, then, or ᚢ, we have this letter on Bracteates Nos. 7, 8, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 30, 47, 50, 51, 52, 57, 61, 67, the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-4, and Bewcastle, Björketorp, Charnay, Collingham, Falstone, Franks Casket, Gommor, Hackness, Holmen, Istaby, Kallerup, Kragehul, Leeds, Mörbylånga, Nydam, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Sölvesborg, Stentoften, Tanem, Thames Knife, Tjängvide, Tomstad, Tune, (? Vånga), Varnum and Wyk Coin.

But the right limb may commence a little lower down, or still lower, and at last it may even be in the centre, ᚺ. In one or other of these modifications we have this stave on Bracteates 16, 23, 25, 59, and Charnay, Nethi's Casket, Tjängvide and West-Thorp. — Again, each side may be more or less rounded, producing the shape ᚢ, as on Bracteates 5, 11, Franks Casket, Lancaster. — But the form may also be angular, ᚢ, as on Bracteates 1, 2, 3, 4, 12, 13, 20, 27, 28, 40, 54, 56, 58, 59, 61. — Or it may be carved straight on one side, ᚢ, as Lindholm, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Tune. — Sometimes the right foot is much shorter, so as to resemble an L (ᚴ), Bracteates 57, 61, — while the same figure may also lean, ᚢ, Bracteate 56. — Occasionally the whole is squared, ᚢ, as Bracteate No. 1, Chertsey, Dalby, Krogstad. — Or the top may be wanting, ᚢ, as Bracteate 49. — We may even have reverse-cut forms, ᚢ, ᚢ, as Bracteates 24, 49, Mörbylånga and the Vi Plane.

Upside down, and thus in form becoming, but only apparently, more or less Romanized, we have it on Bracteates 1, 3, 28, 60, Alnmouth, Franks Casket, Konghell.

Similar and yet other variations occur on Scandinavian-runics. Besides the usual ᚢ and ᚢ, we have — the elegant ᚨ, Dynna, Norway, — ᚨ, Gran, Norway, which otherwise are Ü. — On many stones &c. we have ᚢ, ᚺ, ᚳ, and so on. — There is also the shortened or staveless ᚲ, as at Berga and Tuna, Upland, and in the Helsing alphabet. — The type ᛕ is at Säfva, Upland, — and a Tree-rune for ᚢ is on the Maeshowe stone No. 18.

See the apparent Tie UI on the Holmen piece, and the Bind-rune UN on the Sanda stone, A.

This ᚢ, was retained by Ulfilas; and Old-English Coins, &c., give U in many variations, both Runic and Roman.

Ü.

By Ü is meant, vulgarly speaking, the dotted U, ᚨ, in its many variations, and by this again is intended that thin sound of U which is so near both to U and to I, and which was often exprest by the equivalents of Y. Both etymologically and phonetically U, Ü, Y, and I are intimately connected and continually pass into each other or into various vowels or diphthongs, the U being usually a mark of linguistic antiquity, the Ü, Y, I, &c., of fresh formation and development or later dialect or gradual transition or local interchange.

But this old Runic ᚨ, tho here for convenience represented by Ü, in order to show that it is only a coloring of the U; has nothing to do with the modern German Ü. This last does not spring from any rune. It is merely a short way of writing the sound UE (a kind of Y), which was first spelt UE, ue, then $\overset{\text{E}}{\text{U}}$, u, and at last the superplaced e became two dots.

This Ü, then, being so intimately connected with its twin-sister Y, the reader is referred to that letter. I only beg him always to bear in mind that U and Ü and Y are often used almost in common. So in the Old-English skinbook alphabets Nos. 41 and 41 b the rune for U is ᚨ; as in Roman inscriptions, where V is used for V, ᛉ is employed for U.

A glance at the vellum stave-rows will show that this ᚫ has had many variations. And so on the monuments. Preserving its type, they freely modify it. The form ᚫ occurs at Bewcastle and Lancaster; — it is ᚪ at Hartlepool, A and B; — still simpler, ᚪ, at Årstad; — a little rounded, ᚬ, on the Franks Casket; — this is ᚫ on the Upsala Axe, and twice on the Carlisle stone; — more varied is the ᚭ at Ruthwell; — ᚮ on the Thames Knife; — ᚯ on the Amulet-Ring No. 4; — but ᚰ on Bracteate No. 61; — at Konghell ᚴ.

It is curious to see this rune preserving itself, half Romanized, that is turned upside down to make it harmonize with U and the other Roman letters, on pieces from the middle age. Thus on the Seal of Ny Herred, Flensborg Amt, South-Jutland, it is ⅄. This stamp is now in the Danish Old-Northern Museum, and reads:

SIGILLVM BONDONVM DE NÛHÆRETH. *The-SEAL of-the-BONDES (yeomen) OF NÛ HÆRETH.*

The date of this piece is the 12th or 13th century.

The same sign subsists in some Scandinavian manuscripts, in the small hand, in the form of a crost u, ᛏ. See examples in the facsimile of Codex 455 in the Arna-Magnæan Collection containing Waldemar's Sealand Law in Danish, as given by Rask in his "Dansk Retskrivnings-lære", 8vo, Kjobenhavn 1826.

Slightly varied, we have this Romanized rune on another Danish Seal, that of Gyring (Gjording) Herred or Hundred, Ribe Amt, North-Jutland, probably dating about 1200-1250. This piece, kindly pointed out to me by Archivary Herbst, runs:

SECRETVM GÛRING HÆRETH.

The Æ is here a monogram, and the Û is ⅄. — Observe also the 2 forms of the G.

Nor are we without examples of this rune in older forms in Scandinavian-runics, as well as in the later and general ᚫ. — Thus we have ᚭ on many monuments, — which is ᚮ at Gränby, Upland, — ᚯ on the Hesselager Censer, North-Jutland, — ᛇ on the Långthora stone, Upland, — ᚫ on the Vordingborg transition-stone.

On the Lytterstad stone, Södermanland, (Lilj. No. 905, Baut. No. 78 b, as corrected from the stone by P. A. Säve in 1861, communicated to me by Prof. Carl Säve), we have the form ᚤ.

This runic ᚢ became in English skinbooks ʏ, and so remained to the close of the middle age, of course, as we have said, with various vowel fluctuations, when it went over to some other sound, as blysan, *to blaze*, yfel, *evil*, yldra, *elder, older*, hyran, *to hear*, ydel, *idle*, ytermest, *outermost*, &c. In Scandinavia it settled down into ʏ.

V.

ᴠ is not an old letter, as little as ᴊ. There could therefore be no rune for it. The Roman ᴠ (ᴜ) before a vowel was usually pronounced ᴡ, which has been too much forgotten. But in the middle age a distinction crept in, as to sound and letter, between ᴜ and ᴠ, and then ᴠ gradually obtained the modern hard sound.

We have traces of this also in Scandinavian-runics. Besides the usual ᚢ (ᴜ) for ᴠ, we have, for instance ᚠ, Dref, Småland, (ᛅᚠᛏ in the expression AVE MARIA), and Klinte and Gulldrupa, Gotland (ᚠᛁ, in AVI MARIA); — and ᚠ, Svinninge, Fyn, (ᛅᚢᚠᛏ in AUVE [= AVE] MARIA), and again in Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms. Sweden (ᚾᛁᚠᛅ = LIVA), and in the 2nd part of the Ms. Skåne Law, Denmark, and at Anga and Hväte, Gotland, and at Kyrkefalla, West-Gotland. — On the Iron-work at Raudland, Norway, we have 3 times ᚠ for ᴠ. — On the Ugglum stone, West-Gotland, the ᴠ is ᚠ.

See ᴡ.

W.

The second stave kept by the English and other Northmen, when they followed the Romanizing fashion and took up the Roman alphabet, was their native Runic ᚹ or ᚠ, = ᴡ. This Old-Northern letter, which disappeared first from Scandinavia and then from England, continued in the latter country, at least exceptionally, late down in the middle age, when it finally gave way before the Latin ᴠᴠ or Ꮤ or ᴡ or ᴜᴜ, &c., Double-ᴜ, a most stupid and barbarous and cumbersome substitute for our old and elegant ᚹ. — In Scandinavia, besides the monuments in this work, we find it on the earliest Coins, from the 10th and 11th centuries. These, it is true, were struck by English moneyers, but they neither would nor could have employed this letter if it had been entirely unknown. Accordingly the monuments now show that it was daily seen in metal and on stone, and at this early period its meaning was still well understood. This is so much the clearer, as it is also used in the oldest Norse-Icelandic skinbooks.

Rounded, ᚹ, or angular, ᚠ, this rune meets us on Bracteates 19, 22, 24, 27, 28, 47, 51, 52, 55, 56, 67, and Almouth, Amulet-Ring No. 4, Årstad, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Bridekirk, Buzeu, Charnay, Collingham, Etelhem, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Gommor, Istaby, Krogstad, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Seude, Sölvesborg, Stentoften, Tanum, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Tomstad, Tune, Varnum, Vi Plane and Vordingborg.

But as ᚦ (TH) can easily, currently or carelessly carved, approach in shape ᚹ (W), so this ᚹ may approximate to ᚦ, as at Sigdal. — Or the shanks may altogether fall away, when ᛞ or ᚹ (which we have seen might be TH) may be ᴡ. It is thus on Bracteates 11, 29, 32, of course more or less straight or leaning. — But we have also the double ᴜ, ᚢᚢ, as Bracteate 49, — upside down, ᚤᚤ, as Bracteate 28. — Or the top may be straight, ᚠ, as at Almouth.

This rune long held its ground on Old-English Coins, &c., often abridged as ᚴ, ᚠ, &c., but also with other still shorter forms.

In Scandinavian-runics, when the ᴡ had quite died out, the carvers contented themselves with ᚢ (ᴜ), altho the sound ᴡ certainly still continued in certain dialects and localities, as it does to this day. But now and then efforts were made to get a kind of substitute in another way. — Thus on the Höga stone, Upland, (now at Upsala), we have ᚠ, FITA-FAÞUM, = UITA-UAÞUM, *in white weeds*, newly baptized, where the first ꜰ properly stands for HW, the second for ᴡ. At Blädinge, Småland, we have the name FINFIÞIR = FINUIÞIR = FINWIÞIR. At Transjö, Värend, FÆR = UÆR = WAR, *was*. At Blistad, Upland, the name KUÞFAR, = KUÞUAR = KUÞWAR = KUNNAR. At Vallentuna, Upland, DAFIÞ, (the name

DAVID), where, however, the U may really have had the sharp sound, as in Icelandic the name LAURENCIUS became LAFRANTS.

Another way was, to use O for W, as in Latin writers also we often find O (before A and I) as a representative of this Scando-Gothic digamma. Thus at Ängeby, Upland, OAR = WAR, *was*. At Giesingholm, N. Jutland, OAUF = WAUF (HWALF) *vault*, grave. At Billsta, Södermanland, the mansname SOAINBIARN = SWAINBIARN. At Thorsätra, Upland, SUM TO I HOITA-UADUM (= I HWITA-UADUM), *who died in white weeds (robes)*, newly baptized. At Gauthem, Gotland, OARN BISKU(P), = WARN BISKUP, ac. s. m., *our bishop*. On the Royndal piece, Norway, we have 4 times O for W (or V).

See V.

X.

X is unknown to Runic antiquity. For the runes used, or the fanciful marks invented, for this letter, when KS was not employed, see the skinbook futhorcs made to imitate the Latin alphabet.

Y.

This rune is difficult to handle; partly from its being in some degree a mere parallel to U, which see, and to the various other vowels and diphthongs represented by or allied to that letter; partly from the many shapes which it assumes on the monuments and in the bookfells, tho they most of them have a strong family likeness; and partly, like other vowels and half-vowels, from its tendency to have or not also a guttural breathing.

As for its types, see those for I, U, &c., in the old Greek and Italic alphabets, with which the runic often strangely coincide, as they sometimes do also in the sound. Thus the Greeks generally pronounced their U as Ū or Y, but the Æolians nearly as OO.

The Old-Northern pieces give this Y by ᛃ, as Bracteate 22; — by ᛩ, as Bracteate 30; — by ᛩ, as Bracteate 30; — by ᛞ, as Bracteate 9; — by ᛏ, Thames Knife; — by ᛋ, Berga; — by ᚤ, Bracteate 36; — by ᚤ, Bracteate 39; — by ᚣ, Bracteates 6, 55; — by ᚣ, Bracteates 37, 38; — by the half-Roman ᛩ or ᛊ, as Almouth, not unlike Ulfilas' M. Gothic stave for J (= Y), namely ᛄ. This ᛊ is the letter for Y in Old-English manuscripts down to the 8th and even the 9th century, when it was followed by y down to about the 11th, when y was succeeded by ẏ, which lasted to the close of the middle age. In Scandinavia, where we have no very old codices, we begin with the y, then comes ẏ, afterwards shortened to y again.

Another type is ᛋ, as Bracteate No. 41; — ᛋ, Istaby; — ᚼ, Charnay and Holmen; — ᛊ, Flatdal and Franks Casket; — ᛇ on the Årja stone; — ᚴ, Holmen; — ᛎ, Sæding. The Scandinavian-runic ᛦ is used on the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-3.

The ȝ of the Bridekirk Font introduces us to another variety, which, if we will, we can call half-Roman, and which, with various modifications, is so common on old carved pieces and in manuscripts. We are most familiar with it in the shape ȝ[1]. Originally apparently G, this mark gradually past over to a kind of GH and Y. And yet it must sometimes have had a hard sound. We are never quite sure. The carver of the Bewcastle Cross would seem not to have had a separate mark for this soft YE or Y in his staverow. At least he has twice used G (ᚷ) for Y (J) in the word GESSUS, which must surely have had the pronunciation YESSUS (= JESUS), not GESSUS with hard G. This word, with others, is often found on old monuments written with a G-like letter. And we do not know, with certainty, what was always the power of the J which was sometimes written for it. Thus the Ancren Rule, which is from about the year 1300, has GIWS, GIWERIE, (Jews, Jewry); but the Ormulum, which

[1] Between two soft vowels the O. Engl. ȝ, tho otherwise it was a hard G, *must* often or commonly have sounded Y. And yet this Anglo-Roman alphabet had a *separate* letter for Y! In earlier English Mss., when g and ȝ become gradually distinguisht, the symbols ȝ, Y, H, GH are often used almost promiscuously — even in the same page — within, or at the end of, a syllable. In some Mid. Engl. Mss. ȝ is found at the *end* of a word for S, but in this case has evidently been regarded as a mere variation of S or Z. But rapidly or carelessly written, ȝ may easily become Z. And accordingly older English writings, especially in Scotland, have often blundered so far as to use Z for ȝ. But this stupid orthographical corruption, which has misled the tung as well as the eye, is now commonly laid aside and Y substituted. Thus both ȝ and Þ have been barbarized into Z! In some Mss. S is used for ȝ, within a word; also a mere orthographic corruption.

is a little earlier, has both ȝERRSALÆM (Jerusalem) and JUDISKENN (Jewish). — In Old-English, and often in Old-Scandinavian Mss., Y between two vowels is frequently exprest by G or GI, &c.

In fact there is no doubt that at certain times and in certain dialects this U- or I-sound became not only U or Y but really *guttural*, a GH or G or HG or HY, usually exprest by G or H. This foresetting a guttural where it does not belong and casting it away where it does, is common everywhere. And it was assisted by the rapid melting of the G in certain dialects, particularly before the soft vowels, into Y (Scandinavian J, but pronounced Y), a change which is now carried thro in Swedish, is rapidly advancing in Norse, and has commenced in Danish. In England it is well known, but not universal[1]. In many German dialects and here and there in Scandinavia, (as in some few old or provincial English words), the G has become Y even before the strong vowels. It is as if *we* should now say YOD YAVE YOLD for GOD GAVE GOLD. In illustration of this process in English, let us take an example where the stave-rime assures us that the G was really hard G, not any soft sound; we go to the Old-English Metrical Psalms (ed. Thorpe), Ps. 102 (our 103), verse 5, second half:

on Geogoðe nú	*in thy-youth now*
Gleawe geworden,	*gleg (fresh, vigorous) worden (become).*

This Geogoð the first Wycliffite version softens to ȝouth, while the Mid. Engl. poetical version (Surtees Soc.) makes it YHouth, and we Youth.

Again in Beowulf (Thorpe) l. 5626:

þæt wæs þam Gomelan	*that was to-the gammel (Olding)*
Gingeste word.	*the-youngest word.*

In another form — *that was the old man's last word.*

It is plain that the hard G (GH) in *Gleaw* and *Gomel* required the hard G (GH) also in *Geogoð* and *Gingest*. They could not at that time, in the folkland where these skinbooks were written, have been pronounced *Yeogoð* and *Yingest*. Yet it is equally sure that in other passages and other codices these Old-English words *have* been so pronounced, they sometimes even being spelt with I. The G, then, is dialectic. This is so much the more undeniable as G (GH) is *unknown* in this stem in *all* the other Scando-Gothic talks, is *not* in the Latin (Juvenis, Juventas), and *not* in the Sanscrit (*Yuvan*, young).

Other examples, equally striking, might be given. But one is as good as a thousand.

We therefore need not wonder if we sometimes find the rune for G, where we should expect the rune for Y. The *rune* is right enough; it is the *sound* which is *dialectic*. And in some cases the G-rune might obtain a doubtful and double meaning, a kind of G-Y or Y-H sound, from the mere fact of the *same* word being uttered with a G, or with a Y, in border districts, while the runic spelling remained the same. And I here again remind the reader — for it cannot be repeated too often — that the modern sound J (DG) was apparently unknown in early times. In Scandinavia and Germany the J is merely the graphic mark for Y. The German JUNG (Scandinavian UNG) is pronounced YUNG. The Scandinavian and German JA (our YA, YEA = YES, Old-Engl. GÆ, GAE, GE, GEE, GI, GIẹ, IA, &c.) is sounded YA. The Norse-Dansk STJERNE is pronounced STYERNE (our STAR, North-Engl. STARN), but in Swedish STJERNA sounds SHERNA, the STJ being = SH in that dialect. The Danish KJÆDE (chain) is spoken KYÆDE, but the Swedish KEDJA sounds TCHEDYA, the K in that dialect being now TCH before weak vowels, like as G is softened to Y in the same position. The word itself, as well as our CHAIN, is from the Latin CATENA. — We have at least one English word which has J as Y, the exclamation HALLELUJAH, which is now always sounded HALLELUYAH.

In Scandinavian runics the old rune for Y lingers on for a time. — Thus we have ᚴ, Frestad, Upland; Bjälbo, East-Gotland; Säleby, West-Gotland; Norsunda, Upland; — ᚵ, Delsbo, Helsingland; Dref, Småland; Over-Selö and Trinkesta, Södermanland; — softened by being dotted, ᚶ, Kyrkefalla,

[1] Our GYLDAN has become to YIELD, our GEOC a YOKE. But our GIFAN remains to GIVE, as in Danish, not YIVE as in Swedish; while our GEOLU has become YELLOW, Scandinavians saying GUL, not YUL, for the U is a strong vowel. Yet 3 or 400 years ago GIVE, AGAIN, and scores of other words were apparently fixt in English with the soft sound, being generally spelt YEVE, AYENST, &c. But a reaction set in, and these words recovered their hard G. So much for "uniformity" and pedantic systems!

West-Gotland; Hesselager, N. Jutland; Rogslösa, East-Gotland; Gammelgarn and Klinte, Gotland; — reverst ᛩ, Skönabeck Horn, Lund; Kölaby and Skänum, West-Gotland; Lärbro, Gotland, and elsewhere on that iland; — upside down, ᚴ, Valby, Upland; shorter Vedelsprang stone, South-Jutland.

But this form was supplanted by the type ᛦ (which also stands for the vocalic variation OE, as well as for the dim vocalic R, afterwards also a real R). This is common everywhere, also in Mss., as in the Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms. Sweden, Skäne Law, Ms. Denmark. On all the Manx stones no Y occurs; we should expect ᛦ. — We have this form debased, ᛏ, on the Julstad stone, Upland.

Among the later fanciful marks for Y, we will only mention the Icelandic ᛉ.

Z.

This letter is of course unknown to the real runes. For the marks adopted or made for it, see the Old-English skinbook futhorcs shaped into the Latin alphabet.

Another difficulty in these monuments, and another reason for caution, and for slowness in generalizing and laying down rules as to the age of particular types, is the frequency of 2 or 3 *different* rune-types for the *same* letter on the *same* monument. Thus, Söndervissing, North-Jutland, we have 3 kinds of M, 3 kinds of Y, 3 kinds of R; Salebo, West-Gotland, 3 kinds of A, 3 kinds of O, 2 kinds of N; and so on by scores. All this is ornamental.

In like manner we have often *small* runes intermixt with the larger. So at Skjern and Söndervissing, North-Jutland, and crowds of others. On the Säby stone, Upland, about a dozen of the runes are carved small.

PIECES CALLED RUNIC

NOT TREATED HERE.

As a hint to future students, I add a list of a few other pieces not here entered upon. It might have been greatly enlarged if I had collected the notices of inscribed grave-monuments and other remains found in old authors, and probably bearing our old runes. But, as the pieces have perisht, it would have been too melancholy and useless a task. Even in our own days we have similar sad notices. Thus at p. 168 and 169 of J. G. Liljegren's "Förteckning öfver Fynd i Svensk Jord" (Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Academiens Handlingar, 30 delen, Stockholm 1830, 8vo): — "1687, at Strömsholm, when the Garden there was laid out, was found in a cairn *a vessel of Alabaster*, like a vase or bottle with a stopper, and on the side an inscription in unknown letters." — "1690. In Arboga stream a boy found *a Golden Ring*, bearing ancient characters."

A small weight of iron, covered with a thin plate of a kind of brass, the sides slightly decorated, was found on the *Ahl-heath*, North-Jutland, Denmark. It is described and figured in "Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed", Vol. 1, p. 405. On the top are what has been redd

ᛟ
ᚢᛁ
(O U I)

All I can say is, that the marks are very illegible. So I regard the above reading as apocryphal. It is not sure that the strokes are runes at all. The reader can see the piece itself in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven.

The *Aspatria* Armring, — the Golden armilla found at Aspatria in Cumberland, December 1828 — was supposed by Mr. Hamper to bear a word (GEROT), in Runes. See it figured in Archæologia

Vol. 22, p. 439, Archæol. Æliana Vol. 2, p. 268. But we cannot see by these engravings what the inscription really was, and no one seems to know where this precious antiquity now lies hid. I can therefore get neither Cast nor Rubbing. When copied for the Archæologia, it was exhibited by G. Baird, Esq., of Carlisle.

A Stone Axe, undoubtedly genuine, found in *Denmark* (no one knew where or when), came by purchase to the private collection of King Frederik VII at Frederiksborg. It was exhibited by him at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Northern Antiquaries, March 21, 1853. What made it remarkable was some 4 Runic characters, whose genuineness was suspected by all who saw them.

This Axe perisht in the fire which consumed the rest of the King's Collection and the Palace itself. But an exact drawing appeared in "Antiquarisk Tidsskrift" 1852-4, Kjøbenhavn 1854, p. 8 (see also p. 266), repeated in "Mémoires de la Société Roy. des Ant. du Nord", 1850-60, 8vo, Copenhague 1861, p. 28.

As neither Herbst, Strunk nor Worsaae can assure me that this inscription was not a modern forgery, which it has every appearance of being, I pass it over.

Fin Magnusen, in his Runamo, p. 510, gives an inscription on the rock at *Framvaren*, Lister, Mandal, South-Norway, copied from Vegner, 1636. Dean Abel's copy, 1810, in the Old-Northern Museum, substantially agrees. If correctly copied, it must be redd UKIALIR IDILTSIN, the name of a champion said by tradition to have cast himself from the cliff. But the runes are Scandinavian, not Old-Northern. In the "Forhandlinger i Videnskabs-Selskabet i Christiania Aar 1861", p. 247, Hr. Tellef Dahll gives another copy, differing so greatly as not to be recognized as the same! Lector Rygh informs me that two other copies are preserved in the Archives of the Ac. of Sciences, Tronyem, from 1734, the one, like Abel's, having ᛖ for ᛚ ᛁ, the other differing from all the other copies!

A fragment of an Iron Sword, dug up at *Gilton*, in the Parish of Ash, near Sandwich, Kent, and formerly in the possession of W. H. Rolfe, Esq., but now in the Museum of Joseph Mayer, Esq., Liverpool, bears a line of Old-Northern Runes, somewhat injured, on the one side of the pommel, and traces of a similar line on the other. The more perfect line has been translated by Mr. Haigh, Conquest of Britain, p. 51.

Of this inscription 3 copies exist, the one in a letter from C. Roach Smith, Esq., to Councilor Thomsen, Cheapinghaven. It is dated London, Sept. 13, 1845; — the second in J. Y. Akerman's Remains of Saxon Pagandom, London 1853, 4to, p. 49, pl. 24, fig. 3; — the third is in Mr. Haigh's Conquest, as aforesaid.

All these copies differ. I will therefore not attempt to read the carving.

Since writing the above, J. Brent the Younger, Esq., of Canterbury, has kindly forwarded me rubbings of the runes, obligingly provided for him by Mr. Mayer for that purpose. But even this is not sufficient. The letters are still doubtful, being so much worn. I doubt whether they could be perfectly copied even *after* a long and patient examination of the original; certainly they cannot *without*. I must therefore wait till I perhaps one day visit Liverpool or can get an exact cast. Most likely, being so imperfect and probably also connected with the letters once on the other side, they will never be translated. So I refer to the publications just mentioned, and pass them by.

In the "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed" for 1838, p. 118 fol., is a treatise by Fin Magnusen on a small Stone Ring bearing a so-called inscription, found some years before at *Hammerlöf*, in Sconé, Sweden. Even were we to suppose this piece to be genuine and the marks to be Runes, these latter are evidently not Old-Northern.

The very ancient Bronze Ell-wand found in *Italy*, figured first in Count L. Moscardo's "Della Parte seconda del Museo", 1672, p. 404, — then in Peringskiold's "Vita Theoderici", Stockholmiæ 1699, 4to, p. 530, — then in Eccard, "De origine Germanorum", Goettingae 1750, 4to, p. 190, — and learnedly explained by Peringskiold as undoubtedly Runic, — I take to be Oscan or some such dialect. The marks are not Runes.

Hr. Richard Dybeck, the well-known Swedish Runologist, has kindly placed in my hands his paper tracing of a fragment found by him in 1864. The greatest height of this stone is nearly 3 feet, its greatest breadth about 18 inches. It was discovered at *Löfstad*, in Dingtuna Parish, Vestmanland. The principal side is nearly equally divided by a line from top to bottom. The left half bears a large rough crown, below which are more than a dozen characters in 4 lines. The right half has a similar

crown; below are more than a score characters in 7 lines. The whole inscription, which is carelessly and barbarously cut, is intended for runes, which here and there resemble O. N. letters. But I take this piece to be a comparatively modern forgery, and to be meaningless.

The *Ringsö* stone, Randers, North-Jutland, Denmark, partly figured in Runamo p. 552, is not Old-Northern, but a regular Scandinavian-Runic inscription in two lines. An excellent drawing by Kruse is now in the Museum, Cheapinghaven.

There are several pieces in the Vienna Museum bearing inscriptions in what many have called "Runes". There are the 2 *Steiermark* Bronze Helmets and several Golden Ewers and precious Goblets and other things. But I look upon the characters to be old Classical. They are certainly not our Runes.

Some Urns of baked clay have been laboriously deciphered by F. Magnusen. I look upon the strokes to be mere fingermarks or rough ornaments. — So some simple carvings on his "perantique" stone blocks are mere scratches or decorations.

The Carthage Weight mentioned by Lauth, p. 75, and by others, and (as redd by the Danish Archæologist Münter) bearing the name RÄGINARI (= RAINER). — I have never been able to find in Münter, nor do I know whether it now exists. — It must have belonged to some Northern chapman or soldier.

In Worm's Fasti, p. 92, is engraved a specimen of a fragmentary old bone Almanac or Runic Clog, curious enough as showing that, among the other signs, are also a couple of Old-Northern Runes. Doubtless this piece has been from the early middle age. It is now lost.

I do not mention many pieces, with Etruscan or Classical or even Middle-age inscriptions, which have been described or sent to me as Runic, but which belong to far other fields of monumental study.

Neither have I taken any notice of a word or two — a name, such as ERCONFRIT — a phrase, such as AMEN or PAX VOBISCUM — a single word, such as HORS, MAN, found in a Manuscript here and there. They have no moment or value for our purpose, are not "monuments", are mere playful variations from the usual Latin letters. — For the same reason I pass by a couple of inscriptions in Mss. in O. N. Runes indeed, but not in any known Northern or other dialect. See them in Kemble's Essay.

I have also omitted pieces bearing a rune or two, mixt with Roman letters, but this rune not distinctively Old-Northern. Thus the Gold-ring assumed to have belonged to Alhstan, Bishop of Sherburne, who died in 867, and which is figured in Archæologia, Vol. 4, p. 47, has Latin letters, all except the last, which is a Runic ᚾ (N).

The discovery in 1854 of Runic Stones, &c., in Normandy, Departement de l'Eure, Arrondissement de Bernay, Canton de Beaumont le Roger, Risle Valley, in a Chapel dedicated to St. Eligius, was made known by M. Lenormant. It excited great astonishment, and was believed in (in spite of the absurd "runes") by Jacob Grimm and others. The inscriptions were said to date from the 6th century. They have long since been proved to be a gross forgery, equal in audacity to the scandalous humbug of the last century (1769), the "discovery" of Bronze Idols, Stones, &c., bearing "Wendish Runes". For a good digest of the literature and facts connected with this Wendish Rhetra "find" see F. Magnusen's Runamo, p. 236 and following. For the similar Lenormant "find" see Prof. Worsaae's "Om nye Opdagelser af Runer i Frankrige og England", 8vo, Kjobenhavn 1856. Consult also "Monatsberichte der k. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Berlin", 1854, 8vo, pp. 527-30, with plate; and A. Kirchhoff's "Zur Würdigung der Französischen Runen", with plate, in "Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum, herausgegeben von Moriz Haupt", Vol. 10, Berlin 1856, pp. 198-215.

SWEDEN.

IN MINNE

OF

THE RUNE-SMITHS OF SWEDEN;

WITH MANY GREETINGS

TO

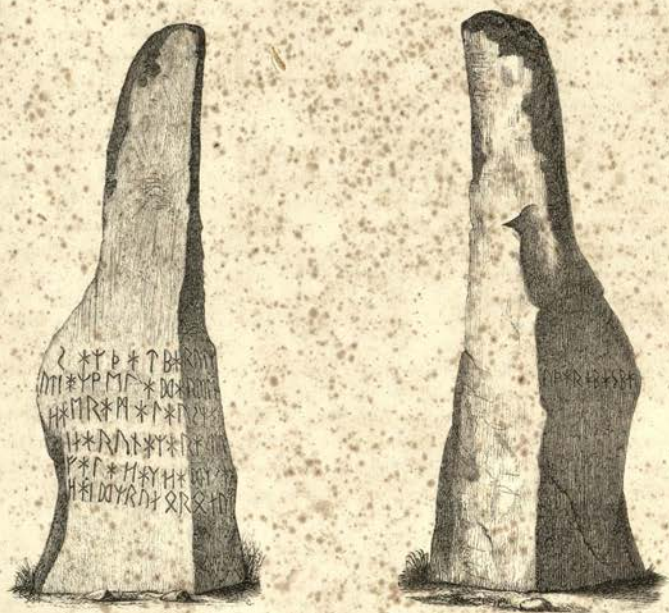
PROF. CARL SÄVE,

OF UPSALA.

BJÖRKETORP, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

This noble Heathen Pillar-stone, mentioned as No. 2058 in Liljegren's Run-urkunder, of its kind the grandest and most picturesque in all the North, has been often copied, and various attempts have been made to read its runes. For these I refer to the works enumerated in "Runic Literature". I will only here observe that the oldest drawing is that given by Ol. Worm in his Danica Literatura, 4to. 1636, p. 66; next and better, but still incorrect, is the woodcut in Ol. Worm's Literatura Runica.



WORSAAE'S DRAWINGS OF THE BJÖRKETORP STONE.

fol., 1651, p. 65, this being a second very slightly altered edition of the Danica Literatura. This second wooden block was copied by Dr. Sven Bring (Lagerbring) in his Dissertation, "De Nomarchia Medelstadii, Medelstads Härad", 4to, Londini Gothorum, 1748, p. 24. Still better is the 3rd transcript, in Runamo, Plate 13, fig. 7 and 7 b, given by Fin Magnusen from a drawing by Lieut. Peterson of Carlskrona, taken in 1821, but corrected from the stone by Councilor Thomsen in 1838.[1] Last and best is the lithograph in Prof. Worsaae's Blekingske Mindesmærker, Plate 11, a, b. As this was made with great care in 1844 by a profest Artist (Mr. Zenthen), under Prof. Worsaae's own eye and guarantee, I have re-engraved it here. It is almost identical with my own.

But the importance of the four Old-Northern Bleking Rune-stones was felt to be so great, and so many years have gone by since Prof. Worsaae last handled them, that archæologists eagerly desired new copies, and examinations as to the state of these monuments. The Royal Society of Sciences in Upsala took upon themselves to carry this wish into execution, and in August 1864 voted me a grant of 300 Swedish dollars for the above excellent purpose. So generously assisted, I immediately repaired with my artist (Mr. J. Magnus Petersen) to the beautiful province of Bleking from Sölvesborg in the west to Björketorp in the east, was fortunate enough to find all the 4 stones, and am now enabled to lay before my readers fresh and careful facsimiles. They show the substantial correctness of Prof. Worsaae's copies. The 5th Bleking stone, that said to have once been seen at Flegehall, I could not discover owing to the water being so high. But Rector F. W. Dahl, of Sölvesborg, who kindly gave me most valuable help, has promist to look for it when the waters subside. A 6th similar runic stone I heard of when in Istaby. It is said that it was used in building or repairing the homestead of the yeoman Pehr Knutson of that ilk. Possibly this tradition may be true, and it may one day turn up.

The beautiful and striking Björketorp [Birch-thorp] monolith is of that rare class an Inscribed Bauta stone, one of three which form a triangle, the other two bearing no runes. These lattor blocks, which are upwards of 10 feet high, stand eleven paces off, with a space of 16 feet between them. A deep digging has been made, some time or other, between these three stones, but it is not known whether anything was found. The Rune-bearer is more than 13 feet high, in its broadest part 3 feet and 2 inches, the adjoining rune-side being only 16 inches broad; the letters are about 6 inches long. Nearby have been found a Stone-kist and a Stone-circle (Doom-ring).

In order to mark the spot exactly it may be mentioned, that the Björketorp stone is not far from the village of Lerakra or Lerager, some distance up the road to Björketorp, a small hamlet of four cottages, on the right hand. This is east of Romneby, in Medelstad Härad, East-Bleking. The plot of land is now the property of three several peasant owners, Nils Mansson of Listerby, Karl Karlsson of Björketorp, and the peasant Otto. The fences which divide their lands run up to and between the stones. The whole group stands in a beautiful shaw of Birch and other trees, almost all wild woodland unfit for cultivation, save that here and there on the left is a patch or two of potatoes or buckwheat. We may therefore hope that these noble remains — besides their general sanctity and their being state property — are safe from the plough. The Runic block is of course a good deal weathered, but only a letter or two is really doubtful, the hard granite having resisted the tooth of time with wonderful tenacity.

On narrowly comparing Prof. Worsaae's copy with the stone itself the only differences are, that in the 2nd line the 4th stave is distinctly only ᚴ; in the 3rd line the last letter is very doubtful, the stone being here so much furrowed and worn: I tried a rubbing, but it gave no result: apparently the rune has been ᚱ: in the 4th line the last character but two is clearly ᚷ: in the 5th line the last stave but two is ᚱ. In the last line there has apparently never been any letter after the ᚢ, so that here Worsaae is quite correct.

I now give my fresh copy of the block, as seen in September, 1864:

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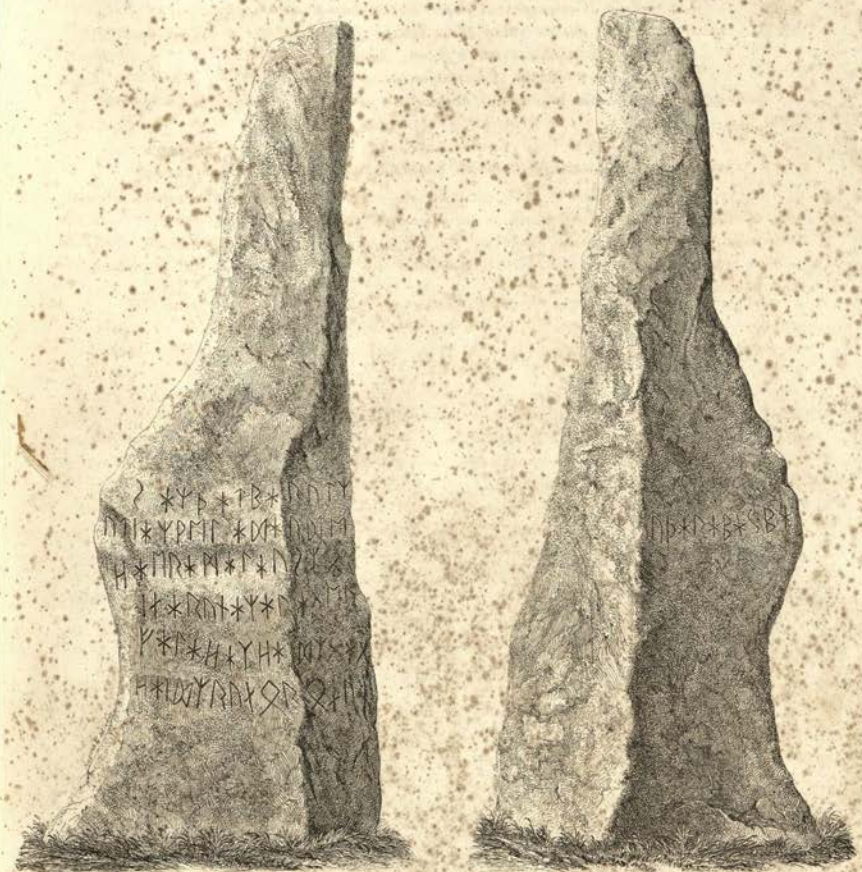
[1] The original drawing by "C. D. Pettirsson", as he himself signs his name, dated Aug. 25, 1816, is now in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven, to which it came with the other collections of Dr. Vedel-Simonsen. It is carefully done, but was very properly corrected by Thomsen in 3 or 4 places.



We have here ✱ for Æ and Ψ for a short A; the other A having its own stave, ᚾ. (So some parchment-alphabets have two runes for A.) To distinguish them I mark ✱ by $\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$ and ᚾ by Á. It will be observed that the closing formula bears a striking likeness to that on the Stentoften stone, which it also helps to explain, the S$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$Y (*these*) of the one answering to the IA$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$ RUN$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$A (*these runes*) of the other.

The O ROÁU (*has rest, takes his rest*) of the last line has a striking parallel in the lately discovered A RÆW HER(Æ) (*has rest here*) of the Arstad stone, Stavanger Amt, Norway, — which see in its place.

I divide and translate;

S$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$AI $\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$T B$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$RUTA UT I $\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$AWEL$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$ D$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$UDE.

H$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}ER\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$ M$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}L\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$ USA(O) IÁ$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$ RUN$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$A $\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}R\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$ GEU.

F$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}L\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$ H$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}LH\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$DA O$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$G.

H$\frac{\text{Æ}}{\text{H}}$IDAR UÁ.

O ROÁU.

SEATH AT the-BARRATRY (battle, conflict) OUT IN ÆAWEL DIED.

HERE MELL (speak, tell) US THESE RUNES his-ARE (fame, glory) YEA (truly, indeed).

FELE (many) of-HELTS (heroes, champions) he-ROUTED.

HADOR (honor, lustre, glory) he-WAN.

OWNS-he (he-hath, he enjoys, takes he now) his-ROO (rest, repose). (= Here sleeps he now in peace).

On the other side we have:

UÞ ᛋ R ᛋ B ᛋ SB ᛋ.

UTHÆR and-ÆBÆ the-SPAE (the-Wise) (= raised these stones and carved runes these).

UTI is sometimes found on Runic monuments as one word, equivalent to IN, and this may possibly be the case here. — For remarks on the place-name ÆAWEL see the Word-roll. — Should SBÆ be a mans-name, not an adjective, there will then be three men named who joined in this monument to their brother-in-arms. But SPAE was frequently used as an epithet. This ÆBÆ SBÆ is probably the ÆBÆ who carved the Stentoften stone.

THE RUNIC PILLAR AND ITS BAUTA-STONES.

As I have said, the Björketorp Standing Stones are a most imposing and charming sight, framed as they are in such a delicious landscape. To give an idea of this remarkable group, and also to show what a Bauta-stone (a tall pillar-stone without runes) really is, as we often see it singly, or two or three or more, guarding the grave of the departed chieftain, who was so well known in his day that to carve his name was needless, I have added my artist's excellent sketch.

STENTOFTEN, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

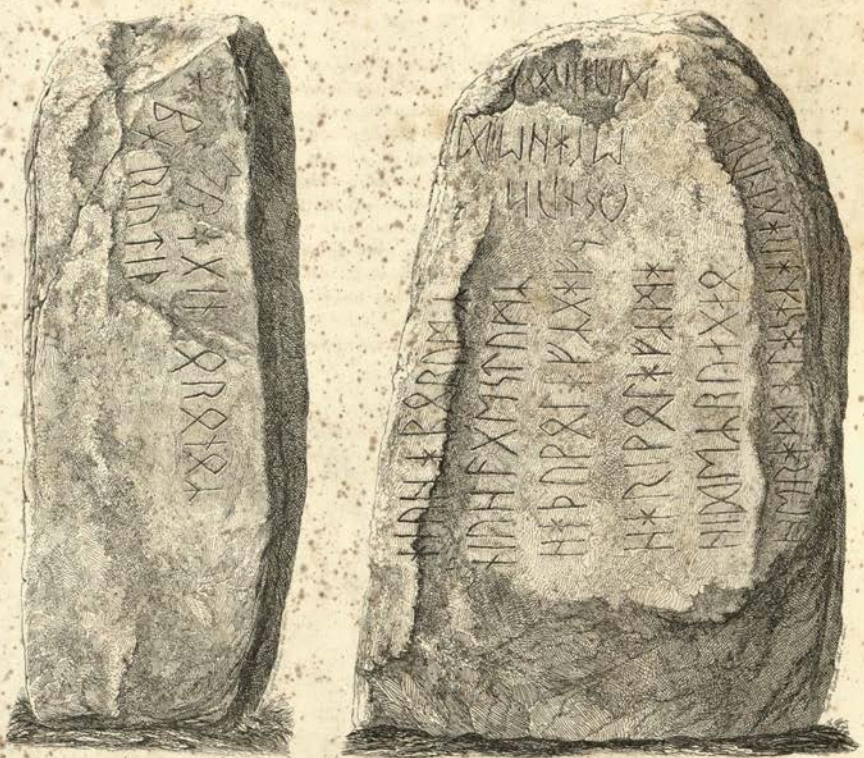
? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

This stone, which is only a short walk from Sölvesborg, is said to have been found early in this century, and is mentioned as No. 2062 in Liljegren's Run-urkunder. It is of a marbly granite, at present about 4 feet 6 inches above ground and about 2 feet 4 inches broad. It is on a part of the Sölvesborg Castle estate, which now belongs to Mr. Meurling, a merchant in Calmar. The field in which it stands having of late years been ploughed and the soil thus gradually made lower, the block is now somewhat taller than when measured by Prof. Worsaae[1]. The water of the fiord formerly came much higher up; so that all this part was once sea-land, and this Runic stone was then nearly surrounded by the waves, which sung the hero to sleep in his grave, a resting-place so often desired by the sea-kings of old. The original Stone-crowned Cairn, was therefore at once a burial-mound and a sea-mark, as were the Bauta-stones near it. For several such, at least 5, are visible at once not far off, when looking at the front or principal side of the block from the left of the high-road; but none of these bear any carving. The runes are about 2 inches high, and for the most part still tolerably plain. Worsaae was the first to copy and publish[2] this monument, and I here re-engrave his lithograph, from Blekingske Mindesmærker, Plate 12:

[1] Rector Dahl informs me, in a letter dated Sölvesborg, Jan. 29, 1865, that, according to the testimony of eyewitnesses, this stone was found about the year 1825, thrown down, some fathoms farther from the road on a slight eminence. It was then carried down to the hedge, near a gate, but about 10 years afterwards was moved to the spot on which it was seen by Prof. Worsaae and myself.

[2] An unpublisht drawing by W. Gynther, probably from the beginning of this century, is preserved in Liljegren's Fullständig Bautil, Stockholm. It abounds in faults.

The generosity of the Royal Society of Sciences in Upsala having enabled me to make a fresh drawing, I will add a remark or two on the above, generally speaking excellent, representation. Unusual is the s, the last rune in the 3rd long line of the front: but it is really so. — The last, dotted, rune in the 6th long line is clearly ᛗ (M). — The second stave in the second short horizontal line is ᛚ (L) not Y. — The great difficulty is in the topmost short line, for which see my engraving: the whole is exceedingly doubtful and worn, almost quite illegible, especially the last rune. A rubbing was of no use. I take the letters to have been ᛗᚢᚾᛁᚢᚷᛟ, or possibly ᛗᚢᚾᛁᚢᚼᛟ. On the side of the stone, last stave of the under line, we have clearly ᚦ. I now give my own copy, September 1864, as drawn and engraved by Mr. J. M. Petersen:



Unfortunately, this whitish granite block has seen its best days. It is beginning to split and to scale away. Especially in those parts where the chisel has cut thro a thin lamina of quartzose stone, the pealing off and falling away of small particles is daily going on. Even granite cannot resist the elements for ever, especially when, as here, it has not been protected for hundreds of years by being covered with earth, but has stood all its time on its original mound. The front has suffered most.

Impelled by a sense of the great danger of delay, I made this state of things known to the Upsala Royal Society of Sciences, and requested their active interposition towards its rescue, pointing

out that it might easily be taken, for shelter from rain and frost, to the Porch of Sölvesborg Church, and that Rector Dahl had offered his assistance in this removal. The Society kindly listened to my prayer, and brought the circumstances to the knowledge of Riks-Antiquary Hildebrand, who immediately interested himself in the preservation of so invaluable a relic. At his solicitation and by his influence a Parish Meeting was held, at which it was cheerfully agreed that the block should be at once deposited in the "Weapon-house" of their olden temple. Rector Dahl was indefatigable in his superintendence, and under his guidance the pillar was flitted in December 1864 to its final restingplace in the Church, where it is so set up that it can be examined on both its runic sides. In order to mark the exact spot where it formerly stood, which on many accounts is of scientific interest, Rector Dahl placed a tall stone in the very hole whence the Runic block had been dug. Greatly did the good folk in Sölvesborg wonder when this unwunted procession slowly wended thro their streets — powerful oxen dragging the heavy monolith to the Holy House! But it was a glad day for all lovers of the Old North, all who are wishful that its proud and precious memories should not die!

The peculiarities on this monument are, its many variations of the same letters, and its use of ᚼ for a broad Æ (here given æ) while it keeps ᚽ for the usual Æ; just as its ᚨ is a short A, while ᛅ stands for Á, as on the Björketorp stone.

With regard to this ᚨ, it is of course impossible to be *absolutely* certain as to its power here. The modern R it is assuredly not. Nor are either Œ or Y, also comparatively modern values, here suitable. I believe that ᚨ here, as on the Voldtofte stone, is merely ᛉ turned over and therefore A.

I take this to be proved by the general harmony of ᚨ as A on this piece, and also from the following considerations. — The Stentoften the Istaby and the Björketorp stones are all evidently more or less contemporary, whatever be their year-hundred. The two former are clearly so, for they were raised *to the same two chieftains.* The language and closing formula of the first and the third are nearly *identical.* Now where we have *the same words* on the Stentoften and the Istaby stones, namely:

Stentoften,	HÆRIWOLÆFA	both nom. sing.
Istaby,	HYERUWULÆFIA	
Stentoften,	RONOA	both accus. plur.
Istaby,	RUNYA	

the ᚨ (A) of the former is given by ᛉ (A) on the latter. So on the Björketorp stone we have also RUNÆA, nomin. plural, with ᛉ for A. Again:

Stentoften,	HIDEAR	both accus. sing.
Björketorp,	HÆIDAR	

where the ᚨ (A) of the former is equal to the ᛉ (A) of the latter.

But should any of my readers still regard ᚨ as here either Œ or Y, it will be easy to change the words:

RUMA	to either	RUMŒ	or	RUMY,
STUMA	,, ,,	STUMŒ	,,	STUMY,
HÆÞUWOLÆFA	,, ,,	HÆÞUWOLÆFŒ	,,	HÆÞUWOLÆFY,
HÆRIWOLÆFA	,, ,,	HÆRIWOLÆFŒ	,,	HÆRIWOLÆFY,
HIDEAR	,, ,,	HIDEŒR	,,	HIDEYR,
SÆA	,, ,,	SÆŒ	,,	SÆY,
RONOA	,, ,,	RONOŒ	,,	RONOY.

We have on this block one full scoring and three continuations, besides the final side. I take first the long lines, beginning at the bottom on the left, then the 3 short lines above, beginning with the undermost, and conclude with the two lines on the narrow side to the left of the front, beginning with the lower row.

Footed on this arrangement, my reading and division is:

ᚭIU HᚭBO RUMA,
NIU HÆGE STUMA,
HᚭÞUWOLᚮFA GᚮFS
HᚮRIWOLᚮFA MᚮR.
HIDEAR UÁGÁO.
HERᚭ MᚮLᚭ SᚮA ᚭRᚮ GEUW.
MUCNU HELᚮHED(DUÁ IUGO).
ᚭBᚭ RIUTI ÞERᚮ GINO-RONOA.

AYE HAVE-they ROME (lustre, praise),
NOW in-the-HOY (grave-mound) STOOM (at peace, resting),
HÆTHUWOLF the-GALLANT
HÆRIWOLF the-MO (great, mighty).
HADOR (honor, glory) GAINED-they.
HERE MELL (speak, tell) THESE-runes their-ARE (fame) YEA (truly, indeed).
MUCKLE (a multitude) of-HELTS (heroes) they-ROUTED.
ÆBÆ WROTE THEIR GIN-RUNES (mighty letters).

For remarks on MUCNU, STUMA, &c., see the WORD-ROLL. Probably the ÆBÆ of this monument is the ÆBÆ SBÆ of the Björketorp pillar.

The word STUMA is difficult to translate, from its extreme antiquity and rarity. It occurs here for the first time on any Northern monument, Runic or Roman-staved, stone or metallic, parchment or paper. The meaning I have given it is quite in accordance with its primitive signification in those other Scando-Gothic dialects in which it has hitherto been found, and harmonizes admirably with the context. I do not think it possible to read it in any other way, or to obtain any other word by means of a different division. The *next* letter-group is evidently the mansname HÆÞUWOLF; so we are stopt on *that* side. The foregoing word *must* apparently be HÆGE, for ESTUMA, GESTUMA, ÆGESTUMA, HÆGESTUMA, will not help us; while NIU HÆG, NIU HÆ, NIU H or NIUH, are clearly inadmissible.

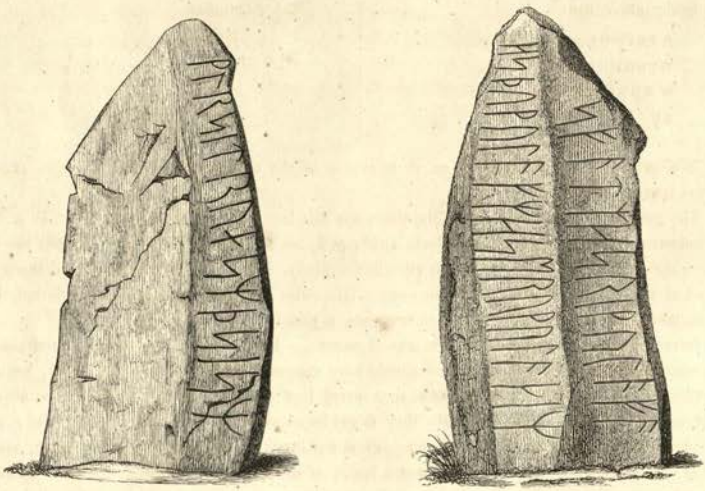
All must admit that this and the preceding stone, both of them standing in the same folkland and both carved at about the same time, have — as I have redd and divided them — several expressions more or less in common, in fact offer a grave-formula whose general character is strikingly similar. And this I take as an argument in favor of my texts. Thus we have:

Björketorp.	Stentoften.
HÆERÆ MÆLÆ USAO	HÆRÆ MÆLÆ
IÁÆ RUNÆA	SÆA
ÆRÆ GEU.	ÆRÆ GEUW.
FÆLÆ HÆLHÆDA OÆG (sing.).	MUCNU HELÆHEDDUÁ IUGO (pl.).
HÆIDAR UÁ (sing.).	HIDEAR UÁGÁO (pl.).
O (sing.) ROÁU.	NIU HÆGE STUMA (pl.).
UÞÆR, ÆBÆ SBÆ.	ÆBÆ RIUTI ÞERÆ GINO-RONOA.

ISTABY, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

This monument was first made public in the woodcut given by Dr. Sven Bring (Lagerbring) in his Dissertation "De Listria, Lister-Härad", 4to, Lund 1748, p. 32. Of course his copy is full of faults. — Next, a part of the front-carving was engraved by Sjöborg in the vignette title to his "Blekings Historia", 8vo, Lund 1792[1]. — After these absurd failures it was indeed refreshing to get Prof. Worsaae's successful lithographs, in his Blekingske Mindesmærker, Plate 13, fig. 1, a, b. These I here re-engrave. The only substantial inaccuracy is, that he omits the upper arm of the ᚠ (F) in line 2, stave 3 from the end. In Liljegren's Run-urkunder this piece is registered as No. 2059.



WORSAAE'S DRAWINGS OF THE ISTABY STONE.

[1] An unpublisht drawing by W. Gynther, probably from the beginning of this century, is in Liljegrens's Fullständig Bautil, now in the Library of the Royal Swedish Academy of History and Antiquities, Stockholm. It has errors plenty.

As we have seen, the Stentoften stone is on the land belonging to Sölvesborg Castle. But in this same district, a few English miles still farther south and east, is this other runic block, at Istaby, in Mellby Parish, Listers-land. It stands in a field belonging to the yeoman Pehr Nilsson of Istaby. Many years ago it was flitted to another place, but the owner "had no peace", and so he moved it back again. The heathen dead often thus vex or punish — sometimes even slay — those who disturb their remains, and this is happily a powerful cause in the preservation of these monuments.

This block is about 4 feet 6 inches above ground, about 2 feet 6 inches at broadest, of a whitish greystone. The runes are from 6 to 9 inches high, originally deeply and boldly cut. It is said that an earthen pot was found at its foot in 1746. But this may have been deposited long after, and may have belonged to some one unknown to fame. This kind of appropriation of other men's graves or monuments was not uncommon. Sometimes a mound has received the remains not only of 2 or 3 or 4 or more *persons*, but even of 2 or 3 different *races* or rather culture-periods, with many centuries between.

In my opinion this piece was raised in honor of the same two champions as the Stentoften stone. The latter expressly states that they lay reposing in the mound beneath. That is, they *were really buried there*. This block merely announces that the runes were carved to them. That is, it was a Cenotaph, a Memorial-stone, *not a grave*. It was raised by some kinsman or dear friend or weapon-brother that their fame might not perish. We have many such instances, 2 or 3 or 4 or more stones in different places to the same person or persons, the one perhaps by a parent or widow, another by a child or brother, another by some brave friend. But the deceast could only lie in one place. Or possibly he was beneath no one of these stones. Sometimes *all* these "marks" are minne-stones, the mounds *empty* tokens, the chieftain thus commemorated taking his last sleep on some distant shore, in Britain or Ireland or Greece, Spain or Italy or the East, or in the heart of Russia.

But whether or no *the men* here mentioned were *the same* as those to whom the Stentoften pillar was erected, *the names are the same*. And we have here another striking example of difference of dialect, or at least of orthography, on two monuments from the same time and so few miles apart, as thus carved the one by ÆBÆ and the other by HYERUWOLF. For

The Istaby stone has:	The Stentoften:
HYRIWULÆFÆ, ac. s.	H$^{\text{Æ}}_{\text{H}}$RIWOL$^{\text{Æ}}_{\text{H}}$FA, n. s.
HYÞUWULÆFA, „ „	H$^{\text{Æ}}_{\text{H}}$ÞUWOL$^{\text{Æ}}_{\text{H}}$FA, „ „
WÆRYIT, 3 s. p.	RIUTI, 3 s. p.
RUNYA, ac. pl.	RONOA, ac. pl.

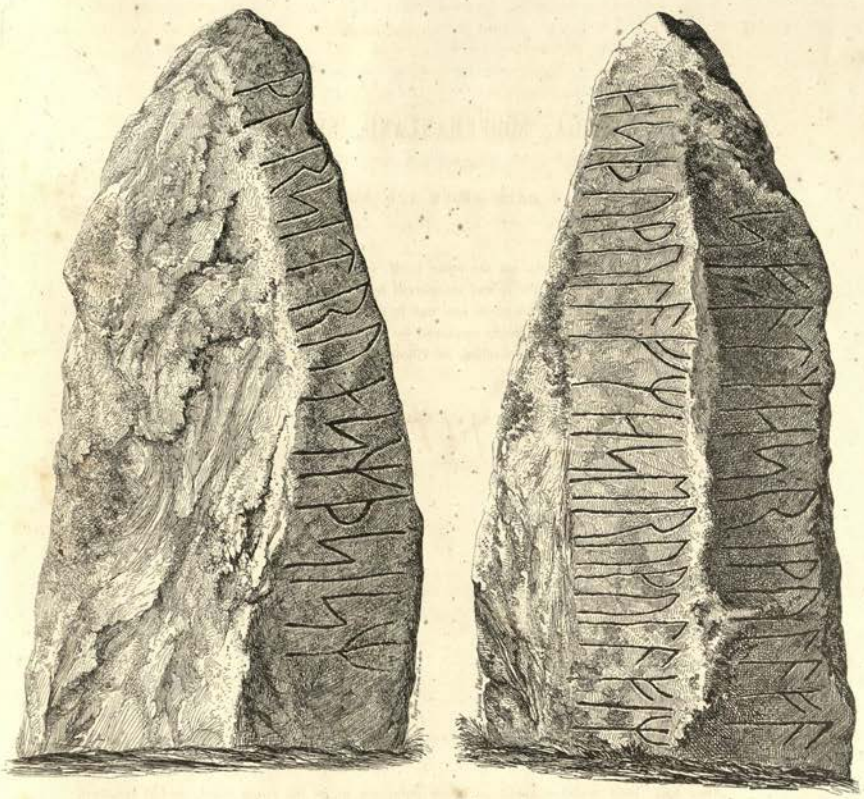
We have very many instances on runic stones of the omission of AUK or UK, &c., (EKE, and) between two proper names.

The first man who *partly* redd this stone was the late learned and lamented Prof. P. A. Munch, in his "Runestenen fra Tune", 4to, Christiania 1857, p. 5. — Its runic characteristic is, that the stave ᚺ here everywhere stands for Y. In line 3 (the line behind), letter 2, the top stroke of the F and a small piece of the R have long been broken away. Otherwise the whole can still be made out, in spite of the wear and tear of the block during so immense a period.

Interesting is the vowel-ending in the 3 names. Those of the two deceast chieftains, both ending in WOLF in the accusative singular, we should have supposed *must* have the same vowel; yet the one has Æ (HYRIWULÆFÆ), the other A (HYÞUWULÆFA), a proof how nearly these two sounds were allied, and how easily in a floating unsettled shire-talk they might be regarded — especially at the *end* of a word — as almost immaterial or identical. The 3rd name, HYERUWULÆFIA, has IA as its nominative-mark, instead of the old S or still older AS. — Thus we have here a family of the WOLVES or WYLFINGS, the three (? brothers) HERE-WOLF (Army-wolf), HATHO-WOLF (Battle-wolf) and HEOR-WOLF (Sword-wolf). Unhappily, we have not the name of the Sire of these chiefs. Was the ÆBÆ who planted the stone over their bodies at Stentoften their Father, and did they fall in the same campaign in which perisht the mighty SÆATH? In this case, was SÆATH the fylke-king (folk-earl, local leader) under whom they served? This would account for the relative magnificence of SÆATH's grave-pillar at Björketorp, with its towering Bauta-stones, which *two* of his high officers, UTHÆR and ÆBÆ, united in raising. — But all this is only —

a specimen of the tantalizing questions, the idle even if ingenious dreaming, the numerous combinations, by which we may be attracted — where all proofs and monuments are absent.

I now give my own copy, as drawn and engraved in September 1864 by J. M. Petersen:



I take it that the risting is simple enough, and reads:

YFÆTA HYRIWULÆFÆ, HYÞUWULÆFA,
HYERUWULÆFIA WÆRYIT RUNYA ÞYIYA.

AFTER (in memory of) HYRIWOLF and-HYTHUWOLF
HYERUWOLF WROTE RUNES THESE

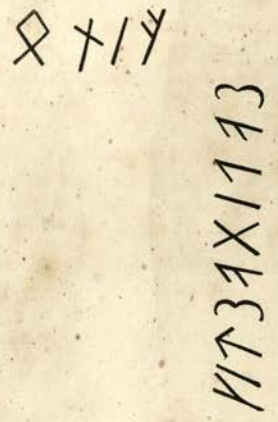
To judge by the names — all ending in WOLF — this stone may have been raised by a brother, or other very near kinsman, probably in memory of two brothers.

By a common rune-carver's specimen of "ornamental writing", ᚾ is here given by ᚿ instead of ᚾ.

BERGA, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

The *inscription* on this block, *not* the stone itself, was first engraved by Sjöborg, in his Samlingar, Vol. 3, p. 120, fig. 172, whence it was transferred by F. Magnusen to his Runamo, pp. 346, 7. Sjöborg's copy was taken more than 35 years ago, and it will be interesting to examine it. I therefore add it here, using the *identical wooden blocks* employed by F. Magnusen, for which I have to thank the friendship of Mr. H. H. J. Lynge, Bookseller, of Cheapinghaven, into whose hands they had come by purchase.

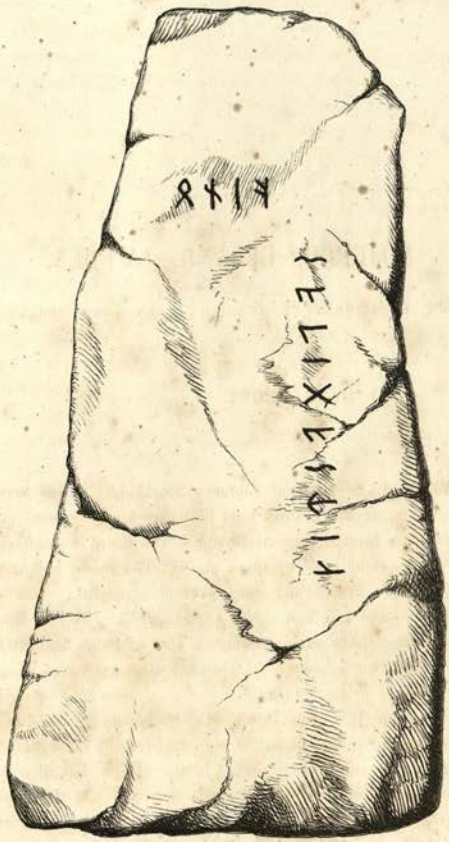


After this, local tradition could no longer point out where the stone stood, and it remained unknown for many years. First after repeated efforts was it rediscovered by Colonel Nils Hägerflycht of Södertelje and Fredriksdal, Södermanland, in 1861. To his goodness I am indebted for the rubbing and other materials from which the following engraving has been made.

Now that the monolith has thus been restored to us thro the enlightened exertions of Col. Hägerflycht, we see that Sjöborg's copy was correct in substance, however imperfect in minute details.

The Berga stone is in Trosa country-parish, in the Hundred of Hölebro. It is registered as No. 2056 by Liljegren. It is 7 feet 2 inches high, 2 feet 4 inches broad above and 3 feet 10 below. At some little distance north-west are several burial mounds and Bauta-stones (uninscribed standing memorial-pillars), together with a Stone-setting.

The staves, which are from 4½ to 6 inches high, are all wend-runes, and read from right to left. We have ᛏ for ᛋ (S) as elsewhere. The stroke across the one foot of the ᚷ (G) is part of a flaw on the stone. The upper line is doubtless to be taken first; the lower line next, from above downwards.



This short inscription may be deciphered in two ways, and I cannot absolutely decide which is the one intended. So I submit then both to my reader.

FIRST SUGGESTED READING.

I take each line to form a word. The whole will then be:

FINO SÆLIGÆSTIY.

FINO TO-SÆLIGÆSTS.

(Fin raised this stone to Saligast.)

SECOND SUGGESTED READING.

The long line may be two words, thus:

FINO. — SÆLI GÆSTIY!

FIN. — SELE (happiness) to-his-GHOST!

Till further examples of this latter formula turn up, the former reading seems simpler and better. And this is the more likely as we have a similar but not quite identical carving (N. N. to N. N.) on the Åmland stone, Norway, which see, and elsewhere.

Mr. Haigh is of opinion that the whole is only two words, *both* Proper Names, probably of two deceast kinsmen, and *both* in the dat. sing. masc.

MÖJEBRO, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

(NOW AT HAGEBY, 2 SWEDISH MILES FROM UPSALA.)

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

In the Riks-Bookhoard, or National Library, Stockholm, is preserved an old copy of this stone, apparently by Lars Bure, of which Prof. Carl Säve has kindly favored me with a transcript. It exhibits extraordinary differences from the actual carving. The figure is *standing*, not *on horseback*; wears a *cap*, not a *helm*, and with his right hand grasps a *shield*! The runes, reckoning from the right, agree in the top line as far as the ı, after which they become barbarous. The under line begins with ı instead of ᚠ as in Bautil, and the last two staves are shapeless. This is another glaring example of the frequent untrustworthiness of these older drawings. That in Bautil is nearly correct, and it was so much the more likely that it should be so as the companion-monument at Krogstad, which still exists, has been found to be well copied in that work.

But I have lately found in Johan Bure's Ms. "Sveonum Runæ", 8vo. No. 7, undated but probably about 1640-50, a second rough outline of this stone, with the superscription "Hageby Sochn. Wedh Möjebro på Giärdet". The runes are repeated in the margin, but in a barbarous form. On the drawing however they are almost identically the same as they stand at this moment on the block; only the solitary ᛉ above *is wanting*. It was perhaps overgrown with moss and not observed, — for the stone then stood "på Giärdet", = out in the open field. In the first line the ı and ᛋ are quite separate, as they ought to be; in the second the first stave is ᛁ instead of ᛋ, and the last letter is quite correctly ᛉ. Penciled below the staves is a warrior brandishing a sword in the one hand and a shield in the other, and standing with outstretcht legs. In the margin is written: "Här står en krigzman med en sköld i högra handen och ett sverd i den wenstra" (*here stands a soldier with a shield in his right hand and a sword in his left*). This figure and the *margin* copy of the runes are exactly the same as in the old Stockholm transcript mentioned above, which Johan Bure had thus seen and added as a second copy.

Now John Bure was a good runologist and an excellent draughtsman. Many of his drawings of runic monuments, with their interlaced windings and difficult scrolls and figures and ornaments, are masterly, often as correct as they are elegant. *He* could never therefore have made so stupid a blunder as to mistake a horseman for a foot-soldier, let alone the barbarous runes. In fact he certainly *never saw* this stone. He had access to or had received for his great collection *two separate copies*, the one the bare letters, nearly faultlessly given, the other a strange caricatured transcript, with the information from his blear-eyed or careless correspondent that below the runes was the figure of an armed foot-soldier.

The first representation of this pillar ever given to the learned world was that engraved for Göransson and publisht in his Bautil, No. 361, registered as No. 2054 in Liljegrens's Run-urkunder. This is now nearly 6-score years old — the block or drawing may have been very many years older still —, and was taken when the monument was much less worn than now. I therefore repeat it here:

Shortly after this, the stone was lost sight of. It had disappeared. Individual archæologists made search for it, but in vain. Its re-discovery is owing to the untiring zeal and energy and tact and patriotism of Sweden's greatest Runologist and Northern Linguist — Prof. Carl Säve. After one expedition had failed, he set out on another, and at last happily found it on the 1st of September 1861, lying deep sunk in the ground, the inscribed face uppermost, before the well in Hageby Rectory, whither it appears to have been removed as a "useful" stepping-stone in the year 1730. Thus for 130 years had this precious monument been trampled upon by cattle, iron-shod horses and clodhoppers in "clouted shoon", besides being exposed to the minor injuries of slop and sleet. But its own still harder elements, its prodigiously compact and impregnable heart of granite, resisted everything. Its general features are still well preserved, and it may yet defy a thousand winters or more of its native Swedish clime. For I have great pleasure in adding that this noble monolith has been as nobly rescued from degradation and destruction, and in the summer of 1862 was raised in the grounds of Hageby by Prof. C. A. Cornelius, to whom be all thanks and honor at home and abroad!

The Sword in the warrior's hand seems furrowed down its whole length, a characteristic which often meets us in Iron Swords from the Early and Later Iron Age, especially in those found in Sweden. On the Arm, just above the elbow, is a splint or globe or protuberance, probably intended to signify some kind of guard of iron. I do not remember to have seen anything exactly similar elsewhere on so old a monument; but this is not to be wondered at, our materials being so excessively scanty. It may have been intended to ward off a blow slanting along the upper arm, or for the defence of the arm below the elbow, thus serving as a kind of *Garde-bras* or large Splint, which in the middle age was fastened to the elbow-plates. Something such may occasionally have been used, in one way or other, in the earliest times. The Helmet (if it be a Helmet, and not a helmless Head) looks like a kind of skull-cap, with a nasal. Round the waist the warrior wears his Belt. Spurs are wanting, tho used at a date earlier than this stone. Perhaps the artist has only omitted them for shortness, so much the more as the oldest Scando-Gothic Spur was so very small. I think it self-

evident that the steed has a Cloth or Housing on Pad and not a Saddle, which was scarcely in use at the beginning of the Early Iron Age[1]. — The drawing of both Horse and Horseman is so correct, comparatively speaking, the Runes are so elegant, and the language so old, that I hesitate at giving this piece a lower age than the 4th century. But of course all such date-fixings are merely approximative.

As carefully and faithfully chemityped by J. Magnus Petersen from an exact drawing, together with a separate tracing of the runes, both made by Prof. Carl Säve of Upsala, Sept. 5th and 15th 1862, this piece shows at this moment as follows:

The above splendid block, originally standing at Möjebro in Hageby Socken and Hagunda Härad, is of the hardest red quartz and feldspar, 8½ Swedish feet high (nearly 8 feet 3 inches English) and 5 Swedish feet at broadest. As now raised, only 6 Swedish feet are above ground. The runes, which average 7 inches in height, are turned round, and read from right to left. In the first or upper line the 8th-9th staves are clearly I and S. In Bautil they are given as one letter, closed below, thus becoming an R upside down. Another error in Bautil is, that staves 10 and 11 are given as ᛋ and ᛋ, whereas they are in fact ᛚ and ᛋ (L and Æ). The cause of this mistake in Göransson is, that there is a rough

[1] One of the Horses on the Runic Golden Horn (Gallehus, Denmark, further on), which I opine also to date from about the 4th century, *bears a Saddle*; but this, as has been pointed out to me by Prof. Steenstrup, is a Draught-saddle, not a Riding-saddle.

rise or knot or nut or gnarl or small protuberance, or whatever we may call it, on the left side of each of these letters, and this swelling vein he has taken as a line. The last rune, ᛉ, is written above for want of room. In the under row the first letter is ᚾ in Bautil, in other words a retrograde ᚠ (F). This is correct. The iron and wooden shoes standing or pawing on this stone for so many years have worn away the strokes at the side, never very deeply cut. Owing to the excessive hardness of the granite all the runes are carved rather shallow. Säve observes, in his communication to me, that the quartz is flaky and uneven just to the left of this character, thus strengthening the likelihood of the F. Certain it is that IRÆWÆRÆD is an unheard- of and impracticable name, while FRÆWÆRÆD is well known. The 9th rune is ᛅ (= ᚨ, Æ) not ᛚ (= ᚴ, L) as in Bautil; and the 10th is not ᚠ but evidently ᛉ (A), only the one arm is here somewhat shorter than the other, as we also find it on the Krogstad stone. — There is no sign of any other letter, the large chip to the extreme left being doubtless later than Bautil, which has no additional rune. A small piece at the right corner of the base has also been broken away since the days of Göransson.

The staves being reverst and reading from the right, I would group them thus:

ÆNÆ HÆH ÆIS

LÆGINIA FRÆWÆRÆDÆA.

ÆNÆ HEWED THESE-runes

to-the-down-LAID (fallen, slain) FRÆWÆRÆD.

Out of 14 vowels no less than 9 are Æ, an evident proof of a strong dialectic tendency to use that sound.

We *might* divide:

ÆI SLÆGINIA

THIS-stone to-the-SLAIN.

But I think that the antique pronoun ÆI, if it had thus been an accusative *singular masculine* (to agree with *stone* understood) would, at this early period have had a final N, ÆIN. It is also likely that LÆGIN, *low-laid*, was selected on purpose, instead of the more prosaic SLÆGIN, *slain*. I therefore prefer ÆIS, looking upon it as the accusative *plural feminine*, to agree with *runes* understood.

Should we suppose that the *later* custom of taking a rune twice over, to spare carving, was *already* in use — of which we have as yet no proof — we might then read:

ÆIS SLÆGINIA

THESE-runes to-the-SLAIN.

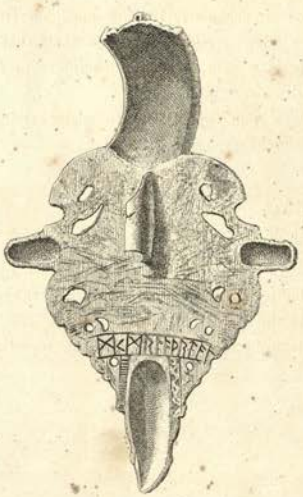
But I do not see what we should gain by this change of word.

ᚹ and ᚦ (W and TH), like ᛘ and ᚺ (M and D), &c., often appearing nearly or quite like each other, from a careless easy way of writing, it is barely possible that the name may have been FRÆTHÆRÆD. But as the rune is plainly ᚹ (W) not ᚦ (TH), and as we have the old mans-name FRÆWÆRÆD (the Lordly Counsellor) as well as FRÆTHÆRÆD (the Peaceful Counsellor), it is safer to abide by the actual reading of the monument.

ETELHEM, GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

Engraved, full size, by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN, *from the original, No. 1261 in the Old-Northern Museym, Stockholm. Mere mechanical copies not enabling the artist to obtain absolute accuracy, the Fibula itself was most obligingly forwarded from Stockholm for my use by* BROR EMIL HILDEBRAND, *the "Riks-Antiquarie" (Chief Guardian of the Swedish National Antiquities and Keeper of the Museum). For the boon thus conferred on myself and on Runic Science, I beg hereby to tender that distinguisht Scholar my warmest acknowledgments.*



This costly and elegant silver-gilt Brooch was found in 1846; lying quite alone in a field, by a peasant digging on the farm Etelhem (in the local dialect *Aitelhaim*), south-east in the iland of Gotland. The precious metal here employed is not a slight leaf, as is often the case, but is a pure plate of considerable thickness, apparently first cast and then finisht with the burin. Some of the smallest ornaments seem to have been pickt out with a sharp tool.

On the front, the raised rands and upstanding carved ridges have been left in their original white glitter, the zigzags being filled with a bluish niello, like the rumes on the other side. All the other surfaces and lower parts are richly gilt. This is a surprising relief to the higher lines and belts.

At the middle of the top bend, the square red stone or fluor-spar or glass flux still remains, tho broken. The two similar triangular stones in the centre, and the oblong one lower down, have fallen out.

As usual, the staves are carved on the ungilt back. The whole runic inscription, and the two long lines between which the staves stand as well as the ornamental belts below on each side the head, are nielloed, the cuttings having been filled-in with a composition of silver. But much of the niello has fallen away, and whole lines or parts of lines are now empty. All these scorings would seem to have been puncht with a sharp tool.

Viewed thro a lens, it is evident that the mark on the centre of the T is a mere abrasure and has never been carved, and the same is the case with the last stroke, the side-mark on which has no appearance of having been engraved. I therefore regard this last score as *no letter*, but as an I-like frame-line closing the whole inscription and carelessly drawn a little below the line. There are several other slighter or deeper scrapings and jags and indentations scattered all over the back, as was to be expected on a metallic surface.

But even supposing this last mark to be a letter, it would make no difference in the reading. For if we must take the lower side-dint we must also take the upper, which is still more clearly a jag at a part which has scaled away. Thus we should get a *second* ᚠ (Æ), that is, WRTÆÆ instead of WRTÆ. Such a form as W(O)RTÆÆ, with a double final vowel, is very unlikely. But the meaning would be the same.

We have therefore the runes:

MCMRLÆWRTÆ.

Evidently vowels are here absent. I would propose to insert them, and to divide as follows:

M(A)C M(U)RLÆ W(O)RTÆ.

MAC-MURLÆ WROUGHT (made me).

To find a Keltic name on so early a Scandinavian piece is remarkable. Should this rendering be correct, the artist was doubtless, in himself or by descent, one of the many Kelts who settled in the North in these olden days, — sometimes brought in as slaves by wikings, sometimes visiting its shores on warlike or mercantile or religious adventure. Such, among others, were the *Papes* (Irish Monks and Hermits) found in Iceland, when that iland was first discovered by the Northmen some four centuries later.

Mr. Haigh has privately suggested to me another view. He says: — "Instead of bringing a Celt into Scandinavia to write runes on the beautiful brooch from Etelhem, and one with a name such as his countrymen cannot recognize, is it not better to read:

M(I)C M(E)R(I)LÆ W(O)RTÆ.

ME MERILÆ WROUGHT.

Then in MERILA we have a true Gothic name, that of one of the subscribers in the Naples Ms." (about the year 550).

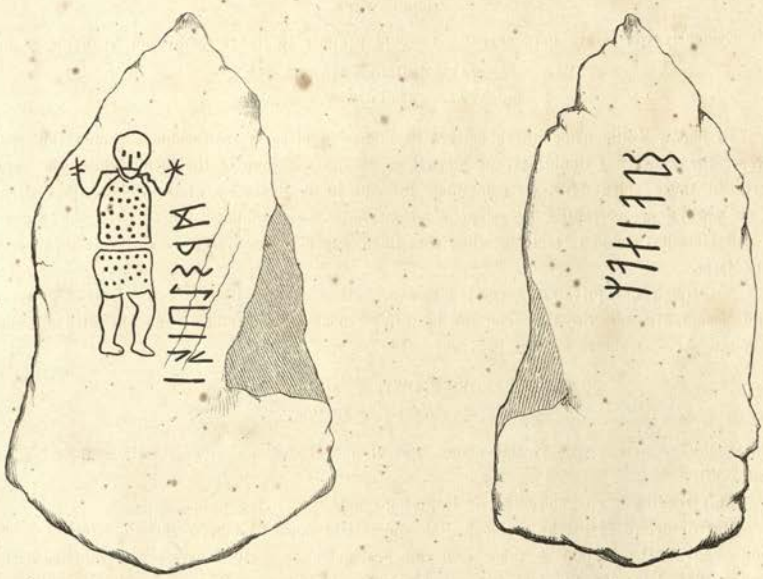
This reading is so good, that it is perhaps better than my own.

Out of deference to the archæological canons laid down by our Northern old-lorists, I had long fixt upon about A. D. 500-600 as the age of this precious clasp. But I have been compelled by facts to adopt an earlier date. In the last few years so many finds have occurred of articles similar in make and style *far older* than the 6th century, that I *must* move this piece farther back. I think it cannot be later than the 5th year-hundred. Had it been found in England, or in any other country to the south and west of Scandinavia, I should have placed it as high as the 4th century after Christ. It surely could not have taken more than 100 years for a particular art-fashion to travel farther north.

KROGSTAD, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

From Drawings by Baron JOHAN NORDENFALK, *made Sept. 9, 1858.*



This inscribed block, No. 581 in Göransson's Bautil, is upwards of 6 feet high, breadth of sides between 2 and 3 feet. Runes nearly 6 inches in length. The stone has suffered somewhat since the drawing was made for Bautil, which is mentioned in Liljegren as No. 2055. The ring-like dots — which I take to be a conventional representation of *mail-armor*, apparently *ring-mail* — are now nearly all gone, a part of the NG and of the I has fallen away, and the weather has made other slight changes. Still, on the whole, the monument is in excellent preservation, and the copy in Bautil is very good. The only difference of any consequence is, that the syo on the figure-side are improperly drawn (almost like an R) in Bautil, chiefly from the two runes being brought too near together.

For a copy of Baron Nordenfalk's drawings as here engraved, the accidental damages, as just explained, being supplied from Bautil, I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. Carl Säve of Upsala.

To save space, Bautil shows the two sides on one block: but they cannot both be seen at once, and I have therefore given each separately.

But the oldest drawing of this stone known to me is that by Johan T. A. Bureus, the great Swedish Runologist, taken about 1620-40. It occurs in his Runic Ms. Collectanea, vol. 7, No. 121. He gives 2 figures side by side, showing the 2 faces of the stone. As curious in itself, and as a specimen of the modifications these letters too often underwent when transcribed by the lore-gatherers of the ölden school, I engrave this drawing here full size:

It will be seen that one letter, the I, is altogether omitted on the principal side. It may have been sunk in earth or overgrown with moss, or otherwise hidden.

The inscription is short and simple enough. Both lines are redd from right to left (from top to bottom), both having the runes reverst. I propose to divide them thus:

MWSYOUINGI

SYOÆ IN ÆA.

The first line I take to be the name of the buried chief, and suppose in the second the common ellipsis of HEIT, *HIGHT, was called, was named.*

MWSYOUINGI

SE (= he, he-was, he-hight) IN AYE (his-time, while living).

On these old monuments W is occasionally found for a thick U or O. — The S being older than the R, the name is probably the well-known MEROWINGI. A place[1] called MYREINGES-TORP, so called from a settler of that name, is or was found at Tiällmo, Finspångs Härad, East-Gotland; and there is another such homestead, MYRUNGS, in Linde Parish, Gotland[2].

I have said above that I believe the ring-like dots on the figure, in all their barbarous roughness, are intended to represent mail-armor: whether ring-mail or chain-mail, and whether interlaced or sewn on to leather or other material, cannot of course be determined. So far from dating from the crusades or from the early middle age, as is commonly supposed, mail-armor, the interclasping rings riveted within each other, can be traced in Europe nearly as far back as the Christian era, and was largely used by our Scando-Gothic forefathers[3]. In the famous find at Thorsbjerg (in 1860), South-Jutland, Denmark, several splendid shirts of ring-mail were dug up more or less perfect. I beg to translate Mr. Engelhardt's description of these pieces, in his valuable work on the Thorsbjerg Moss: —

"Nothing hitherto found from the Early Iron Age shows a higher degree of skill and expertness than these defensive pieces, and the rich ornaments belonging to them. These brinies are a kind of net- or twist-work of small steel rings, whose diameter outside is between 4 and 5 lines, each of them stuck thro four other rings. In some of these brinies all the rings are clincht, and very fine work this is. In others only every other ring is riveted, the alternate ones being smithied together, so that each clincht ring grasps four smithied, and, contrariwise, each smithied grasps four riveted. See fig. 2 and 3, plate 6, engraved full size:

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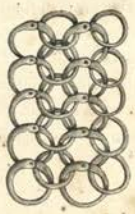
[1] Olaf Rudbeck, Atlantica, fol., Vol. 4, Stockholm 1702, p. 179.

[2] The Gotlandic farm-names are patronymics in the genitive, thus here MYRUNG'S (farm). Whoever buys or inherits such a freehold takes the name of the place, whatever his own name may be. Thus the owner of MYRUNG'S is called MYRUNGR, of AMLUNG'S, AMLUNGR, &c. So also in Jutland, and elsewhere.

[3] See some excellent remarks hereon in Lieut. O. Blom's "Den tidlige Middelalders Vaaben", 8vo, Kjobenhavn 1861, pp. 17 and fol.



"In one of these mail-shirts, which is made of very delicate iron rings, each of them is riveted with a small nub of bronze, which must have given the brinie a very elegant appearance. There were also found several strings of bronze rings, which were probably used as a fringe above and below the brinie, just as we see them on the mail-shirts of the middle age. Some strings of clincht bronze rings are also remarkable, as fixing the width of the brinie and its sleeves, the circumference of the former being about 39 inches, of the latter about 18. All these shirts were found rolled up in large or small bundles, much spoiled by rust and difficult to unroll and unfold. In fact we have to thank the circumstance that most of them were deposited in earthen pots, for our good fortune in being able to rescue any considerable remains of these pieces. And even these are not sufficiently perfect to show their complete original length; but we may suppose that they have reacht to the middle of the thigh, and their upper part nearly to the elbow. At least we are led to this conclusion from a comparison with a monument given by Lindenschmit, the grave-stone of the flag-bearer Musius, in his "Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit", 4, 6. This is a Roman stone, apparently from the 3rd century"[1].

Since the above, Shirts of Ring-mail have also been found (in 1865) in the Vi-moss, Fyn. Having thus ring-mail bodily before us, from a date not later than the 3rd century after Christ, we can better understand the fact that warriors from the Early Iron Age — about the 1st to the 5th and 6th century — have actually been buried in such costly brinies, as indeed may have been the case with the hero who sleeps at Krogstad. Thus we have a description of a heathen cairn in Gotland, Sweden, all whose details seem to point to about the 3rd century. I translate from a paper, in Swedish, furnisht by the Swedish antiquarians J. G. Liljegren and Bror Emil Hildebrand: —

"Gotland. Forsa Ting, Hangvar Parish. Close to Söderby homestead, near the kirkway, in a grave-mound beneath a multitude of stones and about 4 feet deep, Captain G. A. Braune found a remarkably large human skeleton *wrapt in a coat of mail*, parts of which were taken up. One of these fragments is now in the Collection of Mr. Söderström in Carlskrona. It is of common iron, so made that 4 rings always grasp each other, every ring being clincht with a tack. In many places rows of brass [? bronze] rings take the place of iron, as an ornament. In the Cheapinghaven Museum are several mail-shirts from the 14th and 15th centuries, very similar in workmanship. By the side of the skeleton lay an iron battle-axe in shape like a Carpenter's axe, 6 inches broad at the edge, but ending behind in a 6 inches long spike instead of the usual axe-hammer. Total length of this weapon 13 inches. The shaft is said to have been 8 feet long, and to have reacht 6 inches beyond the axe-head"[2].

Mr. Engelhardt, who also refers to this remarkable find, adds: — "this description agrees exactly with the brinies discovered in Thorsbjerg Moss"[3]. Another example, mentioned by Roach Smith[4], is also spoken of by Engelhardt, the skeleton found in a grave near Cologne, by which lay a fragment of a mail-brinie, each clincht ring holding 4 forged rings, together with a Roman bronze Coin struck anno 275, an earthen vessel, a glass dish, &c. &c., thus marking a grave of the 3rd or 4th century. — Still earlier than this, Chain-mail was also used by the Keltic races.

Paucity of monuments prevents us from bringing examples exactly like the figure on the Krogstad stone. But those who are familiar with the simple methods of drawing and carving called "conventional", from the earliest times, the sculptures of Egypt and Niniveh, down thro the middle age

[1] Conr. Engelhardt, "Thorsbjerg Mosefund", 4to, Kjøbenhavn 1863, pp. 26, 27, and plate 6, fig. 2, 3.
[2] "Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed", 8vo, Vol. 1, Kjøbenhavn 1832, p. 228.
[3] "Thorsbjerg Mosefund", p. 30.
[4] "Collectanea Antiqua", 8vo, Vol. 2, p. 150.

— the rough bush for a wood, the parallel lines, with or without a fish or two, for the sea, the strange outlines meant to portray ships or castles — will at once recognize the dots on the Krogstad block as *ring-mail* and the central space as *a war-belt*. In fact very much the same style pervades the miniatures and other works of the middle ages.

Thus Hefner, in his "Trachten des christlichen Mittelalters", Vol. 1, p. 51, engraves from a Skinbook of the 9th century a Bowman with helm and scale-armor, all very rude but quite easy to understand:

A figure of Goliath, in a shirt of ring-mail, is given by Hewitt, "Ancient Armour", fig. 17, from an English skinbook of the 10th year-hundred:

In Bordier and Charton's "Histoire de France", Vol. 1, p. 231, is a group of three horsemen, the middle one evidently clad in ring-brinie, regular ring-mail. This is from a codex of the 10th century:

Three warmen are copied by Hewitt, "Ancient Armour", fig. 13, from a bookfell of about the year 1000. The crowned personage in the centre wears a ring- or scale-brinie:

And can anything exceed the naïve way in which the hauberk is represented in a miniature in the Romance of Meliadus (British Museum, Add. Mss., 12-223)? I copy this from the cut in "The Gentleman's Magazine", Jan. 1861, p. 43:

Mail shirts of various kinds occur very frequently on the Bayeux Tapestry. I will only copy 3 examples:

But again still later, probably in the reign of Henry I or Stephen, in Cotton Ms. Nero, c. 4, as copied by F. W. Fairholt, "Costume in England", 8vo, London 1846, p. 87:

I add that excellent antiquarian's descriptive text: — "The figure wears the helmet pointed forward, similar to the Anglo-Saxon ones before described, and has the protecting nasal ..... The warrior has a ringed hauberk, open at each side, and through an opening at the waist the scabbard of his sword is stuck. It is on the *right* side, as will perhaps be noticed; but it frequently occurs on that side as well as on the other in figures of this period. A long green tunic appears beneath his hauberk, and he wears white boots."

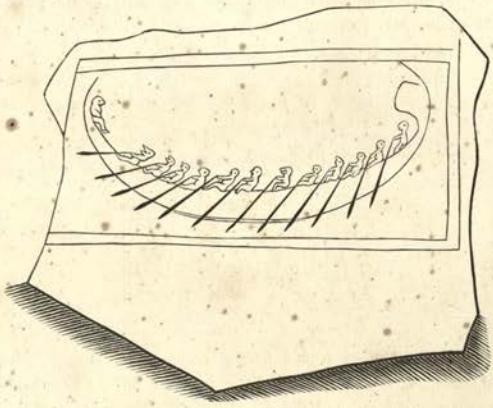
Once more, I will give some interesting figures from early in the 12th century, copied from the same work, p. 149; adding Mr. Fairholt's text:

"The figures here engraved are copied from a curious little bronze, strongly gilt, now in the possession of T. Crofton Croker, Esq., and which is engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1833, accompanied with a description by A. J. Kempe, Esq., the author of the letter-press to *Stothard's Monumental Effigies*, whose intimate knowledge in these matters enables him to well authenticate dates; and he considers this relic may safely be attributed to the early part of the twelfth century. It was discovered in the Temple Church, and had originally formed a portion of a pyx, or small shrine, in which the consecrated host was kept. Our engraving is more than half the size of the original, which represents the soldiers watching the body of our Lord, who was, in mystical form, supposed to be enshrined in the pyx. They wear skull-caps of the Phrygian form, with the nasal like those in the Bayeux Tapestry, already described; and the mailles or rings of the hauberk appear, as in the armour there, sewn down, perhaps, on a sort of gambeson, but not interlaced. They bear kite-shaped shields, raised to an obtuse angle in the centre, and having projecting bosses; the third of these figures is represented beside the cut in profile, which will enable the reader more clearly to detect its peculiarities. On two of these shields are some approaches to armorial bearings: the first is marked with four narrow bendlets; the second is fretted, the frets being repeated in front of his helmet, or *chapelle de fer*: all the helmets have the nasal. A long tunic, bordered, and in one instance ornamented with cross-lines, or chequered, appears beneath the tunic [? hauberk]. The sword is very broad, and the spear, carried by the first figure, obtuse in the head, — a mark of its antiquity. The shoes are admirable illustrations of that passage of Geoffry of Malmesbury, where, reprehending the luxury of costume in which the English indulged at the time when Henry I began his reign, he says: "Then was there flowing hair, and extravagant dress; and then was invented the fashion of shoes with curved points: then the model for young men was to rival women in delicacy of person, to mimic their gait, to walk with loose gesture, half-naked". The curvature of the points of the shoes in the little relic before us, in conformity with the custom censured by Malmesbury, is quite remarkable. One turns up, another down; one to the left, another to the right; and scarcely any two in the same direction."

For some remarks illustrative of the rude conventional hairless head on this Krogstad stone (if it be not a close-sitting helm), see the SÆDING stone, Denmark.

I have just said that I believe the opening in the middle of the figure to be an equally barbarous and conventional way of giving the Girdle or Waist- or Sword-belt. Since writing the above Prof. C. Säve's unwearied kindness has enabled me to prove this. He has furnisht me with a copy of the drawing by the Rev. P. U. Isæus, Vicar of Häggeby, of the second side of the remarkable Ship-

stone in the Church there, given by Göransson as No. 344 in his Bautil. This singular Funeral or Memorial block is 5 feet 4 inches broad and 4 feet 4 inches high. The side hitherto known, that engraved in Bautil, is now so very much worn by continual tramp, it having been laid down in the church as a common slab, that it is nearly obliterated. I therefore copy the woodcut in Bautil, taken more than a century ago when the carving was perfect, registered as No. 2991 in Liljegren:



But Baron H. Essen has lately (1863) had the stone raised from the church floor, and placed upright on a wooden foot, so that both sides are visible. This shows that the other side also bears a precious carving:

The figures evidently represent a *Horse-baiting*, that ancient Northern sport so often referred-to in Sagas and traditions. The Icelanders called it the *Hesta-at* — the *Horse-hetting*, horse-goading. So here we see on the block two men, one on each side egging and driving his horse against its adversary with a kind of gad or goad, as well as with a sort of sharp gore or stick.

The whole carving is wonderfully "barbarous", and evidently belongs to the helpless figure-risting which crept-in low down in the Early Iron Age. The style no one can for a moment mistake.

Again on the Åskelhem stone, Gotland, found by P. A. Säve in September 1863 and also communicated to me by Prof. C. Säve, we have two Horses standing with their heads and forelegs close together — evidently typifying that the deceast was a famous Horse-baiter. On this latter piece the drawing of these animals is very good.

These two are Bild-stones, have bilds, or figures, but no runes. Similar pair-animals, however, sometimes occur on Runic Bild-stones, and doubtless also refer to the favorite Horse-bait. As this was a costly amusement, we learn that the dead hero was a man of station. So is the keeper of a Pack of Hounds in an English County.

When such a powerful magnate died, and the barrow was raised over him, and on the how was uplifted the Bild-stone, by which all the world could see that the great landholder or wiking — famous for his costly horses and dogs and his success at the baits — was gone from his old comrades, the addition of his name was comparatively immaterial. He would be known well enough, whether his name were added or no. Hence on such stones as those at Häggeby and Åskelhem the name is wanting.

But what makes this Häggeby piece so valuable is, that *both* the Horse-baiters are cut-in-two at the waist, exactly as the figure on the Krogstad stone. That this has nothing to do with wounds and death is clear, for both the rivals are busy cheering on their steeds. What, then, can be more simple and natural than to regard this gap as a rough-and-ready mark for the Belt or Girdle? That it is so, is not to be doubted.

This happy find enables us to draw sundry conclusions:

The War-galley is from the Iron Age, not from the Bronze Period, for it has no Ram. The Galley with its Ram is the shape of every ship yet found from the Bronze time; it continues in the Iron Age, but after a couple of centuries this second or butting stem is gradually laid aside, perhaps from some change in naval tactics.

The rude style of both sides distinctly points to nearly the close of the *Early* Iron Age, say the 5th century. But this exactly coincides with the approximate date I had fixt for the Krogstad stone, years before the Häggeby block was turned over.

The War-galley was well known in the North from very early times, as we all are aware from other sources. One of oak and filled with arms, and dating from the 3rd century, has lately (1863) been found in the Nydam Moss, South-Jutland; it had no Ram; but another yet larger Boat or Galley built of pine was found close by, in the same Moss, *with* a Ram. This last ship was however neglected and ruined by the incoming German Barbarians, and is therefore far less instructive than the other. See Engelhardt's Nydam Mosefund, pp. 6-18 and Plates 1-3.

Figured stones without writing may be as old as Bild-stones with runes, or as Runic stones without any figure.

Tho not sure, it is most likely that the Häggeby monument was a Burial-stone, as well as almost every other characteristic slab or block or pillar found under circumstances apparently funeral.

All this is not so little to learn, from one single fortunate parallel-piece!

SÖLVESBORG, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

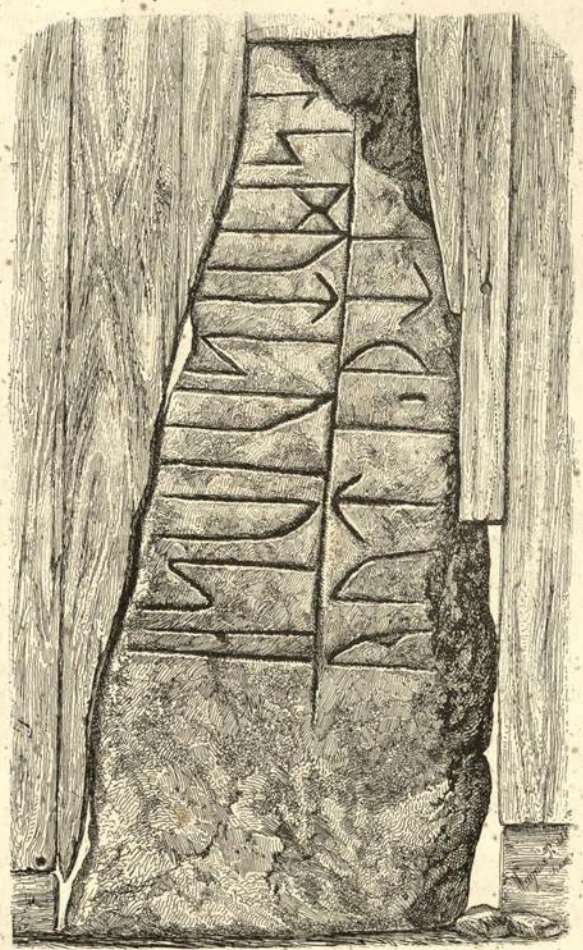
? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

This stone was first engraved by Dr. Sven Bring (Lagerbring) in his Dissertation "De Listria, Lister-Härad", 4to, Londini Gothorum (= Lund, Sweden) 1748, p. 50, but the less said about this copy the better. The drawing publisht by P. Tham, in his "Anmärkningar i anledning af Herr Prof. Müllers afhandling om Guldhornen", 4to, Stockholm 1817, p. 9, is execrable; it was furnisht to him by Prof. Sjöborg in 1800. Prof. C. Säve has forwarded to me his transcript of an unpublisht sketch by W. Gynther, probably from the beginning of this century, taken from Liljegren's Fullständig Bautil, Stockholm; it is very faulty.

But I am fortunately enabled to give two later and better copies, the one Worsaae's, made in 1844, the other my own, drawn 20 years later. The former is taken from Blekingske Mindesmærker, Plate 13, fig. 2:

The block is here represented as seen ideally, that is, independently of the boarding or paling by which it is surrounded and as it were framed. For it stands now in the very limit, between it and the street, of a yard or garden belonging to a private person. It is in a side-street, about 240 paces west of the western side of the church. Here it has been for about 30 years, when it was removed from

a part of the old Cloister, which was then taken down. No one knows whence it came to the Cloister-walls, but of course it was from some Heathen How. Students of the Runes are familiar with this process, of which we have scores — or rather hundreds — of examples in the later runic stones. Churches or Cloisters or Castles must be built, and more or less regular or hewn stones are necessary, and to cut them costs money and time. So we take those at hand. They are "ready-made", and cost little or nothing. There are plenty out on the heath or near the village, the forgotten or neglected memorials of former generations. So the Master of the Works sends men out to lay hold of them, and Oxen to drag them. The peasants are paid to assist or do so of their own accord, out of their good will to "Holy Church" or to the Earl their lord or neighbor. After a few days the Heathen or Christian burial-ground loses yet another of its Minne-stones; they are used as building materials. All the rest is soon forgotten. And besides this, individual farmers want a slab or block for a corner-stone or hearth-stone or door-stone or gate-post or spong-stone (foot-bridge over a brook), and so on. So he takes one near at hand, or buys it from a "Sexton" or "Parish Priest" or "Parish Board" — authorities



Heathen or Christian as the case may be — and all is right. But in this way the history of the Past is extinguisht, and in a few generations it is hard to tell whence a particular old-fashioned block really came. So with this at Sölvesborg. The "intelligent" people of course knew nothing at all about it. An old man or two of the "lower" class gave me some valuable information; but I could never get beyond a certain point.

But this remarkable Sölvesborg heathen monument is now not seen to advantage, for when the boarding was last tarred a coat was stupidly given to the stone also, and a good deal is still left on the whitish granite; however, every shower makes it less. This stone belongs to the Town of Sölvesborg, and the authorities are well aware of its value. Liljegren, in his Run-urkunder, mentions it as No. 2060.

The second view is that taken under my inspection by my artist, Mr. J. M. Petersen in September 1864, the exact character of the whole being carefully preserved, and of course each letter measured. For the sake of variety, and to be quite exact, it shows the block as it stands in the paling. The dotted lines mark the stone behind the boards. Its height is about 4 feet 6 inches, its breadth a little more than 18 inches. The tallest runes, on the left, are about 8 inches, but they diminish on both sides, showing that they were carved to suit the broken character of the surface, and consequently that it is now in very nearly the same state as it was when first inscribed. It has suffered little injury. The top of the first letter on the left is broken away, or else it has never been carved for want of room, and hence the ᚠ (æ) appears as ᚨ (ł). The first letter on the right, below, is ᚱ, here made very like ᚢ (ᚢ), as is often the case, and is the beginning of a mans-name very rarely found, in other dialects often with the ᚺ prefixt. A very little bend of the right limb of ᚢ will make it an ᚱ, and *vice versâ*. It is doubtless for the sake of the ᚱ in this word (RUTI) that the carver selected the uncommon RIUSH in the first line, in order that he might get his riming letters (stave-rime). The block being so damaged farther on, the "stone-smith" has only carved ᚹ and ᛏᛁ, the ᛏ upside down, as often. These staves are a contraction, apparently for WRAITI (or some such form of the word), *wrote, scored*. Before the ᚹ is a mark of diversion, and after the ᛏᛁ is perhaps a kind of stop.

The runes read from top to bottom on the left side, and then from below upward on the right. They are, in stave-rime verse:

ÆSMUTS RIUSH.
RUTI W[rai]TI.

ÆSMUT'S HRUSE (barrow, stone-mound).
RUTI WROTE (carved these runes).

ÆSMUT is the usual mans-name ÆSMUNT, ASMUND, OSMUND, &c.

The reader will observe the tie (bind-rune, monogram) ᛗᚢ, in the first line, which is a good example of a plain monogram on a stone evidently very ancient. But we shall soon meet with other similar tied letters, especially in Sweden and Norway. We cannot yet fix the exact date for the appearance of these ties. They would seem to be scarcer the farther back we go.

It is very disheartening when we find a formula which stands *quite alone*. We have then never that comparative confidence which naturally arises from an at least apparent outward likeness between two or more of these ancient monuments. Only let us get at least *two* pieces coinciding in their general meaning, and we can advance with a certain boldness.

The Björketorp and Stentoften pillars, for instance, help to confirm and explain each other, they are so similar in wordfall.

The Istaby and Berga blocks have their rare parallels in Scandinavian as well as in Old-Northern runics.

The Möjebro Runic Bild-stone as yet stands alone.

The Krogstad Runic Bild-stone is, as far as I can see, decidedly confirmed by the Tanum block, to which we shall come directly.

This Sölvesborg pillar has — at first sight — no fellow. Yet I cannot help thinking that we find the same *thought* elsewhere, tho every *word* be not identical. For words may often interchange.

For instance there are many nouns for *grave* or *tomb*[1], just as there are graves and tombs of many *kinds*, and one may be used here another there. Now the Tanem stone, Norway, to which we shall come shortly, bears only the runes reading:

MÆNIS LAU.

Here we have a mans-name in the genitive singular, followed by LAU, and this LAU can scarcely be other than the widely spread word our own familiar *LOW*, grave-mound, barrow. The meaning then is:

MÆNI'S LOW (grave-mound, barrow).

But the stone here before us has:

ÆSMUTS RIUSII.

Here also we see a mans-name in the genitive singular, followed by RIUSII, not LAU. But this RIUSII is also a noun, common the whole Northland over, signifying (our Old-English *HRUSE*) stone-mound, grave-mound, barrow. We can scarcely err then in translating:

ÆSMUTS HRUSE (grave-mound, barrow).

It is true that the Sölvesborg stone *adds* the words

N N. WROTE (these runes):

which the Tanem stone does not. But this does not efface the preceding likeness. We *may* one day find a block *with* the same addition. Any way, these concluding words are quite immaterial. We have scores of Runic Monuments, from all ages, in which no mention is made of either the Raiser or the Carver. Tho we have therefore no exact parallel to either the Sölvesborg or the Tanem stone, I yet look upon them as having the same flow of words. Quite identical inscriptions we may never find, so few of these pieces now remain to us. The wonder is that we have any at all. — And precisely the same thing holds good of the later (Scandinavian-runic) monuments. On these also we have *very many* and *variously modified* grave-formulas, some of them however only found two or three times, some in fact only *once*! We must therefore not lay *so* much stress on the mere rarity or frequency of the phrase, as at once to *condemn* a proposed reading merely because it may be strange or unique. A piece unique to-day may be matcht to-morrow, for we need not despair of fresh finds. And *every* find gives us something valuable, as to runes or phrase or language; something precious because it is new, or not less so because it is old — a second instance of what we may have met before.

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[1] See the many such given at p. 46, and the remarks on the noun Þuwo in the Word-roll. Every such word on the Old-Northern stones has not yet been found on the Scandinavian-runic, and the latter have terms of a like import which have not yet occurred on the Old-Northern. Many are common to both these classes of runic monuments, notwithstanding the greatest difference of clan and locality.

TANUM, BOHUSLÄN, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

As[1] all the world knows, Bohuslän abounds in antiquities, even now, in spite of centuries of destruction. The wanderer can still find there wonderful Rock-carvings, mighty Mounds, olden Stone-rings, Ship-settings, Kists, Grave-cumbels, Bauta-stones, Doom-rings, and so on, for which we need only refer to the pages of Holmberg[2] and Brusewitz[3], as well as older writers. But, unhappily, few of its Runic monuments have remained to us. So much the more must we rejoice that *one* of these few is a colossal block, bearing an inscription in Old-Northern Runes!

This monolith, of whose former history we know nothing, was first found at the beginning of this century. At that time it was lying with other stones as a kind of foot-bridge or spong over a small runlet or beck on the farm of Kalleby Vester-gård, across the road between Kalleby and Trättlanda, in Tanum Parish. The nearest homesteads are Kalleby Vester-gård, Ryk, Trättlanda and Anrås. It is in a broad dale, on a kind of heath, about half a Swedish mile south of Tanum church. It was not made public till 1823, when it appeared in Stockholm[4]. The sketch is here of the smallest and poorest, and the last letter is so engraved as to be apparently omitted altogether! Otherwise the staves are substantially correct. Liljegren's text is only a few lines. He reads the carving:

"ÞRODISON HOCHNO MDO"

and translates:

"DENNA HÄLLKISTA HÖJDINAS (HÖDNAS, HVEDNAS) DÖDA MAN (eger)."

THIS HILL-KIST (stone-grave) HÖJDINAS the-DEAD MAN (owns, has).

Liljegren supposes that the stone is broken at the top, and that the risting is therefore incomplete.

In his "Monumenta Runica", or "Run-Urkunder", 4to, 1834. (Tillägg till Svenskt Diplomatarium, Vol. 1, and printed separately, in 8vo). No. 2064. Liljegren mentions this stone but does not hazard any reading, merely referring to his former work.

The next Runologist who mentions this monument is the learned Icelander Fin Magnusen, in his valuable "Runamo og Runerne", 4to, Kjobenhavn 1841, p. 344. On Tab. VIII, fig. 3, he copies Liljegren's engraving, and he discusses the question in his text. Supposing two letters (OM) to be gone at the end, he concludes that the staves must be redd:

"ÞRO VILT ON HEIDINOM VÓ(OM)."

This he thus gives in modern spelling:

"ÞRÓ VELT ON (Á) HEIDNOM VE(OM)"

and translates:

"STEENKISTE (Celle, Stue, Grav) VÆLTET PAA (ET) HEDENSK HELLIGDOMSSTED."

STÓNE-KIST (stone-grave) WELTED (cast, laid) ON (A) HEATHEN HALLIDOM-STED (Holy Place).

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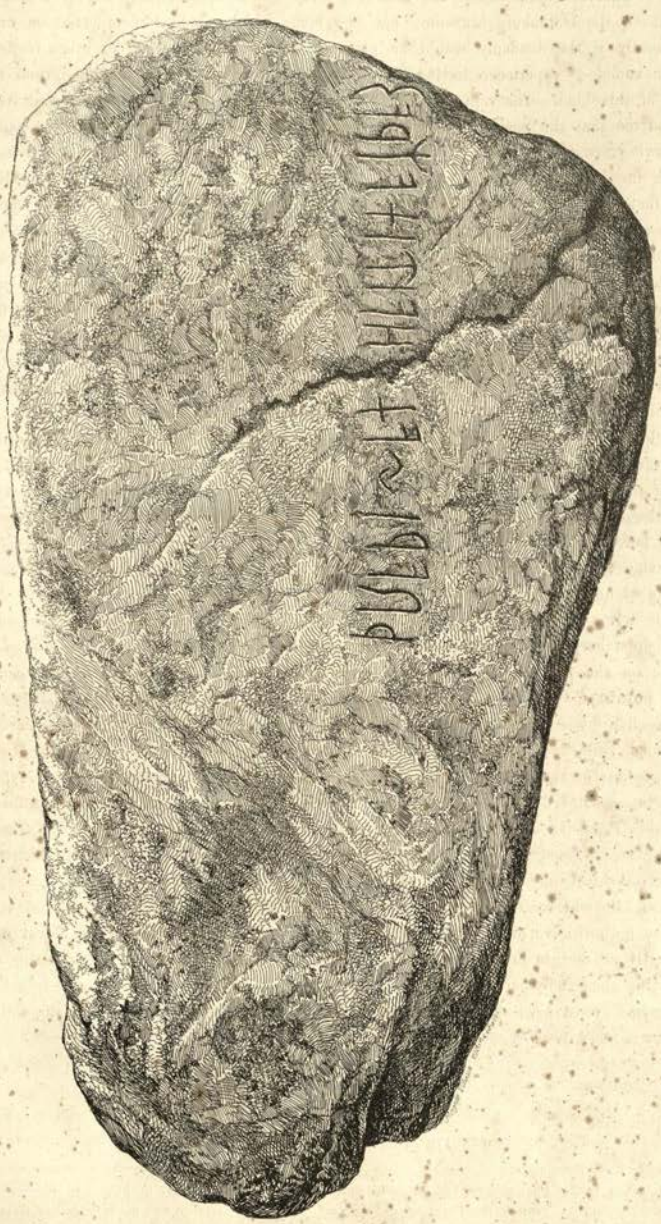
[1] In 1864 a prize was offered by the Royal Academy of Literature and Antiquities, Gotenburg, for the best explanation of this stone. This following paper — but in a more diffusive shape, many of the remarks there made being here found in their proper places — was forwarded anonymously, and to it the prize of the Society was awarded.

[2] Bohusläns Historia och Beskrifning, af Axel Em. Holmberg; 2 vol., 8vo, Uddevalla 1842-5. With plates. — Skandinaviens Hällristningar. Arkeologisk Afhandling af Axel Em. Holmberg, 4to, Stockholm 1848. With 45 plates.

[3] Historiska Minnen i Bohus-län, Vestergötland, och Halland; Teckningar och beskrifning af G. Brusewitz; 4to, Götheborg 1861-4. — Of this elegantly illustrated and valuable work 20 parts have already appeared, forming one volume.

[4] Nordiska Fornminningar, af J. G. Liljegren och C. G. Brunius; small 8vo, Stockholm 1823. — The Tanum stone is No. XLV.

From a Drawing by the Swedish Artist G. BRUSEWITZ *of Gotenburg, and Casts of the inscription obligingly forwarded to me by the Gotenburg Royal Academy of Literature and Antiquities.*



The inscription, therefore, according to him, was carved by a Christian man, and commemorated Christian triumphs over Heathen ceremonies.

So things remained till 1861. At that time, requiring this piece for my forthcoming work on the Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England, I made a communication on the subject to the Gotenburg Royal Academy of Literature and Antiquities. I pointed out to them the great value of this venerable block, the risk of destruction to which it was exposed, the necessity for its transport to the Gotenburg Museum, and the favor which would be conferred on myself and on science generally if the Academy would be pleased to forward me a Cast or other really trustworthy copy of the runes, — experience having shown me how little we can depend on former transcripts of monuments of this kind. The reply of the then Secretary, Mr. A. O. Heurlin, is dated Nov. 21, 1861, and informed me that the Society, powerfully assisted by the Lord-lieutenant Fåhræus, had taken steps towards carrying my wishes into execution, and had found the stone, which was then lying exposed to every danger in a piece of scrubby woodland. Eventually, by a decision of His Majesty King Carl the 15th, the stone was handed over to the Academy as the property of the Gotenburg Museum. Repeated efforts have since been made to convey it thither, but have failed for want of deep snow. Its enormous weight renders it unsuitable for transport in the summer except by sea, which would be too great a risk.

Seeing that the delay would be too long, and that accidents might happen to the block itself, the Academy in 1863 had a drawing of the monument made by Mr. Brusewitz, and in 1864 sent down an Artist (Mr. Notini), who made a perfect mould of the whole length of the stone as far as the runes run — the plaster slab taken therefrom measuring about 4 feet 2 inches in length and nearly 1 foot in breadth. To ensure accuracy and for the sake of mutual correction, the Academy obligingly sent me 3 fine Casts from this mould[2]. Provided with materials so excellent, I have been enabled, with the help of my clever Artist, Mr. J. Magnus Petersen, to produce the above beautiful and most correct engraving. In connection with all this I have to acknowledge the repeated and sympathetic assistance of the Academy's present Secretary, Dr. Charles Dickson of Gotenburg, who has even insisted on paying the cost of the plate itself, as a contribution to Runic science. For this act of friendly generosity I hereby offer him my sincerest thanks.

Having thus traced the modern fates of this Inscribed Monolith, and procured a perfect copy of its writing, I now proceed to its elucidation.

But first an introductory remark or two. In undertaking a task so difficult we must lay hold of every circumstance, however apparently trifling, which may possibly aid us. As it may not be without influence on the final reading to remember that a certain stone now on Scottish ground (for instance, the RUTHWELL Cross) was raised in times when the land on which it now stands was *English* territory, English by colonization and in speech and culture and political connection; or that another now on Swedish soil (for instance, the BLEKING stones) was carved when that land was probably an old *Danish* possession; or that a third now in Denmark (for instance, the STENSTAD block) in fact was only a few years ago removed from *Norway* to its present resting-place; so we must not forget that the present *Swedish* Bohuslän is old *Norwegian* ground. Strictly speaking, therefore, the *Tanum* stone is most likely *Norse*. Hence we must not be surprised, should we find upon it a word hitherto met with only in the Norse-Icelandic dialect.

Next, the shorter the inscription the shorter is the context, and the less easy it usually will be to give an authoritative or likely interpretation. All our materials from these oldest days being so few, and mostly so meagre in length, we are often at a loss as to the exact speech-value of the words employed. Our chief help here is the use of a set of standing words, which may be called a "formula". These "formulas" have been manifold on the old monuments, and mutually explain and assist each other. As in modern English we call such phrases as

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF .....

or again, the common

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF .....

or the so often used

BENEATH THIS STONE IS DEPOSITED .....

[1] It is nearly 10 feet long, about 4 feet 10 inches broad at broadest, and 9 inches thick.

[2] These I have since given to the Cheapinghaven Museum: one for preservation and public inspection there, the others to be forwarded to two of our great Museums in England.

a "formula", so we must keenly watch old Runic pieces for anything which may be a current set of words. Any apparent occurrence of a formula may lead us to take an expression in a particular sense, where we otherwise might be undecided.

Again, one immense hindrance in reading *all* the oldest carvings, whether Runic or otherwise, is, that the words are nearly always undivided. The *oldest* monuments and manuscripts seldom have point or stop or space whereby to mark the proper separation of the words. Hence, they not being in living and familiar languages, we are perpetually at sea. Sometimes it may so happen that we may divide the staves in *many* ways, and yet get a certain kind of meaning, more or less probable or possible. So on the Tanum stone: we may variously separate the letters, and yet obtain respectable renderings from some of the different letter-groups. But we *must* select *one* division. Only *one* can have been the real meaning of the rune-rister. In spite of all trepidation and difficulty, we *must* at last make our choice. Sometimes, as here, this choice is not easily made, one or other of the rejected readings not being in itself inadmissible. Small considerations will in such cases sink the scale on this side or on that.

Once more, I take it as an axiom that all true scholars have at last abandoned the old blundering impertinent shallow idea — that we are allowed to shield our ignorance by *altering* these monuments at our pleasure. We must no longer permit ourselves (except in cases self-evident, and these *few* instances are daily becoming *fewer* as our scholarship advances, so that we now can easily read what was formerly lookt upon as "mis-cut") — to call *this* letter "mis-hewn", *that* one a "mistake", and the *third* a "slip" of the "incapable carver". If we once begin with this, there is no end to it. The wildest license is then allowable. People then forget all sense and modesty, and at last persuade themselves that — after 1000 or 1500 years — they know the obscure language and meaning of the writer, however costly and carefully hewn or written the monument, much better than he did himself! Either these venerable and precious carvings are to be followed, or not. If they *are*, then we must alter nothing, except for a cause absolutely self-evident, (and that will be rare indeed!). If they *are not*, then they are of no value whatsoever, and we had better break them up or melt them down for use as old stone or old metal. *First and last, we must respect the monuments.* Can we read them, well and good. Can we not, let us say so. Perhaps our successors may. But as for mangling and doctoring them into agreement with our own wild fancies and most imperfect knowledge (— *how* imperfect, all the really learned know but too well) — why the thing is ridiculous and unbearable.

Lastly. We must deal tenderly with the well-meant efforts of our foregangers. We may then hope a mild judgment from those who come after *us*. This class of remains was formerly but little studied. The runes were usually most incorrectly copied. The many peculiarities of the different Old-Northern dialects were then scarcely thought of, much less admitted. Everything was twisted into a barbarous "Icelandic", a *local* dialect *later* by many centuries than the monuments in question. And even the runes themselves were not always understood. The whole science was new. We stand on the shoulders of our foregoers, and have learned much even by their failures.

Since then, great progress has been made, just as *our* aftercomers will correct and surpass what *we* have done. Hundreds of *exactly copied* Runic inscriptions are now available; scores of Old-Northern (as distinguisht from the later and provincial Scandinavian) Runic Alphabets and Inscribed Remains have been discovered; and men of distinguisht linguistic talent in all the Northern lands have put their shoulder to the wheel.

To come, then, to the Tanum stone. The runes are Old-Northern, those letters which were common in Scandinavia from the oldest times, which are used on Scandinavian as on English monuments down to about the 8th century (but yet longer in England), which were carried by Scandian colonists to England in the 4th-5th age, and which are found *only* in the Old-Northern lands, England and Scandinavia. About the 8th century many of the old letters were gradually disused in the Scandian home-land, and the alphabet by degrees sank to the one usually known, of 16 (or 15) staves. This impoverisht stave-row was necessarily little known in England, as the Romanized Christian civilization of that country so rapidly drove out the runes altogether, which gave way before the Roman letters. No runic earthfast monument of any kind, in older runes or in later, has ever been found in any Saxon

or German territory. They were confined to the Northern (Scando-Anglic) races. The above simplification of the alphabet in Scandinavia is only a process which has gone on everywhere. All the oldest alphabets are multitudinous. At last the letters became too few, and then new ones were added. In this way came the Stung or Pointed runes, later added to the Scandinavian Futhork.

Hence, to begin with, this alone gives us a limit, a starting-point. The Tanum stone cannot be *younger* than about the 8th century. But hereby the reading of Fin Magnusen falls away at once. He makes the monument Christian. But — besides his obtaining this result in the most violent way — there was no Christianity in the country for *some centuries* after it was carved, and, if Christian, it would have been inscribed with Christian symbols or a Christian formula. Liljegren's translation is not exposed to this objection; it only crumbles away from its own extravagance. He has even mistaken the value of half the letters, far more so than Fin Magnusen has done.

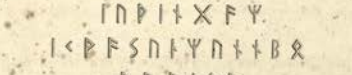
Next, the *character of the stone* may help to fix its date. We see at a glance how — like all its heathen compeers bearing the same letters — it surprisingly differs from the usual run of the blocks inscribed with Scandinavian staves. Here are no Worms, no Serpent-twists, no winding Dragon-figures, no fanciful decorations. The style is quite different. All belongs to another school. We have a rude block, rudely carved with a few letters. There are also no marks of transition, either in the treatment or in the dialect or in the introduction of runes peculiar to the later alphabet. Consequently, this is NOT a *transition-stone*. It is scarcely from the 6th, still less from the 7th year-hundred. We may safely fix it at the 5th. It may be much older. But it is best always to be prudent, not to decide too much. Somewhere about the 5th century cannot be too high a date.

We have thus come so far as to the probable if not certain conclusion, that this monument is in Old-Northern runes of an age not later than about the 5th century. But before we go further, we must invite the archæologist to a digression which is in fact no digression at all, but an important and necessary link in this chain of argument.

If we let our eye run over the Tanum stone, we shall see that one of its prominent letters is the rune ᛉ. Now this stave is the key to this inscription, as it is to all those Old-Northern pieces whereon it occurs. The discovery of its true phonetic value — added to some other runic details — is the result of all my labors. For this rune is NOT a *consonant*; still less *M* as in the common Scandian Futhork, but always a *vowel*, and this vowel is *A*.

Of course this fact alone upsets all former attempts to read these olden inscriptions, which were based on taking ᛉ as M. The difference is so great as to revolutionize everything. I cannot prove this here. It results from *every* Old-Northern monument yet discovered on which this character is found, some THREE SCORE in number, and *every* Old-Northern metallic or parchment staverow at present known to me. Still I would wish to give some short and popular evidence, and of a kind so plain and tangible that *everybody* (if possible) must at once admit its truth. For this purpose, for the moment passing over the now Swedish Tanum stone, I will take one similar piece from Norway and one from Denmark.

Let us first handle a Norse stone, the REIDSTAD block, also apparently from the 5th century, found in 1857 on the lands of Reidstad, Hitteröen, Lister's Fogderi, South-Norway, now in the University-garden, Christiania. — The runes there are, in their normal shape:



which I read and translate:

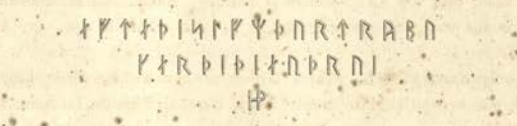
IUDINGÆA ICWÆSUNA
UNNBO
WRÆITÆ.

To-IUTHING I(a)CWÆSÖN
UNNBO
WROTE (these runes).

Now surely no one will deny that the above reading is quite plain and simple, and that it would become altogether meaningless by taking the first two words as

IUDINGÆM IOWÆSUNM.

The next monument is still more decisive, if this can be. It is the VORDINGBORG stone, Sealand, Denmark, now in the Round Tower, Cheapinghaven. — The runes are:



This I read and render:

ÆFT ÆÞISL, FAÞUR, TRŪÞU
KÆRÞI ÞIÆU ÞRUI.
H W.

AFTER (in minne, memory, of) ÆTHISL, his-FATHER,
TRŪÞU GARED (made) THIS THRUCH (stone-kist).

H doubtless stands for a mans-name beginning with H (for instance *HAIRWULFR*), and W for the usual WRÆITÆ or WRAIT, &c. (*WROTE, carved the runes*).

This is a *transition-stone*, probably not older than about the 8th century.

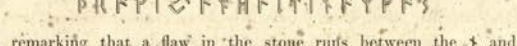
I am sure that no one, instead of

ÆFT ÆÞISL FAÞUR

will seriously propose to read

ÆFT ÆÞISL FMÞUR.

Being now entitled to assume that the *Old-Northern* ᛉ is really A, we will return to the Tanum stone, whose runes, about 6 inches high, are clearly cut, the 7th alone having slightly suffered from accident. The runes are reverst, as is so often the case in the oldest monuments. Let us first take the staves as they stand, in their normal shapes, beginning at the bottom of the stone:



I begin by remarking that a flaw in the stone runs between the ᛉ and the ᚺ; hence the space between them. The ᛉ is carved tall, with the head above the line, *to economize room*, the rister having nearly come to the top of the block and having no space to spare. In this way he saved the distance of nearly a whole letter. Noteworthy is also the form of the R. It often, as here, is only distinguisht by a very slight inflection from the letter ᚢ (U).

As for the stone being broken and the inscription incomplete — no such thing. There is not the least sign of anything of the sort.

There being no doubt that ᚠ in the Old-Northern Runic Futhorc is Æ (not O as usually in the Scandinavian); and that ᛜ is one of the many varieties of the NG-sign; and that the final stave is the olden mark for S; and taking it for granted that ᛉ is the universal Old-Northern A; we shall have in Roman letters:

TH, R, Æ, W, I, NG, Æ, N, H, Æ, I, T, I, N, Æ, A, W, Æ, S.

Now how is this to be divided? — The first stave-cluster that strikes us is THRÆWING. We stop here, because we cannot get further. Say THRÆWINGÆ, we cannot; we should then have the following N alone, as a word by itself, which is impossible; the next stave is H, but NH is nothing. Therefore ÆN is one word, and H begins the next. I take THRÆWINGÆN, THR ÆWINGÆN, THRÆ WNGÆN, THRÆW INGÆN, THRÆWI NGÆN, &c., to be unheard of or meaningless. The first word is therefore THRÆWING. But this is quite what we should expect, a mans-name, similar to *the hundreds* formerly found ending in ING, ENG, ONG, UNG, &c.; we have just had on the Reidstad stone one example, the name IUÞING. We of course commonly expect a name at or near the beginning of a Northern grave-

inscription: and here it is. We shall afterwards see that this THRÆWING is the name of the deceast.

Now a nominative requires a verb. Let us look a little further. The next letters that arrest us are the 3 last runes, WÆS. This WAS is the very verb we needed. Let us, for the present, take it as such. This gives us THRÆWING WÆS. Out of the 19 staves only 10 remain.

We begin again with the ÆN: — ÆNH is nothing, ÆNHÆ, ÆNHÆI, ÆNHÆIT, all are apparently nothing. The H is in the way. So we will stop at the ÆN. This is ONE, AN, A, the numeral which also became an article.

We have only HÆITINÆA left. These letters are not without their difficulty, for they really admit of more than one separation into words which have significance in many ways. Let us divide them quite simply into HÆIT, IN, ÆA, words which in other combinations might have various meanings. Here, in a *funeral* formula to some mighty chieftain, we cannot do better than give them a general *funeral* sense, — HERO IN LIFE.

HÆIT, the Norse-Icelandic HEITI, is one of those many mythical or champion words which were formerly used as synonyms for *Sea-hero* or *Land-hero*. We know little or nothing of their origin (save a wild fragmentary legend about a couple of them), and they evidently are very old. They are commonly explained by the phrase — "this is the name of a famous Sea-king (or Wiking or Army-chief or Champion); it then became used as equivalent to Battle-hero, Sea-Hero, &c., in general". If we now refer to Sveinbjörn Egilsson's valuable "Lexicon Poeticum", s. v. HEITI, masc., (for we will not go to more recondite sources, merely to appear learned), we shall see that this word, like scores of others, was taken from a real or supposed Sea-king, and was employed for Warrior. — HEITA BÁKKR signifies *Heiti's Back* or *Blank* (= *Horse*), and is a kenning or poetical synonym for *a Ship*, a *War-galley*, on which the Hero *careered* over the waves. So HEITA HRÆFN is *Heiti's Raven*, in like manner *a Ship*, a *War-galley*, on whose back the Hero *flew* over the billows.

This word has not yet been found in any dialect save the Norse-Icelandic. But, as has been remarkt, this stone is on Old-Norwegian ground. There is therefore nothing unreasonable in finding an Old-Norse word on an Old-Norse stone, just as we might find one peculiarly Danish on a Danish or English on an English piece, and so on. There can thus be little objection to — THRÆWING WÆS A HÆIT (Sea-king, Hero).

We have only IN ÆA left. IN can only be IN. — I would take ÆA to be the dative singular of the old noun signifying *life, time*, and of which we have the remains in such Old-Scandian words as Æ, Á, Á: E, English AYE, *ever*; Old-Danish EWÆ: *ever-during*, (the modern Scandian EVIG is borrowed from the German); Old-Swedish ÆFVE, now provincially ÄVA or ÄFVA, N. Icel. ÆFI, EFI, *time, life*.

The S being older than R, or in other words the Scandinavian dialects having largely vocalized or softened the S into R, we now say VAR in Scandinavia, but in England we have still preserved the old S, — WAS. And on *all* the *oldest* runic stones and Scandian manuscripts we have UAS, not UAR. IS not IR (ER, ÆR, AR), and so forth. This form therefore agrees with the age of the stone.

Consequently we have:

ÞRÆWING ÆN HÆIT IN ÆA WÆS.

THRÆWING A HÆIT (Sea-king) IN AYE (his time, his life, while he lived) WAS.

(= These Runes were carved in memory of Thrœwing, the Nelson of his day!)

This sounds unforced and natural, and is quite in the spirit of the old times, and of a locality full of the remains of those grim and gallant Sea-kings. The Tanum stone was thus raised over THRÆWING, a Mighty Warrior, whose name and sword had spread terror in all the neighboring lands.

And here may be pointed out a small dialectic peculiarity. As we have HÆIT for the common HEITI, so instead of THRÆWING we should expect THRÆWINGR or ÞRÆWINGI; for these old patronymics usually ended in -R or -I, tho locally this -R or -I has often fallen away. This elision is one reason why I have not given the stone an earlier date. It is true we might fall back on the runic manner by which a letter need not be written twice, tho it was to be taken twice. In this way we might easily get THRÆWINGÆ ÆN and HÆITI IN. But I doubt whether this way of short carving can be traced back to the *very oldest* times, and prefer not to have recourse to it. I only mention it to show that I have not overlookt it, and that we can always take it in this manner if it be judged necessary. Certain it

is that such shorter forms as HÆIT for HEITI are found very far back, and in fact the shorter and the longer forms often existed side by side *at the same time.*

Should we take the I in IN twice, and thus read HÆITI_IN, we might translate:

THRÆWING ONE (he) HIGHT (was called) while-IN AYE (life) he-WAS.
(= In his life-time he who lies here was named Thrœwing.)

But we spoke of set terms. We have doubtless been struck by the uncommon IN ÆA, *in tempore, vitâ, ejus; dum vivit.* If I am right in my translation, this will be a formula. But, our monuments being so very scanty (for where one remains a thousand have been destroyed), it only occurs on one other, hitherto discovered, Old-Northern block, the KROGSTAD stone, Upland, — as old, I believe, as the 5th century.

This I have redd:

MWSYOUINGI SYOÆ IN ÆA.

MWSyOUINGI SE (= was-HE, hight-HE, was the deceast named) IN AYE (in his life, while living).
(= Mwsyouingi was the name of the Warrior lying here).

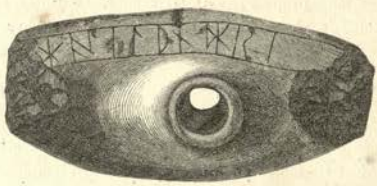
Thus the Tanum and the Krogstad stones appear singularly to illustrate each other, and I think no reasonable objection can be offered to the reading here proposed. At all events, as usual, I take the runes as I find them, altering nothing; everything is grammatically correct; and the archaic forms are exactly what we should expect at that early period — nearly 1500 years ago!

From its form, this block would apparently have been *top-heavy* if raised on its narrow end. It therefore probably stood supported also by small stones at its foot. Of this we have other examples. But, except in those few cases in which we have exact and trustworthy evidence as to how a previously undisturbed stone was first found, we can never be quite sure on a question of this kind. It may be that a heavy unwieldy and more or less shapeless block may occasionally have been dragged on to the grave, and there carved as it lay, without having been "raised" at all. Still all evidence goes to show that these stones were undoubtedly and customarily lifted up, in one way or other, either within or without the barrow; and certain it is that the phrase LET LAY (this stone) has never yet been found on any runic monolith, till we come to the Christian Middle Age.

UPSALA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

Full size. From the Original, and from drawings and rubbings kindly forwarded by Prof. CARL SÄVE, *Upsala.*



As this STONE AXE was found in the beginning of the last century, it has now been known to old-lorists for about 160 years. But unfortunately it was discovered in the good old times, when little attention was paid to details, and we have therefore no information as to the circumstances under which it turned up. We are only informed that it was either dug or pickt from the soil by a peasant in Upland, while clearing his field. Whether it had been originally dropt, or deposited in a barrow long since ploughed away, we cannot tell. Passing from hand to hand, it soon reacht the well-known Assessor Elias Brenner, who added it to his curious Museum. While there, it was mentioned, but merely in a short sentence, by Berch, in his treatise on Former Swedish War-weapons[1], section the first, on Weapons of Attack. From Brenner it came to the Museum of Archiater Magnus von Bromell[2], who appended to it the following written memorandum:

"Cuneus fulminaris, niger, perforatus, rarissimus, ex saxo communi effectus, cujus marginem, quod rarum, Literæ Runicæ ᚦᛁᚴᛁᛏ . . ᚨᛉ cingunt. A Rustico effossus ex agro in Uplandia."

Many of the pieces in Bromell's Collection, this among them, next past to Prof. J. Afzelius, by whom this Axe was presented to the Mineralogical Cabinet of Upsala University, in which it was No. 23. But in 1864 the various stone tools and weapons in that Cabinet were very judiciously transferred to the Upsala Museum of Antiquities, and there this precious relic is now carefully housed.

As we see, both ends have been worn and broken by frequent use, but otherwise it is in fair preservation. It is *not* "ex saxo communi effectus", for the material is *uncommon*, a kind of very hard greenstone. The runes are carved sharp and clear, with evident care, and are still legible, most of them quite distinct and unhurt.

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[1] "Om Fordna Swenska Stridswapn", printed at the beginning, Vol. 2, of S. L. Gahm's "Samling af Kongl. Bref, Stadgar och Förordningar, angående Swea Rikes Landt-Milice til Häst och Fot". Stockholm 1765, 4to.

[2] This once famous Old-hoard is described (at the close of "Vita Magni von Bromell") in "Acta Litteraria et Scientiarum Sveciæ", Vol. 4, 4to, 1736, p. 208.

This remarkable and undoubtedly genuine piece, whose inscription dates from the Early Iron Age, while the Axe itself may be many hundred years older, has been frequently figured. It was first engraved by Prof. J. H. Schröder, in "Iduna", Vol. 10, Stockholm 1824, 8vo, Tab. II, fig. 2, *a* and *b*, as an illustration to his paper, pp. 358-366, "Beskrifning öfwer en forntida Stridsyxa" (*Description of an ancient War-axe*). Here the runes on his copper-plate do not agree with those in his text, and both are incorrect, tho better than Bromell's copy, which is absurd. — Next it is given, the rune-side only, by Prof. N. H. Sjöborg, in his "Samlingar för Nordens Fornälskare", 4to, Vol. 3, Stockholm 1830, fig. 168, with a short text at pp. 163, 4. The runes are imitated a little better than by Schröder, but still faultily. — Sjöborg's engraving was copied by Fin Magnusen into his "Runamo", Tab. VII, fig. 2; and, in his text, pp. 581, 2, he recognizes in the two first runes ᚼ as a *vowel* and ᚺ as H. — Last and best, two views of this stone were given by Prof. Carl Säve in "Antiqvarisk Tidsskrift", Kjöbenhavn 1852-4, 8vo, pp. 261, 2. His copy of the runes is nearly identical with my own, which is the result of my personal examination of the Axe when in Upsala in 1864.

The whole inscription is perfect: that is, there never have been more letters than those we now see. And the injuries they have sustained are not great. There is a very slight dint or damage on the upper right centre of the first stave. A small blow or hollow is visible at the right of the top of the second letter, but a mere accidental flake, and not touching the letter itself. A similar scathe or hollow affects the middle of the third rune, but the whole is still a plain ᛋ. The left half of the 4th stave has a like slight injury. So the very middle of the bow of the 5th letter. The tip of the 6th is worn or broken away. The left top of the following bind-rune is also slightly damaged. The ᛁ is sound. The ᛋ has its head and foot a little injured. The last letter, ᛁ, is not hurt. Thus there is no doubt or difficulty as to the actual contents of this runic risting. We have:

1st, ᛘ/ᚺ; 2nd, H; 3rd, O; 4th, L; 5th, Þ; 6th, A (ᛋ = N for ᛏ = A, as so often elsewhere); 7th, the tie ᚳK, or rather C and K written close, the right leg of the K being carved across the ᚱ; 8th, I; 9th, S; 10th, I.

Now as the staves are so plain, the only difficulty is in dividing them. But I think they divide themselves, so evident is the reading:

ᛘ/ᚺ OLÞA ᚳKISI.

OWNS OLTHA this-AXE.

Some 1500 years ago, this Upland Yeoman, this Sir OLTHA, carved his name on a curious Stone Axe he had found or bought or had given to him or inherited. That is all. Should these words be here deciphered correctly, the ancient forms of the letters and the archaisms in the language — the H still left in ÆH, the Þ for D in OLTHA, and the olden full-voiced ᚳKISI — will show that this piece is perhaps *one of the oldest* bearing these Old-Northern runes. Prof. Säve regarded it as an Amulet, stone pieces of this kind being occasionally still used as such all over the North. And it is very possible that such may have been the case. But, Iron still being scarce and costly, it may also have been used as a tool or weapon.

GOMMOR MEADOWS, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

From WORM'S *Monumenta Danica, p. 219, and Danica Literatura, p. 67, as corrected by two other copies, both* FROM THE STONE ITSELF, *by* PEDER SYV *and* BERTEL KNUDSEN. — *See* F. MAGNUSEN'S *Runamo, pp. 441-449.*

Unfortunately, this piece no longer exists. It was sent to Cheapinghaven, Denmark, in 1652, or thereabout, and perisht in the great fire of 1728. It was about 2 feet long, 2 feet all round, squarish, and inscribed on all the four sides. Liljegren in his Run-urkunder registers it as No. 2061.

The first letter in the first line was ᛋ, the same as the first in line 2. In Knudsen's copy it is very like the latter. That P. Syv thought them both *the same* is clear, for he has made them both ᚱ. — The 4th stave is meaningless unless we perceive, what is self-evident, that it is a little too short drawn, and was meant for a ᚦ. — The 8th letter should be ᚨ. In this, both Syv and Knudsen agree. — The 6th rune in line 3 was perhaps ᛟ on the stone itself, or it may have been more or less open at the top, as on the Reidstad stone in Norway. — As to the last rune in the first line, it was perhaps really so on the stone. Or one of the arms may have become obliterated. In either case it would stand for the usual ᚠ (F).

With regard to the ᚠᚠᚠ, which stand, thus, upright, in Syv's copy, as they would do when seen from the other side of the stone, they are, in my opinion, *initials*. The first would stand for the name of the friendly Rune-carver, well known to all at the time. The second would be most likely the beginning of his father's name, also then well known to every body. So we have on the Sunnå stone, Närike, Sweden (Liljegren No. 1064, revised by Carl Säve):

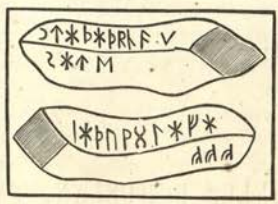
FRUMUNTR FISIULFI-SUN ᚱITI STAIN,
FRUMUNT FISIULF'S-SON WROTE this-STONE,

and again on the Malsta stone, same province (Liljegren No. 1065):

FRUMUNT FISIULFA-SUN FAÞI RUNAR ÞISAR,
FRUMUNT FISIULF'S-SON FAWED (made, carved) RUNES THESE.

Thus for instance here ᚠ ᚠ would stand for FRUMUNT FISIULF'S-SON, or FRAISTAIN FRIÞING (Frith's-son), or any other beginning with F. The third ᚠ would then be the verb, here the common FAÞI, 3rd sing. past, FAWED, smooth'd, carved, cut, wrote (*the runes*).

Contractions such as these abound on old Runic monuments. Worm's copy, then:



should have given the Runes nearly thus:

And this would signify, STÆ being a contraction for STÆNA and ÞRLÆF for ÞORLÆF, in the usual way:

ST$^{æ}_{n}$[NA] Þ$^{o}_{r}$ ÞRLÆF S$^{æ}_{n}$TE I$^{s}_{n}$ ÞUWO L$^{æ}_{k}$F$^{æ}_{n}$.
F F F.

STONE THIS THORLÆF SET BY the TUVA (mound, grave) of-LÆFI F. F'S-SON FAWED (carved).

We are now familiar with ᚼ for Æ. The reading and translation here offered are not very different from the version proposed by Fin Magnusen.

We cannot but be struck by the measurements of this block, somewhere about 2 feet long, a squarish form; each of the edges about 6 inches broad. This is a very diminutive size for a standing stone. In his Literatura Runica, Worm describes it as lying in the Gommor Meadows near Sölvesborg Castle, as undrest or rugged ("rudis"), and as purple-colored ("purpurei coloris"); but he does not say it was imperfect. In his Monumenta, however, he adds that it was *only a fragment*. He probably meant that the lower end had been broken off. It would seem to have been sent to Cheapinghaven (Trinitatis Kirke), at the command of Frederick III, along with so many other runic stones, in or shortly after 1652, doubtless by Niels Krabbe the Governor of Sölvesborg Castle. But it was not till 33 years after that it was examined by Peder Syv, and this scholar has left no memorandum as to its being whole or no, as little as Bertel Knudsen, who copied it in Bleking in 1623. Still we cannot but conclude that Worm was right, and that the stone had lost the greater part of its uninscribed length, as has happened to many such pieces. Else it could not possibly have been "set by the grave-mound", as the runes expressly declare it was, but must have been deposited inside the barrow.

KONGHELL, BOHUSLÄN, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

Found in 1864, 6 feet below the surface, in the gardens of Kastellgården, the former Konungahella. Now preserved in the Old-Northern Museum, Stockholm, to which it was presented by Lieut. O. J. KILMAN. Engraved from the Original, most kindly forwarded to me for that purpose by the Riks-antiquary BROR EMIL HILDEBRAND, Chief of the Swedish National Museum.

KONUNGAHELLA (afterwards called Kongehelle, Kongahell, Konghell, Kongelf) was one of the most ancient, richest and most famous sea-towns in the whole North. Mentioned as early as the 6th century, in the 10th it has houses of stone, and in the first half of the 12th it boasts a population of at least 14,000 souls. In Christian times it had many splendid monuments, and numerous ecclesiastical and monastic buildings. This powerful port and city was situate between the present Gotenburg and Kongelf, in Bohuslän, now a Swedish but in the olden times a Norwegian province. At this spot is a promontory called Hisingen, made into an iland by the waters of the Göta-Elf. The *northern* arm of this stream, *Nordre-Elf*, which runs west to Elve-fjord and so to the ocean, not far from Ytterby washes two small ilets, Ragnhildarholm and Munkholm. It is at this place, on the northern shore of Nordre-Elf, between Ytterby and Kongelf, that Konghell formerly stood.

What was the oldest name of this great commercial emporium, we do not know. Its common appellation — *the* KINGS' HALL — it obtained from its being the border-town where the Kings of Norway and Sweden, or of these lands and Denmark, so often met, as a safe and central point, at which they could discuss political questions and enter upon formal political acts. Its most flourishing age was during and after the Wiking period. But, like many other places, it fell before the fury of the Wends, and the other heathen Slavic pirates from the Northern and Eastern Baltic coasts. In 1135 it was attackt by a powerful Wendish fleet and army under King Rettibur, and — after a noble defence — burnt to the ground and its inhabitants slaughtered or taken as slaves. It was rebuilt indeed, and continued its commercial activity, but was again plundered in 1368 by the Swedish King Albrekt, and in 1502 by the rebel Herlof Hyddefat. At this time, too, much of its trade went to Gamla Lödöse and to Marstrand. In 1563, during the Northern Seven-years' war, it was entirely destroyed by the Swedes under Pehr Brahe, and was again fired in 1612 by Jesper Kruus. After this it was once more rebuilt, but was now removed to the shelter of the walls of Bohus Castle, and from that time has been called Kongelf. This modern Kongelf, however, has never risen to be more than a petty trading village.

The whole of that side of the Elf on which Konghell was built is at this moment of a considerable height, while the opposite strand is comparatively low and marshy. This raising of the soil has resulted from the perpetual rebuildings of the town on its former ruins, — just the same thing as at London, Rome, and elsewhere. Deep under the earth, on the site of the ancient city, are found fragments of hewn stone, remains of houses and so on, and any accidental diggings always bring to light tools, arms, coins, skeletons, in fact all sorts of antiquities of all ages. This is particularly the

case at the farm and gardens of *Kastellgården*, the chief site of the former town. This is now "Crown-land", but is let out for cultivation. Its present tenant is Lieut. O. J. Kilman. In a note to me, Mr. Brusewitz very properly insists on the necessity for making regular excavations on this estate. It would cost not a little, but great and invaluable antiquarian harvests would result. He adds: "Divers should also be employed to examine the Elf-bottom between Munkholm and Ytterby, for many sea-fights took place there of old, particularly in 1160, when the whole of King Inge Haraldsson's fleet, 30 vessels, were sunk or taken and the crews slaughtered."

Here, then, at Kastellgården, in September 1864, this curious wooden Staff was discovered. Lieut. Kilman wisht to make some improvements and lay down some drainpipes in his garden. His men had carried away 4 feet of the mould, and then dug 2 feet down into the soil below, to place a bed of cobble-stones. In this operation they came upon bones, ox-horns, quantities of hazel-nuts, a good deal of oak timber up to 18 inches in diameter. Particularly were found two large oaken beams, and from *between* these was taken out the Staff here described.

Some Swedish antiquarians have been led to assert

1. That it cannot be very old, for that wood cannot be preserved so long in such situations, at least not so freshly.

2. That it is of Birch, and therefore still less liable to last.

3. That it bears spots of blood, and that these could not have subsisted for so many hundred years.

4. That it also has marks of regular sword-cuts, and must therefore have been a War-club.

5. And that, besides the Runes, it is also inscribed with some Monkish letters — apparently the word MARIA. Consequently that it cannot be old.

As all these points are of great importance with regard to what this piece really is and the probable date when the runes were carved, and as I do not wish to lay stress on my own opinion (I being, it is said, not "impartial" enough), I have obtained the kind assistance and formal views of two famous and excellent antiquarians *not* Runologists *ex professo*, and of two "practical" judges, my experienced and skilful wood-engravers.

The first of these experts, to whose hands I committed the Staff for some days for his official examination, was Professor J. JAPETUS S. STEENSTRUP. His reply, dated Kjöbenhavn, January 4, 1865, is (in an English dress) as follows:

"It was evident at first sight (as I explained to you at the time of its delivery to me) that the Staff could scarcely be of Birch, or of any other Leaf-tree, but rather of a Needle-tree, and of a kind with *firm and close texture* and of slow growth.

"For not even with a lens can we discover any spiral vessels in the wood, and these are also absent in all needle-trees; while the branches have evidently stood out on every side in a ring round the stem, as almost all kinds of needle-trees exhibit their growth. But these branch-circles have not been few, for you will find 8 to 9 such on this Staff only 35 inches in length. From this we should judge that the tree has not had any very strong growth *in height*. But as we also, especially at the thicker end, can convince ourselves that there are from 35 to 40 concentric circles of growth to an inch, we shall easily see that the tree has grown slowly *in thickness*. I would add that we might at first suppose, from the mere shape of the Staff, that it was fashioned from a young stem, which has only been slightly cut to give it its present form. But on the contrary, it is made of the *inner fast wood*, the so-called kernel, of an oldish tree. This undeniably results from the fact, that on several of the knots of the branch-circles we can count from 15 to 30 year-rings; so many years therefore, *at least*, were the branches old on that part of the stem which has here been used.

"As it has dried, the Staff has got some cracks. From these I have allowed myself to take out with a sharp knife some very thin shavings, all put together not so thick as a piece of paper, to examinine them under a Microscope. The Microscope only confirmed my supposition that the wood is that of a needle-tree, but the special condition of the medullary rays and of the walls of the woody tissue, particularly the arrangement of the areolæ or circles in the walls of the cellules, which were very richly provided with spiral fibres, lead me to the certain conclusion that it is the wood of A YEW (*Taxus*), and there is scarcely ground for fixing on any other variety than that of our Northern Yew, the Idegran or Barlind. (*Taxus Baccata*).

"Now as the Yew is known to be an uncommonly fast, close and heavy wood, which better than most others resists foreign and injurious influences, — and as we have besides an article made out of the heart of this wood, — we here find *two* important *inner* factors united in answering the question whether such a Staff could for several or many centuries lie in the earth and yet keep so fresh a look as it has. In my opinion, and supposing no particularly hurtful conditions to be at hand, there is nothing in the way of such high antiquity. But we must also bear in mind one of the *good outer* factors or conditions connected with this question, the fact that the Staff was found between two oaken beams. We cannot but conclude that, lying prest-in between such oaken timbers, it has imbibed a part of the tannin, and thus increast its own antiseptic qualities. Probably enough, it is also heavier in consequence.

"With the exception of the line of Runes, which begins and ends with the same letter, carved with a very sharp knife from about 8 to about 10 inches from the thin end, I have not been able to find any signs of *intentional or regular* marks or scorings. Of *unintentional* there are many, and as some of these might be drawn into the dispute as to what was the purpose for which the Staff was made, I will say a few words about them.

"The whole piece is by no means finisht with the care and nicety which we recognize in articles of wood belonging to the Antiquarian Finds in the Danish Mosses. On the greater part of the surface we can even plainly see how largish pieces have been shaved off. At the branch-rings the wood has not been so easy to cut, and this has caused the circles of small nearly scraped-off chiplike marks, which produce an appearance as if something hard had been bound round the stick. The head has similar impressions, and of these many can certainly be traced to the hopping of the knife while scraping the wood smooth. Others, towards the top of the head, I have examined repeatedly without being able to determine whether the head was being spirally twined or no. — Mere accidental injury has made the deeper scores or cuts, such as the grooves or marks which go in an irregular zigzag. The latter would seem to show that the Staff had been dragged or drawn against something hard, but they do not resemble sword-cuts. The blows do not usually seem to be from a very sharp instrument, some of them even look quite new, perhaps from the spade when the Staff was taken up.

"The tip of the narrow end has been covered or protected, as we can see from the crust which has insinuated itself between such cover and its ground. This cover or ring, or whatever it may have been, has scarcely *fallen off*, but rather been *twisted off*, to judge from the spiral marks still visible. At all events it has not been fixt very firmly.

"The tiny spots of red, round the little knot in the first branch-circle, appear to me accidentally prest in, and to be of red ochre or red chalk or something such. Perhaps they date from the taking up of the Staff. I took an atom or two on the point of a needle, and submitted it to the test of the Microscope. It was unorganic, not blood.

"In conclusion I will add, that no one would think of choosing this kind of wood in the way we see here as a weapon, a *weapon of attack*. It is self-evident that the *position of the knots* — notwithstanding the hardness and toughness of the wood otherwise — makes the Staff *excessively brittle* if used to strike with."

The next reply, dated Kjobenhavn, January 19, 1865, is from the pen of C. F. HERBST, Archivary and Secretary of the Old Northern Museum, and is thus in English:

"According to your request, I have minutely examined the remarkable wooden Staff found in the ruins of Konghell in Sweden. That it is *very old* I think there can be no doubt: but, as it bears no ornament which might assist us in determining the date, I dare not give any opinion as to *how* old it may be. This is a question which you will probably be better able to answer than myself, for our only resource on this head must be the shape of the Runes carved with a very sharp fine-pointed knife on the Staff itself, at the distance of 20.4 centimètres from its thin end. For it is my opinion that these Runes are about as old as the Staff, at all events that they were inscribed before the Staff was deposited in the earth. Besides these Runes, I only look upon some particular strokes — at 16, 37.7 and 39.2 centimètres from the thick end — as of the same age. But they are evidently all made by accident while the Staff was being fashioned. The other marks and dints I regard as accidental injuries made by a pick or spade when the piece was exhumed. I am also fully persuaded that the scores which, at a distance of 16.2 centimètres, commence and continue in zigzag up towards the end, and which some persons have lookt upon as letters, are accidental. They have been caused by the friction

of a small stone or some other hard body when the Staff was taken up. The workman would seem to have graspt the Staff by the thick end, and to have twisted it backward and forward for a few moments before he could get it up from the place in which it was jammed.

"The marks are yet clear and plain of the way in which it has been finisht. We see at once that shavings have been cut off and that then it has been scraped, during which process the edge of the knife has often hopped along the surface. The sharpness of these spores seems to show that the Staff has not been much used. I can see no signs of sword-cuts, or other proofs that this piece has been used in battle."

Lastly, I will translate the verdict of my artists, Messrs. Henneberg and Rosenstand, dated Kjöbenhavn, the 27th of February, 1865:

"Having been requested by Prof. Stephens to give our opinion as to how certain marks in the Konghell Runic Staff have arisen, we hereby declare our conviction to be that they have been produced by accidental pressure or friction, and have not been cut in with any instrument."

We are now better able to resume and decide the points in dispute, and shall not be very far wrong in coming to the following conclusions:

1. That this Staff may quite well have lain in the ground 10 or 20 centuries, notwithstanding its fresh appearance. We have many examples of wooden articles as old and as well preserved, found under circumstances not more favorable. The yellowish or darkish brown hue of the Staff shows that it has been strongly tanned, and this alone would vastly increase its hardness.

2. That it is not of Birch, but of Heart of Yew, one of the hardest woods known in Scandinavia, where it is at present very scarce whatever it may have been formerly.

3. That there are no remains of blood, and no signs that it has been used as a weapon of offence. In fact it is too brittle for that purpose, and much too light. It weighs scarcely 1 pound English.

4. That all the scratches and dints were made when it was fabricated, or have been accidentally produced afterwards.

5. And that it bears no letters of any kind save the 11 Old-Northern Staves. But these are cut so boldly and so freely, and with such careless certainty, that they betray a hand and head familiar with Runes. No *forger*, even if he had known these letters (which have been disused in Scandinavia for 1000 years), *could* have carved the Runes on this Staff.

But we will now come to the Staff itself, whose finding was first communicated to me by the well-known artist and antiquary G. Brusewitz, Esq., of Gotenburg[1]. This gentleman has rendered me every assistance and given me all the information in his power, besides forwarding me an excellent and elegant facsimile-drawing of the Staff and Runes, full size. All this he was fortunately able to do, as it was found on the estate of Lieut. Kilman, his own Cousin. For all these generous services, as well as for the loan of the Original Staff by the Riks-antiquary Hildebrand, I desire to give my humble and hearty thanks.

This piece, then, is of Heart of Yew, and has now a very dark color. It is 33½ Danish inches long. I give an engraving of it, 1-fourth the size of the original:

We are here immediately struck with the fact that both ends have a slight hole or indentation. That at the narrow end may perhaps have been connected with the ring or other metal (probably

[1] Mr. Brusewitz has given a short account of this find in his valuable and elegant "Historiska Minnen", whose first volume bears the title "Elfsyssel (Södra Bohuslän) Historiska Minnen", 4to, Götheborg 1864, p. 328, where he has also carefully engraved the Runic inscription.

silver) ornament which was once fixt here. The other, at the thick end, may have been produced when the piece was made. Perhaps it was steadied against a nail, and thus turned round and round as the artisan shaved and smoothed it with his knife.

Next, we will take the disputed point as to the presence or absence of Monkish letters a couple of inches lower down towards the small end, and nearly opposite to the Runic carving. Even should such letters have been found, it would have been no argument against the antiquity of this piece. It would only have been another example, of which we have so many already, of words being carved on a very old object by some aftercomer, hundreds of years later than the piece itself. But as I am persuaded, along with my distinguisht friends Professors Steenstrup and Worsaae, Archivary Herbst, Adjunct Engelhardt, and all who have seen the Staff here, that these scratches are merely accidental, — and as I wish my readers to be clearly convinced that this is the case, — I have desired my artist to take an *Impression* of the place, and to engrave this without further manipulation. This he has done, and I now submit it to all eyes, reminding them that it is *nature-printing*, not a drawing. There can, therefore, be no disguisement or mistake. It will be observed that it is here necessarily upside down:

Now if any one will seriously declare that he here sees "letters", intentional staves, whether "Monkish" or other, why then "Othello's occupation's gone" and I have no more so say!

At last we come to the precious Runic carving. These eleven characters are, so to speak, as sharp and clear as the day they were first cut, another proof that the Staff cannot have been much used. Only in four places (the tip of the ᚦ, and the centre of the ᚴ and the two ᚢ's), where the sharp lines meet in angles, a very tiny and shallow flake of the wood has chipt or fallen out to the size of a small pin's-head. But as the lines go *deeper* than this scarcely perceptible injury, it does not affect the letters themselves[1].

As in most of these *oldest* inscriptions, the Runes are here reverst: thus they read from right to left instead of left to right. They are:

11. 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 5. 4. 3. 2. 1

H F ᚢ K ᚢ U ᚦ F ᚢ A H

Both the ᚢ's are upside down, as is so often the case with Runic characters.

As before, I wisht also in this case to get an Impression — of the clear plain Runes — and here, as in the facsimile of the Runes, without the pores and fibrous marks of the wood, and without the minute chips or dints in or near the characters. And, to be quite sure, I wisht this to be engraved as a photograph, not toucht by human hand. Surely nothing can be more cautious and trustworthy than this! My artist has carried out my wishes. Of course this reverses the Runes, so that they now

[1] All these wee chippings are in my opinion quite fresh, and have taken place since the exhumation of the Staff, probably from handling and the extreme and rapid drying of the wood. Possibly *others* may show themselves after some years, or those now there may spread or may go deeper. Hence the value of my nature-prints and facsimiles, taken in March 1865.

stand in their natural order, as they are redd, from left to right. But the reader can reverse them back again at his own option by looking at the above facsimile. They stand thus:

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11

H A U F Þ U Ú K Ú F H

The letters, then, are sharp and clear. Nothing can be plainer. What can they mean?

We see at once that there is more than one word, for HAUFÞUÚKÚFH is nothing. But we are familiar with words ending in -INKI (-INGI, or, with the N elided, -IKI, -IGI). We therefore take the first group as — quite simply — HAUFÞUÚKÚ (= HAUFÞUIKI, Ú standing so often for I). FH will remain, evidently a contraction.

Now HAUFÐINGI is quite a common Scandian word, still (N. I. HÖFÐINGI, Dan. & Norw. HOVDING, Swed. HÖFDING) universally employed for Head Man, Chief, General, Governor, &c. This, then, is the word before us. It is true that we have it no where in so old a form as here. The AU has everywhere become Ö. But this is only a proof of the antiquity of the piece before us, a thing self-evident from its bearing Old-Northern Runes, which died out in Scandia as early as the 8th century. That the word has hitherto only been found in Scandinavia, does not trouble us. The monument before us has Old-Northern staves and is found in Scandinavia.

The FH probably stand for the well-known FUR (or FURI or FURIR and in many other forms) HARI, the old dative singular, a form which occurs on the Fjuckby stone:

IUFUR STURÞI HARI.

IUFUR STEERED (ruled, commanded) the-HEER (army, fleet, troops).

The whole, then, will be:

HAUFÞUÚKÚ F (= FUR) H (= HARI).

The-[HEADING] (Headman, Chief, Leader, Commander) FOR (of) the-HEER (army, navy, forces, troops).

But this would make the Staff before us a *Staff of Command*, a Baton. And this I have no doubt it was.

We have before seen *physical* reasons why it could not be a Club, War-mace, which it in no way resembles. But everything points to its being a Baton.

Brusewitz says, Elfsyssel, p. 328: "A similar club is borne by William the Conqueror in one of the many representations of him seen on the Bayeux Tapestry, where it is his only weapon. And Bishop Odo has a similar piece, the appended inscription calling it (in the accusative) a "baculum", that is, a staff. This leads our thoughts to Snorri's words, in his account of Konghäll's plundering by the Wends: "Andreas prestr gaf Rettibur konongi refdi silfrbúit oc gylt, etc." Andrew, priest, gave King Rettibur a Staff, silver-fitted and gilt. (Heimskringla, af Snorra Sturlusyni, Sagan af Magnusi Konongi Blinda, Cap. 11)." But I think there can be no doubt that the object carried by William and his Brother is *not* a Club, but undoubtedly a Baton.

In all the multitudinous soldier-groups of the Bayeux Tapestry, only five figures are found not carrying Banner or Weapon, Shield or Sword or Axe or Hatchet or Pike or Lance or Bow or Dart or Club or some other kind of arms. *Five times* the personage is unarmed, bears *only a Baton*, a Staff of Command, and each time it is the Duke himself, William of Normandy, or his Brother, Bishop Odo, who were the two chiefs between whom the leadership of the Norman army was divided on the eventful day at Hastings. Let us examine these figures further. I use A. Jubinal's edition, engravings by V. Sansonetti, Imperial folio, Paris 1838.

The first is at Plate 6, where we see the Duke at the head of his troops marching against Brittany. M. Jubinal's illustrative text is, p. 27:

"La tapisserie nous montre ensuite Guillaume et son armée, se dirigeant vers le mont Saint-Michel; HIC WILLEM DUX ET EXERCITUS EJUS VENERUNT AD MONTEM MICHÆLIS. Ce fait est relatif à la guerre qui eut lieu entre Guillaume et Conan, comte de Bretagne. Ce dernier avait menacé l'autre d'entrer en Normandie: mais Guillaume n'était pas homme à attendre patiemment l'effet d'une pareille menace. Sachant que Harold était un hardi combattant, il l'invita lui et ses gens à prendre part à l'expédition qu'il projetait, et devançant son ennemi, il entra sur les terres de Bretagne. Guillaume de Poitiers, seul entre les historiens, a donné quelques détails sur cette guerre; mais la tapisserie est bien plus circonstanciée que lui. Elle nous représente Guillaume et Harold, marchant vers le mont Saint-Michel, qui est figuré par une montagne avec un château sur la croupe; ils sont en équipage de guerre, et ne sont plus suivis ou précédés d'oiseaux et de chiens comme auparavant."

Here M. Jubinal has *omitted* to point out that Duke William is *unarmed*, and only wields *a Baton*.

The second instance is on Plate 17, where William and his cavalry are galloping against the army of the English King Harald. Jubinal's words are, p. 28:

"A la planche XVII, nous le retrouvons à la tête de ses soldats, tenant une massue ou bien un bâton de commandement de la main droite, et s'avançant contre l'ennemi. Guillaume et le personnage qui le suit sont les seuls qui ne soient pas armés d'un bouclier et d'une lance; le dernier semble même porter une main de justice. Il y a pour légende au-dessus d'eux: ET VENERUNT AD PRELIUM CONTRA HAROLDUM REGEM."

Here the French critic rightly concludes that William bears *a Baton*, and his officer a Hand of Justice.

Example No. 3 is on Plate 18, where William is encouraging his soldiers previous to the battle. Jubinal's text, p. 29:

"Les deux partis après cela ne tardent pas, comme on le pense, à se trouver en présence. La deuxième colonne de notre planche XVIII nous montre Guillaume haranguant ses troupes: "HIC WILLELM DUX ALLOQUITUR SUIS MILITIBUS UT PREPARARENT SE VIRILITER ET SAPIENTER, CONTRA ANGLORUM EXERCITUM". Ici le duc Guillaume exhorte ses soldats à se préparer à combattre vaillamment et sagement contre l'armée des Anglais."

Jubinal has here altogether forgotten to point out *the Baton* in William's hand, altho it is here best either drawn or executed of any place on the Tapestry, so that it is an *exact counterpart* to the piece found at Konghell. The reader shall judge:

Fourthly, we have Bishop Odo with his Baton on Plate 21. The French text, p. 29:

"Pour rétablir l'avantage perdu par les Normands, il fallut que l'évêque de Bayeux se précipitât au plus fort de la mêlée, qu'il exhortât les fuyards à combattre de nouveau et les reconduisît à l'ennemi.

C'est aussi ce que représente notre monument. Audessous, en effet, de cette inscription: HIC ODO EPS. BACULUM TENENS CONFORTAT PUEROS, qu'il faut traduire par ces mots: "*Ici l'évêque Eudes tenant son bâton de commandement* (et non sa massue, comme on l'a dit) *encourage les jeunes soldats* (en non les enfants)"; nous voyons ce prélat, en habit de guerre, tenant son bâton et parlant à un cavalier qui tourne les dos à l'ennemi. Le bâton est tellement bien ce que nous disons, qu'on lit dans le *Roman du Rou*, à propos d'Eudes:

Un baston tenoit en son poing;
Là où veoit le grand besoing
Fesoit les chevaliers torner
Et la bataille arrester.

"Wace ne dit pas qu' Eudes combattit lui-même; il commandait seulement, et portait à la main le signe distinctif de sa charge."

Jubinal here properly accentuates *the Baton* in the hand of Odo.

Lastly, on the next Plate, No. 22, where Duke William, who is unarmed, raises his visor to shew his soldiers that he was not slain, he does this with his right hand, having moved *his Baton* — which is here very badly drawn or sewn — to his left.

Now it is clear that in all these 5 places we have *the Baton*, and *the Baton only*, no Club, and it is equally clear that the Konghell piece exactly resembles it in outward shape. How old the Baton is in Europe I do not know[1], but certain it is that it must have been centuries older than the battle of Hastings in 1066, where it is used as a well-understood symbol, a matter of course for a Commander on certain occasions.

I therefore judge that the Runic Staff at Konghell was not a Club, but *a Staff of Command, a Baton*, a piece in every way unique, whatever its exact date certainly by far the oldest of its kind in Europe, and opening a new chapter in the history of our popular antiquities.

But it has been said that the Runes are not Old-Northern at all, but Scandinavian!

To make this good, careless observers have dwelt on the marks at the beginning and the end. They have said that we have first a side-stroke, as an ornament, (I), then two dots as divisional marks, (:), and then an I at the beginning and end of the carving. Some have even said that the I's also are only ornaments. Let us see.

Fortunately we have here a crucial letter, the Ɣ. This, if Scandinavian, must necessarily be M. Let us first take the up-turned U's to be K's, and let us include the first and last mark: IMKFÞKŪKŪFI. Or, let us acknowledge the up-turned U to be really U: IMUFÞUŪKŪFI. Or, let us take away the first and last score: MKFÞKŪKŪF or MUFÞUŪKŪF.

All impartial persons will admit that these 4 readings are either gibberish or contractions.

We know how many variations the Old-Northern type for H may assume, with a single middle-bar straight or slanting or a double middle-bar straight or slanting, and with such bar to the right or the left and cut more or less *thro*, — sometimes the *same* monument having this letter in *several* shapes. Remembering this, and casting a glance at the Runes on this Staff, we surely cannot hesitate to acknowledge that the first and last letter is here a plain elegant H. This is strengthened by the following (second) letter, evidently our Old-Northern A, and still further by the antique and characteristic Old-Northern Ū, — and clincht by the whole forming so good a meaning, antique in spelling and apposite to the object on which it stands. Negatively it is evidenced by the *reductio ad absurdum*, for no meaning at all results from any attempt to take the runes as Scandinavian.

At present, therefore, all evidence goes to show that the Runes are Old-Northern, and that therefore the Staff itself is excessively old.

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[1] The *Staff* (or Baton) and the *Sceptre* must not be confounded. The earliest Scando-Gothic Staff (if such it be, as is most likely, and not a Sceptre) which I can refer to, is that carried by a gallant and noble-looking but otherwise unarmed Gothic Prince or General, on a splendid war-steed, sculptured among the other figures of the Theodosian Column; thus from the last quarter of the 4th century. He was doubtless one of the Gothic "Kings" or Chiefs who, with their numerous and hardy troops, served under Theodosius the Great as his Allies or Auxiliaries. See the remarks of J. Malliot, "Costumes, Moeurs etc. des Anciens Peuples", 4to, Vol. 2, Paris 1804, pp. 171, 2. Plate XXI, fig. 1. This Gothic Staff is rather short, nearly straight (not tapering), and has a slightly ornamental head, whether so carved or a piece of metal fixt on we of course cannot say.

VARNUM, VERMLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

From a carefully colored Drawing of the stone, and a perfect Tracing of the Inscription full size, both obligingly forwarded to me by J. W. ALSTERLUND, M. A., of Christinehamn.

No Rune-stone has hitherto been found on the main of Vermland, and only a couple on the ilands of that province. It was therefore a grand and agreable surprise when this block was suddenly discovered on the homested of Gärdsberg, Varnum Parish, one quarter of a Swedish mile from Christinehamn, and nearly as far from the shore of the lake Vänern's most north-easterly bay.

And this find was happily in time for my work.

Mr. Alsterlund thus describes, in a letter from which I translate the following extracts, the circumstances connected with its exhumation: — "Last November [1862] the Nämndeman [Juror] Karl Ersson of Gärdsberg commenced cultivating a stony mound in one of his fields near the highway. While thus occupied he turned up this stone, whose lower end was about 2 feet under ground, while a portion of the upper was visible. As the block is nearly 8 feet long, the yeoman Ersson thought it would make a good gate-post, and had it carried to his farm. But, soon after, he was informed that it was a Runic monument and ought to be taken care of. On this he at once carried it back again, and raised it on the same how, only a few feet from where it originally stood.

"The stone is of a reddish splintery granite, and has a remarkable crack on the one side. The mound would at first not be taken for a grave-low, as it now rises only a few feet above the level of the fields. But the Juror informs me that some years ago it bore a circle of large boulders, within which, to the east, lay a great slab-stone (probably originally a bauta-stone) which had been overturned, about 8 feet long and 4 feet broad. All these stones Karl Ersson has used for building. The Rune-stone was found within this ring, a little to the south-east. Tho the farm had been in Ersson's family for 3 generations, he had never heard a word of its containing any ancient monument. But he pointed out a spot a little farther to the north, where a similar stone-circle had stood, or at least the foundation of some building; all which had long ago been carried away by his neighbor.

"But all this makes it probable enough that these two rings are those mentioned by Fernow in his "Beskrifning öfwer Wärmeland" (Göteborg 1773, 8vo, p. 50 and 145). He there speaks of them as existing on this same farm, which he calls "*Jarlsberg* now *Jersberg*", and asserts that Neri Jarl, properly Nerid Jarl, once lived there."

As Fernow knew nothing of this fine pillar, it must have been buried as early as his time, nearly 100 years ago. As it now stands, this inscribed stone is more than 5 feet above ground. The Runic side is 8 to 12 decimal inches broad, and 10 decimal inches thick on the one side and 7½ on the other. The runes are 2 to 4 decimal inches long, and for the most part deeply cut. Only at one or two places are they at all doubtful.

The top of the stone is unfortunately broken off. Many efforts have been made to find the missing piece, but hitherto in vain, and there can be little doubt that it has long since been carted away or destroyed. Should my reading of the carving be correct, we can easily restore, substantially and for all practical purposes, the wanting letters. Should I be mistaken, we are still at sea. At all events I do my best with the stone as it is.

I take it then that the carving is to be redd from top to bottom, looking at it from the left, and that it consists of two separate sentences, the one — in honor of the deceast, and consequently on the best part of the block — beginning with the TI and running on to the lower and sunken part, when it continues upwards, striking in at the ET, where the dots are placed as a guide: and the other — only perpetuating the name of the rune-cutter, and therefore placed on the lower and sunken and unfavorable part, and in like manner turning backward and going on to the dots. It is therefore redd ploughing-wise, some runes being reverst. What is remarkable as to the staves is the ᛦ for Œ, which has not before occurred on so old a monument, and the double-runes ÆH (twice) and ER. The uncommon ᛉ, (for ᚴ) K, may be the Old-Northern ᛦ (C) upside-down. The last rune in WÆRITÆ is a bind-stave, two letters on one stave, the Æ above (belonging to WÆRITÆ) and the Œ below (belonging to the name of the stone-carver).

With regard to the wanting fragment. In my opinion it has contained the very beginning and the end of the risting. In this case we must of course have recourse to the usual formulas. Nothing is more common than STONE THIS RAISED (variously spelt) and, when elevated to a husband by the wife, AT or AFTER BONDE (husband) HER GOOD (variously spelt). As erected at a very early period we must expect very early forms, and the carving has probably been (accusative singular masc.):

STÆINÆ ÞÆNSI RÆISTI

and at the close:

BUÆTÆ SINÆ KUÞAN.

Should we suppose the stone and inscription to have been *shorter*, then ÞÆNSI and KUÞAN have not been there. Of course other small variations, such as ÞÆNNÆ for ÞÆNSI, may be fancied, for I only speak of the general contents. I have come to this conclusion from ÆHEKER being a *female* name, and from the B and half the U being apparently the beginning of the usual BUNTA, BUTA, BUNTÆ, &c., in the accusative singular after ET. — I therefore suggest the following simple and natural and usual reading:

[Stæinæ þænsi ræis]TI ÆHEKER I LÆŒ ET IHŒÆ. B(U)[ætæ sinæ kuþan].

RUNOA WÆRITÆ UŒNÆBÆRÆH.

[Stone this rais]ED ÆHEKER IN LÆŒ AT (to) IHŒI (= INGI); BO[nde, = husband, her good].

The-RUNES WROTE UŒNÆBÆRÆH.

We have here also a dialectic prevalence of Æ, and of the elision of the N.

Should ET on this old stone have governed a Dative, IHŒÆ will then be in that case, not in the Accusative, and the words in apposition must also be written in the Dative.

Since writing the above, Mr. Alsterlund has informed me that, after repeatedly examining the stone, he has discovered at the top on the right, just in the break, traces of another letter or part of a letter, in the shape of a carved indentation parallel with and nearly the height of the T. It reaches down nearly to the top of the half U in the line below. This will well agree with the right limb of S, which, in these old pieces, often has two unequal strokes (ᛋ, &c., instead of the normal ᛊ or ᛌ), or one side longer than the other (ᛋ, &c.). I refer for this kind of S to several of the Bracteates, the Bewcastle Cross, and *many* stones, both in Sweden, Norway and Denmark in the common Scandinavian runes. But as the letter S does not occur in the words now left on the Varnum stone, and as letters are often carved in *different* ways on the *same* stone, nothing conclusive can be drawn. All that we can say is, there is nothing in the faint mark thus found before the T which would make it impossible that the foregoing rune *may* have been S. If there had been found a trace of ᚦ or ᚦ or ᚱ or ᚴ, or ᛒ, or any other letter whose right side is not a straight line, then it would have been fatal to my proposed reading.

The presence of ᛦ with the power here given to it shows that this stone is slightly transitional.

One general observation may here be permitted me. I have repeatedly said that we have Old-Northern stones only by units, Scandinavian-runic by hundreds, and that we must be cautious how we draw conclusions which a find to-morrow may overturn.

So here. Among all the Old-Northern stones yet discovered in Scandinavia (and how few are they all!) *not one* directly mentions the family relationship of the deceast, which, as well known at the time, it may often have been judged needless to point out. We have only *the name*, one word; or N. N'S GRAVE (with or without the name of the Barrow-raiser); or N. N. WROTE TO N. N.; or other such expressions; and yet some of these Old-Northern ristings are as long as others are short. Only the Tune stone, Norway, speaks (if my reading be right) of THE HEIRS AND HEIRESSES; while the Sigdal block, Norway, comes nearer, the Stone-setter announcing himself (if my combination be trustworthy) as THE UNCLE of the dead man. Now all this is in striking contrast to the majority of the Scandinavian-runic pillars, which tell us that the departed was the FATHER or MOTHER or BROTHER or SISTER or HUSBAND or WIFE or FRIEND or WARCOMRADE, and so on, of the raiser of the monument, — while others *do not*.

That all this is only from the absence and destruction of these Old-Northern memorials, I have no doubt. And should my construction of the Varnum piece be admitted, we have here at least one proof, for we then have the example:

N. N. RAISED THIS STONE TO N. N., HUSBAND HER.

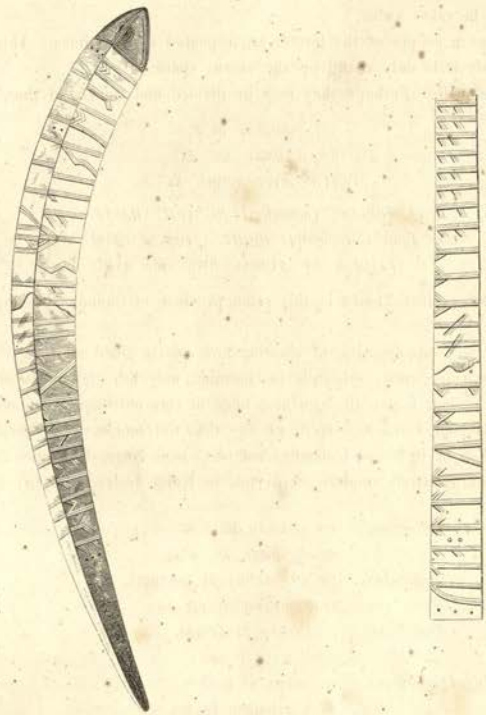
Endless are the variations on stones with Mixt and with Scandinavian-runics. They give us *one word*, a name; only two or three words; or say (or omit) what was the tie of blood or kindred or friendship or private or military connection. And, like others, they may be very short or very long, and yet often the one apparently as old or as young as the other.

Once more, then; we must feel our way. We *must not* at once lay down the law — that no Old-Northern stone in Scandinavia ever announced the relationship of the Cumbel-maker to the commemorated dead. — The similar monuments in England show the like variations.

LINDHOLM MOSS, SKONÉ, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

Full size. From the original, now in the Museum of the University of Lund.



This is the piece engraved by Fin Magnusen in his Runamo, Plate 4., fig. 11 a and b. It is of bone, dyed of a dark hue by the moss-water, and was found in 1840 deep down in a turf-moss at Lindholm, Vemmenhög, Skoné, whence it came into the possession of Prof. Nilsson, who sold it, with the rest of his Museum, to the University. In June 1841 Prof. Nilsson obligingly forwarded it to Fin

Magnusen in Cheapinghaven, for his use in Runamo, and by him it was carefully copied for that work. I here re-engrave it from F. Magnusen's plate, but not without due control; for I sent a copy to Prof. and Librarian Berling in Lund, with a request that he would compare it with the original. This that gentleman was kind enough to do, and he announced in reply that the Runamo engraving was "quite correct". As we see in the drawing, this olden lave has been broken in two, but the pieces exactly fit and nothing has been lost.

We cannot be sure what this unique carving was intended to represent; but it looks like a Snake or an Eel. It would seem to have been an Amulet. This was also the opinion of Fin Magnusen. Can it have been worn or used for success in fishing? The runes, if I have hit their meaning, give no information as to the purpose for which it was made. Perhaps it was merely an ornament or plaything.

Both the sides or faces are covered with runes, one of which, the ᛦ (C) is very rare and highly interesting; perhaps the ᛉ of the Varnum stone is this letter upside-down. In the first or lower line all the staves are wend-runes, and read from right to left. The 2nd line is redd from the other side, that is we must turn the other side to us; we then see that the runes here also are reverst, but notwithstanding this they are taken in their usual order, from left to right. The ⁝ and : are perhaps the usual I and E; but as this is not certain, I print them in ( ). These letters are not absolutely necessary and the dots may be ornamental. In this case the TT must be redd ÆTT, the Æ being repeated from the foregoing word, in the same way as the H in GÆAH and the E in HÆTE are taken twice, in the common later runic manner. To express this runic stave-doubling I make the letters *Italics*, and add a connecting loop. Thus GÆ*A*H_HÆTE_*E*C means that the H and the E is only carved once, but must be taken twice.

In the 2nd line a couple of the letters are repeated several times. This may have a mystical meaning, but more likely it is only to fill up the vacant space.

The runes are plain. Perhaps they may be divided and translated thus:

EC ERILÆAS NI ILÆ.
GÆA*H*_HÆTE_*E*C Æ(I_.
I)UL(Æ_Æ)TT TUMBA ÁA Æ.

I ARELESS (honorless) NE (not) HASTEN.
GAY (quick, sprightly) HIGHT I (am I called) AYE.
(I)ULÆ AT TUMBA OWNS-me AYE.

There is a place called *Tumba* in this same province of Skoné, not very far from where this piece was found.

As this is a good opportunity of showing how nearly allied all these Scando-Gothic dialects are, and yet how a particular word, originally in common, may have fallen out of use in certain landscapes at a very early period, I give the two first lines in this old Skonic land-speech, in Old-English, Norse-Icelandic and Old-High-German. Here we see that the root ILAN, *to speed, hasten*, has not yet been found in Old-English or in Norse-Icelandic; nor ERILÆAS in Norse-Icelandic, the nearest representative ÓÆRLEGR being a comparatively modern word; nor in Norse-Icelandic GÆAH, for which other words are employed:

Old-Skonic.	EC ERILÆAS NI ILÆ.
	GÆA*H*_HÆTE_*E*C Æ(I).
Norse-Icel.	EK (ÓÆRLEGR) NÍ (SKYNDI).
	(FJÖRUGR) HEITI EK Æ.
Old-Engl.	IC ÁRLEAS NI (FYSE).
	GEOC HATE IC Æ.
Old-High-Germ.	IH ERLOS NI ILO.
	GAHI geHEIZZO IH EO.

But traces of GÆAH (GEI'R as a Proper Name masc.) have been found in the iland of Gotland. See the Glossary.

As far as we can judge from the facts, only ignorance and barbarism have rendered this piece unique. For a somewhat earlier fellow *has* undoubtedly existed. In Vedel Simonsen's "Samlinger til Hagenskov Slots, nuværende Frederiksgaves, Historie", 8vo, Odense 1842, pp. 8-11, is an extract from the Traveling Journal of Professor Abildgaard[1], anno 1761, in which that artist gives a long list of various antiquities and fragments, of wood, bone, iron, bronze, silver, &c., found about the year 1750 in a turf-moss called the Kragehul, at Flemlöse in the Danish iland of Fyn. All the pieces mentioned by him are of the same kind, and apparently of the same style and age, as the similar objects taken out of the Danish Mosses from the Early Iron Age, and whose date is clearly fixt by Coins and other proofs — to about the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries after Christ.

Simonsen's extract begins: "'Pastor Wichmand in Flemlöse found about 9 or 10 years ago, when his people cut turf in a turf-moss called Kragehule just outside Flemlöse, about 6 feet below the surface, a small Horn, apparently from a stag's antlers, about 6 inches long and 1 inch broad, pointed at the one end. It lookt like a Shoe-horn, and had a sharp ridge along the centre. On each side of this ridge was a line of smallish runes, and several hieroglyphical characters. The letters were Old-Runic. There were also several figures engraved. Down at the point two eyes seemed to be cut, and above was a crown or helm with just such tags as are seen on the Othin-helm. — There was also found a thin flat Lid, 2 inches broad and 6 inches long, of reed or ashtree, bearing 2 lines of runic staves and other figures; above the one column is also a little row of small runes over the large one, delicately carved'".

Unfortunately Abildgaard has not appended any drawings, or even a copy of the runes on these two remarkable objects. But the first was evidently a similar piece to that now before us. The size and shape was the same. We have even the same "ridge" and "eyes". The runes are expressly said to have been Old-Runic. But the Kragehul piece was evidently more decorated. Both were of *bone*. Were they a kind of eyeless crooked Bodkin, for making holes in cloth?

Unhappily, not only these two remarkable runic pieces, but all the others enumerated in Abildgaard's list, are LOST. Not a trace of them remains in any known public or private collection. They have shared the fate of *thousands* of other objects from the Danish Mosses in early and later times, all thro the middle age and down to *this very day*: — they are found the one year and destroyed the next, to the infinite grief of the archæologist and the historian, to the infinite loss of those scientifically arranged and Museum-hoarded art-remains which constitute *the only* oldest annals we possess of our Northern forefathers. All such antiquarian Turf-fields should at once be officially examined. The expense is a trifle compared with the precious results. The diggings by Herbst and Engelhardt have abundantly shown that these Mosses are literally the Herculaneum and Pompeii of Scandinavia. But they are Sibylline leaves in the book of our Prehistoric Folk-story; a few summers more — and nothing of them will be left.

See KRAGEHUL MOSS, further on, under Denmark.

[1] This manuscript is now preserved in the Archives of the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven.

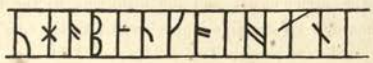
WEST-THORP MOSS, SKÅNE, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

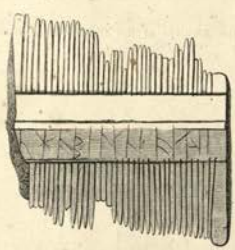
Full size. From a drawing of the original, in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Stockholm, kindly forwarded by BROR EMIL HILDEBRAND, *Keeper of the National Antiquities, Sweden. The woodcut finally corrected from the Comb itself.*

This Comb, of bone, probably the tooth of the Walrus, was found in 1823 deep down in a moss at West-Torp, Vemmenhögs Härad, Sconé, Sweden. It is very brittle. When found, it came into the possession of Dean Bruzelius, but was afterwards, with the rest of his fine collection, purchast by the Swedish Government for the Museum in Stockholm, where it now remains.

When it came into his hands, Bruzelius copied the inscription in a letter still kept in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven. Fin Magnusen exactly engraved this in his Runamo, p. 585. Instructive in its very defects, I here give this first transcript, printing it from the block used in Runamo, obligingly furnisht me by my friend Mr. H. H. J. Lynge, of Cheapinghaven:



We here see that the first stave, beginning on the right, is correct. The stroke on the second is wrong, it belongs to the following T, of which it is the right arm. Stave 6 has 1 side-stroke, not 2, and is U, as is also rune 8. The rest are substantially correct. The staves are not reverst, but are notwithstanding to be redd from right to left. The ✱ is the usual $\frac{a}{u}$. The ᚴ (K) and the ᚦ as o belong to the Scandinavian Futhork, and this piece is therefore overgang (transitional).



There being, as usual in these oldest carvings, no marks of division, we must group the letters as best we can. I take them as follows:

IIT HIUK UNBO$\frac{a}{u}$U.

IIT HEWED (carved, made) for-UNBÓ.

The mansname UNNBO also occurs on the REIDSTAD stone, Norway.

Combs have often been found, even of the *very earliest* periods. Now and then they are double-tootht, like the above: the older kind have only one row of teeth. But they have seldom any mark or decoration. One remarkable specimen of the ornamented class is given in Archæologia, London, Vol. 15, p. 41, found in the ruins of Ickleton Nunnery. It is carved with female figures (Nuns[2]) on each side.

Inscribed Combs are excessively rare. Of those *with Runes* I only know of one other example[1], found in England in 1851, together with a second Comb without any letters. These two pieces were pickt up in Lincoln, in fenny soil, just where the Great Northern Railway Station now stands. They belong to Arthur Trollope, Esq., of that city, by whom they were forwarded to Prof. Worsaae for his inspection, when he visited England in 1852. This distinguisht antiquarian has most kindly placed in my hands the Drawings and Rubbing which he then made, and I have great pleasure in laying them before my readers as a precious illustration of the far older Swedish and Danish Runic Combs.

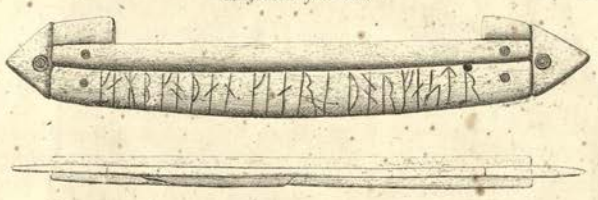
As we perceive, the teeth of this Dano-English piece are gone: they have been placed between the two side-pieces, and the whole has been held together by nails of copper or bronze. The inscription, both Runes and Dialect, shows that it was a *Scandinavian* Comb. Probably it belonged to one of the Danish or other Scandinavian troopers who swarmed into Northern and Middle England in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries.

The other but uninscribed Comb, which is about one fourth larger, likewise of bone, has also lost its teeth. Instead of Runes, it is covered with somewhat simple carvings, chiefly hatcht work or straight lines, or else small rings with either a point or a second ringlet inside. Sometimes the rings and line-work are intermingled, so as to form a kind of diamond-pattern.

SCANDINAVIAN-RUNIC BONE COMB.

LINCOLN, ENGLAND.

Engraved full size.



The words are quite plain, and are divided by double points, as is the prevalent usage in later carvings. They read:

KAMB KODAN KIARI ÞORFASTR.

COMB GOOD (this good comb) GARED (made) THORFAST.

The omission of TH in the verb (KIARI for KIARÞI) is linguistically highly interesting, and would seem to show that the maker was a Jutlander, in which province this slurring of the TH, as of R before TH, is especially prevalent, and has been so even in very old times[2].

The Comb is extremely tender. The side-mark in the M (the second rune) is probably a slip of the knife. But it *may* be a bind-rune (U and M), in which case the word must be redd KAUMB; this however is not likely.

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[1] A third has lately been dug up from the VI MOSS, Fyn, Denmark, which see in its place.

[2] So, without mentioning the examples in Jutlandish manuscripts, we have such on Jutland Runic monuments. Thus on the Bekke stone, KAÞU ÞURUIAR HAUK, *they-made* (KAÞU for KARÞU) *Thyre's how* (grave-mound); on the Giesingholm stone, ÞUAÞ KAÞI ÞYNI OAUÞ, *Thuath made* (KAÞI for KARÞI) *this (grave-)vault*; on the Hesselager Censer, MÆSTÆR IAKOB ..... GORÆ MIK, *Master Jacob ..... made* (GORÆ for GORÞÆ) *me*. Drawings of the Bekke Runic stone are in the Danish Old-Northern Museum; the Bronze Runic Censer is in the same Museum; the Giesingholm Runic Slab is now in Trinity Church, Cheapinghaven. So also on the Horne stone, N. Jutland, we have KAÞI for KARÞI. This slurring of the TH is found in Shakespear's WHE'R for WHETHER, and in some few other English words.

TJÄNGVIDE, GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

From drawings by himself, made in 1844, kindly communicated by Prof. CARL SÄVE.

This ancient stone IN RELIEF has been twice before engraved, but not so correctly as Prof. Säve desired, the complete drawing made at the time for the engraver's use having been unaccountably lost in the printer's office. It was sketcht by Prof. Säve in 1844, by Intendant P. A. Säve in 1845, and again in 1846; but after it was dug up and exposed to the air the block had taken great damage from sun and rain and frost, so that the second and third copies were far from equal to the original rough and hurried sketches. These last Prof. Säve has placed in my hands, and they are here faithfully workt up by my artist, so as to give the best available idea of the stone when first seen in 1844. The first publisht engravings were in "Runa, Antiquarisk Tidskrift, utgifven af Richard Dybeck", 1845, Stockholm, 8vo, p. 82, plate 3 (issued to the subscribers in 1846) and Plate 4 (the runic part separately), as illustrations to the valuable article on this monument written by Prof. Säve ("Tjängvide-stenen") from p. 83 to 93. It was engraved a second time for Prof. Säve's more detailed account ("Alskogs-stenarne på Gotland") in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", 1852, 8vo, Kjobenhavn, pp. 171-207, Plates 5 (the Alskog stone), 6 (the Tjängvide stone) and 7, a, (the same, runic section). To both these papers by Prof. Säve the reader will refer for further details and much interesting episodical information.

The stone before us was found in 1844 on the ground of a homestead called Tjängvide, in Alskog Parish, in the bay of Ljugarn, south-eastern Gotland. Tho only a fragment, its length is 5 feet 8 inches, its greatest breadth low down about 4 feet 6 inches, and its thickness about 1 foot. It is of a loose grayish Gotlandic limestone, a tolerably even slab, especially at the upper carved part, being unsmoothed except by the hand of nature, such tolerably even natural flags of the native limestone not being uncommon in Gotland, especially near the sea. But it of course has various risings and hollows on the surface, and these have been skilfully made use of by the artist, who has slightly cut away the background so as to produce A CARVING IN RELIEF. The characteristic round head is found on many other of the oldest stones in Gotland, and the whole has doubtless had the shape common to pieces of this peculiar Gotlandish class. The Runic Band at the upper part to the left, which was quite illegible at the very first — for the stone is more and more worn and dim the farther we go to the left — has probably run down the left side and under the ship, so as to join or meet the comparatively clear Runic Band on the lower right. The letters here were tolerably deep, but apparently not carved in the usual way, rather rubbed-in with a sharp iron instrument. They were uneven and thin, and, as Prof. Säve distinctly warns and informs us, there were several chinks and cracks in the stone with which the staves might sometimes be confounded. The block was in its present broken state when first buried with the other building-stones, so that it was most likely some 5 or 6 feet longer when it stood on its heathen cairn. At the same time the mason cut away the piece now absent on the right, to make it fit the better in the wall in which it was placed.

The way in which this heathen pillar was found is very singular. The honest and not uneducated yeoman Jacob Tjängvide wisht to make a cellar near his house. So he began to dig into a mound of stones and gravel in his garden-plot. But the lower they came, the plainer it was that they had hit upon an old bank and wall, and at last they reacht regular brick-work, the foundations of a hitherto never suspected ruined and abandoned house. However strange it might be, here it was before them, the site of a former building. Many large stone blocks and pieces had been used in constructing this ancient edifice, among them this Runic Pillar, perhaps put out of sight on purpose by a Christian house-builder. As soon as he saw the carvings, Master Jacob took it out very carefully, for it cost him great additional labor not to injure it. He set an example many of his "betters", both private persons and corporations and governments, have not yet learned to follow. It is now covered with a wooden lid, and is piously attended to by the intelligent farmer and his family.

By comparison with the other Gotlandic pieces of this class, it is pretty certain that the lower part of this stone never was inscribed. The wale-knot has doubtless gone all round the upper carving. The field above has at the extreme right an Eight-footed Horse (reminding us of the mystical Sleipner of the Great God (w)oden), his long tail tied with ribbons, as is still the custom in Gotland on high-days and holidays. What is held by the small figure [? (w)oden] on his back, and whether the something placed behind him is a saddle, we cannot make out. The steed tramples on some kind of worm or dragon. Above the horse is a man with some nondescript half-worn piece, which Prof. Säve thinks may have been a Harp. Farther to the left are other figures, one of them apparently

offering something (? a Drinking-horn) to the rider [? (W)ODEN] or his steed. At the extreme left is — perhaps — a Dog.

The lower compartment is a noble Wiking-ship, with one oar or steerer, shrouds and ropes, and a large sail. The mesh-like lines are *cut in*. Prof. Säve supposes them to have been either checkers, a woven or added ornament, or else a net, perhaps of thin strips of hide, on the wadmal or woollen sail — in case sails of hemp or flax were as yet unknown in Scandinavia — to give it sufficient strength and taughtness. Where the net-lines cross, nothing is cut away on the stone, which may imply knots. When the block was first seen, traces of yet another downhanging rope could be spored, as well as the head of a 7th man; perhaps, as the room permits, the visible crew consisted of 8 men in all. The kink at the bottom of the mast may mean that, when necessary, the mast could be lowered or taken away.

The first stone with raised figures found in Gotland was the *Habblingbo*, which see.

In 1850 P. A. Säve found in this same parish of Alskog another raised slab, which had been a good deal cut to fit and had then been laid down in the floor of the Church. See the engraving in "Annaler" for 1852, Plate 5. We have there a battlescene, — a fort or fortified harbor with ducks or some other water-fowl on one side to typify sea, — a Hall or station with two men, — and a triumphal procession, a horse drawing a 4-wheeled car with 2 men in it, with an Egyptian-like cartouche or oblong label or frame containing indistinct figures above the horse, a strange gigantic bird or beast, and several other figures.

Again in 1861 the same gentleman dug up another Bild-stone in relief, nearly 12 feet high, at Lärbro in North-Gotland. Below is a War-ship with a similar checkered or net-covered sail to that on the Tjängvide stone, and with a crew of 10 men. Above are figures with swords, a steed and its diminutive rider, &c. Above these again are other figures, among them once more the striking and remarkable Horse with 8 feet. Yet higher on the block are several men with and without weapons, a man fighting a goblin, a 4-footed horse, birds, a banner, &c. Other similar Bild-stones in relief have been since found[1]. All these blocks and fragments should be carefully collected and preserved, and should be faithfully engraved in a class by themselves, for each one largely illustrates the rest.

The Runic Inscription on the stone before us, tho only the last bit of the whole, hangs together and gives a definite meaning. What makes it so precious is not only that it has ᛋ for S, so rare in Gotland, but also two Old-Northern letters, ᚷ for G and ᛅ for A. That this ᛅ is here and can only be A is clear, for such a combination of consonants as SMFR is utterly impossible. Thus the stone is from the close of the Old-Northern Runic period in Gotland. As the staves are not boldly cut but only deeply scratcht-in, and otherwise are not so distinct as we should wish, Prof. Säve was doubtful whether it ever could be redd. But it did not strike him that it contained Old-Northern characters, and hence his ingenuity was at bay. Tho we are hampered, as usual, by the absence of divisional marks, I yet take it that most of my readers will admit that we have here the words:

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[1] One, dug up at Sten-kyrka in North-Gotland in 1863, is very remarkable. It has the same round head and general character, but the lowest part, containing the inscription (if it ever had one) was broken off and used in a fireplace! P. A. Säve came too late. His drawing has been copied for me by his brother. There are 3 distinct compartments of *relief-carving*. At the top are some 8 or 10 indistinct figures. Below them, 9 men seem to be entering (by a ladder) a War-galley, on board of which are 5 or 6 men. All the rest of the stone, below the above, is taken up by a large ship with a *checkered sail* and some 10 or 12 figures on the deck, as usual holding ropes and weapons. But there have in fact been 4 stories of ornament, for there are remains of figures *above* the 8 or 10 men. The whole is cut very shallow, and has suffered very much.

Some of these round-headed stones — a class of monuments as yet only found in Gotland — are *very* old. In 1844 was dug up at Sten-kyrka in Gotland, 6 feet under ground, a kist made of slabs whose overlier or cover was in the same way covered with a number of half-obliterated figures in relief. Its surface had everywhere the spores of *Lichen Calcivorus*, an undeniable proof that the block had *long* stood in the open air *before* it was used as building-material for this comparatively later grave-chamber. Another Gotland stone of similar shape, still bearing half a dozen doubtful runes, is in the church at Gauthem. This temple was built in the 13th or 14th century, and even then the stone was only lookt upon as mere old building-lumber, for it has been cut nearly square and used in the wall, between an arch and pillar.

1. ᚱ, ᛁ, ᛁ, ᛏ, ᛁ, = RISTI;
2. ᛁ, ᛏ (perhaps originally ᛏ), ᛁ[1], ᚾ, ᚾ, ᛁ, ᚨ[2], = STINNLÆ (or STANNIO);
3. ᛁ[3], ᚠ, ᛏ[4], ᛁ, = IFTI;
4. ᚷ, ᚢ, ᚦ, ᛁ[5], ᚠ, ᛁ, ᚱ, ᚺ, ᚦ, ᚺ, ᚱ, = GUÐIFIRUÐUR;
5. ᛁ, ᛁ, = SI;
6. ᛁ, ᛁ, = IS;
7. ᛁ, ᚴ, ᚺ, ᛁ, ᚠ, ᛁ[6], ᚱ, ᚢ[7], ᚦ[8], ᛁ, ᛁ, = IKUIFIRUÐIS;
8. ᛉ, ᚱ, ᚠ, ᛁ, ᚾᚴ[9] (or ᚴᚱ); ARFINK (or ARFIKR).

This reading is so much the more probable as Prof. Säve himself, without the help of the Old-Northern staves, thought he could read — as he tells us in his text — at least:

RISTI STAN ..... IFIRUÐUR .....

SI for SA is no very surprising form, as little as the archaic GUÐIFIRUÐUR and IKUIFIRUÐIS for GUÐFRIÐR and I(N)KIFRIÐIS. Scarce is ARFINK (or ARFIKR), the usual word on these Runic monuments being ARFI; but we have it again at Engeby, Upland, (IRFYKR), at Tuna, Södermanland, (IRUUIK), and probably at Djulefors, Södermanland, (? ARFINK):

Should all this be so, we read:

..... RISTI STINNLÆ IFTI GUÐIFIRUÐUR. SI IS IKUIFIRUÐIS ARFINK (or ARFIKR).

.... *RAISED this-STONE AFTER GUTHIFIRUTH. SI (he) IS IKUIFIRUTH'S ARF-TAKER (heir).*

As many words, perhaps several names, have stood on the stone before we come to RISTI, we cannot be sure that GUTHIFIRUTH was the only or chief person to whom the block was raised. And SI may refer to the missing name just before RISTI, and may have nothing to do with the name GUTHIFIRUTH. — This is all that the runes now left tell us about this heathen runic monument, probably the very oldest yet found in Gotland. It is No. 121 in Säve's Gutniska Urkunder. Gotland has *a couple of hundred* runic stones and inscriptions, but they are nearly all comparatively modern, — for its native limestone is not granite, its early Christianity doubtless wilfully destroyed the heathen monuments, and its commercial and agricultural activity would not spare olden remains. — See SÆDING, *Laivide*, *Sanda* and *Habblingbo*.

A late find shows that these round-headed grave-stones can be traced back in England to the 11th or 12th century. The tower and dwarf-spire of Helpston Church, Northamptonshire, were erected more than 500 years ago, when the church was largely rebuilt. Among other materials were used *scores* of the monumental stones that had accumulated round, and perhaps in, the old edifice, together with many architectural fragments. The tower rapidly decaying, it was taken down in 1865, when these ancient remains were exposed to the view of the curious and have since been taken care of. The sepulchral slabs were roughly but boldly carved IN LOW RELIEF. Many were clearly from the 13th century, others from the 12th, and a few apparently from the 11th. The former were chiefly coped, to be placed over graves or stone coffins. Among the latter were two small *circular shafted head-stones* ornamented IN LOW RELIEF *on both sides*. — See Notes and Queries, London, Oct. 7 and Nov. 25, 1865, pp. 285 and 441.

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[1] The crooked side-mark looks like one of those cracks in the loose stone of which Prof. Säve has spoken in his text. As we have plainly ᛉ for A at the end of the line, it is not likely that we should here have ᛏ for A. If both these characters were really here employed for A, they may have exprest two modifications in the sound of that vowel.

[2] We cannot know whether ᚨ is here Æ or O; but as the stone is Old-Northern, and in the older alphabet ᚷ is O, ᚨ is doubtless here Æ as usual.

[3] There is a faint dotted mark across the ᛁ in Säve's drawing. If the stone really had ᛏ, it could scarcely be other than A; but this is very unlikely, and I take the letter to have been I.

[4] By the help of cracks on the stone, the evident ᛏᛁ have become much disfigured.

[5] There is again a dotted mark, on the left of the stave, certainly an impossible barbarism. It was only a crack. The ᛁ is plain.

[6] The lower part of the ᛁ is worn away.

[7] This U has evidently had the same shape as the first U in this word.

[8] I take it to be self-evident that this stave was really (barring cracks) only ᚦ.

[9] The 2 last letters are not clear. But the meaning is the same however we restore them.

Observe also the varying forms of the ᚢ, and that we have here the Scandinavian ᚴ (K) not the Old-Northern ᚲ (C).

RÖK, EAST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800-900.

The oldest printed Drawing of this stone (the first side only) known to me, is the small woodcut in Curio No. 46, anno 1660; the next, of the same side, is the somewhat larger wood-engraving in Bautil, No. 913. Of course neither of these is correct, but they are better than might have been expected. This is the side imperfectly redd, but not translated, by Liljegren, No. 2028.

So things remained till June 1843, when the Rev. C. Hedmark, the Priest of Rök Parish, during the removal of the Church Corn-magazine, got a sight of the other side of the stone as it stood in the wall. He took the opportunity to make a largish drawing of both sides, for it now came out that both bore runes. This drawing was never publisht, but transcripts circulated among Rumologists. Unfortunately he was foolish enough to build the stone up again in the wall of the church-porch. He even unwittingly turned the newly found side inwards, so that no one could control his copy of that fresh inscription. Facts have since shown that he was *tolerably* correct as far as he went, tho he drew all the runes stiff and straight, quite contrary to their real form.

In August 1861 Intendant P. A. Säve had an opportunity of visiting this monument, and made a new and exact drawing of the side visible, the one already printed, which of course gave some invaluable corrections. A transcript of this was in the most friendly way sent to me by his brother, Professor Carl Säve.

But in the mean time, having recognized Old-Northern runes in the manuscript copy of the other side, and being now more and more convinced of the absolute necessity of procuring a fresh and trustworthy drawing of the whole stone, I sent a petition to the Royal Swedish Academy of History and Antiquities, Stockholm, begging the powerful assistance of that learned body. I also drew attention to the opportunity which would thus be afforded of removing the block to a more suitable place, where it could be seen on every side. Riks-Antiquary B. E. Hildebrand, the Secretary, gave the weight of his influence to my prayer, and the Academy entrusted Intendant P. A. Säve with the task. It was an arduous one. That gentleman had already workt very hard, required rest, and the season was advanced. It was now the end of September 1862. But he sacrificed every thing to science, set out for Rök, and spent many days with his gang of men in getting the stone out of the wall, in removing it to an open space not far off, in raising it there, and in taking measurements and copies. The difficulties were very great, as the block is so enormous, as fresh runes were now discovered on the top and edges, and as infinite care had to be taken lest a single one of these precious letters should be endangered or defaced. But at last all was triumphantly effected, and the result is now before

my reader's eye [1]. All thanks to the Swedish Academy for its generous help — it insisted on doing all this at its own expense — and to Mr. Säve for his untiring zeal and his care and talent as a draughtsman!

As it now towers at the western end of Rök Churchyard, in the Härad of Lysing, this monument is one of the most remarkable in the world. It is of granite, greatest height about 13 feet, greatest breadth about 4 feet 8 inches, thickness 18 inches above, 16 inches below, and 8 to 9 inches in the middle. It is a book of stone, containing about 760 Runic letters. Notwithstanding its great age, it has suffered but little injury, perhaps from its being so early removed from its heathen grave-mound to the shelter of a Christian building. — I may as well add here, that Prof. C. Säve has made an exact copy of this block on linen; the full size of the stone, which he will be happy to show to any antiquary visiting Upsala.

Three lines on this remarkable piece are in Old-Northern runes. But they are apparently, as well as the Tree-runes, only initials or contractions or some kind of secret writing, as they make no sense. But all the rest is in the usual Scandinavian staves. I therefore requested from Prof. C. Säve the favor of a paper on this monument, together with his reading of the carving. He kindly promist this, and I have long been patiently expecting it. But my learned friend has since then been several times dangerously ill, and has not yet had leisure to edit this stone for me. However unwillingly, I must therefore myself undertake it. The language is so old, the meaning so doubtful, the absence of points so great a stumbling-block, that I have more than once been tempted to publish it without any translation. However, I rely on the generous indulgence of my readers, and shall be thankful for any correction. Should Prof. Säve's version arrive in time, I will add it to my own.

Several of the runes are uncommon, particularly the M. The rare B is plain. The E is remarkable, perhaps the earliest instance of its occurrence on any stone. The ᛋ for S is familiar to us. The ᚱ is always R, but not always R-final. Apparently H does not once occur among the Scandinavian runes.

I take it then that we have here two separate inscriptions, that is, that the rising on the front and its northern edge has no direct connection with that on the back, tho they are apparently from about the same time and may well belong to the same ruling family or clan. I also think that we are to begin with the long lines, starting with the first on the left and taking them all in order, next passing to the two horizontal lines below, and ending with the staves on the north-edge. Supposing this to be admitted, — and again reminding the reader that the runes can be separated in many ways but that we *must* divide them some how, let the task be ever so difficult, while a *slight* difference in the grouping may *greatly* modify the sense —, I propose the following as the reading of

THE RUNES ON THE FRONT.

AFT UAMUÞ STONTA RUNAR ÞAR.

NUARIN FAÞI, FAÞIR, AFT FAIKION SUNU, SAKUM UK MINI ÞAT E UARI AR UALRAUÞAR.

UARINT UA; ÞAR SUAÞ, TUALF SINUM, UARIN UM-NART. UALRAUÞR BAÞ_ÞAR SOMO_ON OUMIS U-MONUM. ÞAT SAKUM ONAR TEU_UAR.

ÞUR NIU_UALTUM ON_NURÞI-FIARU, MIR E.

RAIÞ-KUTUM AUK TUM,_MIR. ON UBS AKAR._RAIÞI, AURIKR, EIN, ÞURMUÞA STILIR, FLUTNA STRONTU E.

RAIÞ MARAR SITIR NU KAR URO; KUTA SIN-UIS_SKIAKI-IUÞ FATLAÞR, SKATI MAR-RÆKA!

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[1] As a contribution to the antiquities of their country and to the heavy expenses of this work, my costly wooden blocks were generously paid for by the following Swedish gentlemen in Stockholm and Upsala:

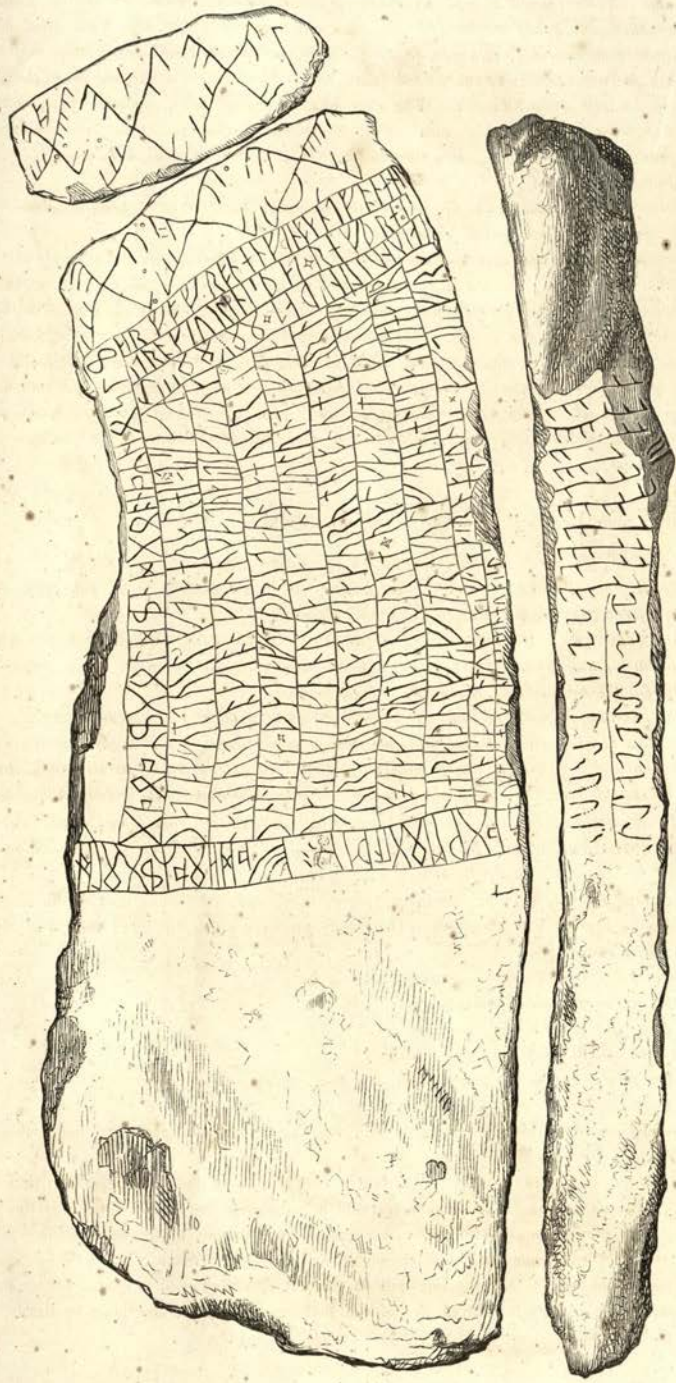
Baron Rud. Cederström, Ph. Dr., first Secretary in the Foreign Office, Stockholm, Chamberlain;
Prof. Olof Glas, Med. Dr., R. N. O.;
Baron Joh. Nordenfalk, Ph. Dr.;
Archbishop Henr. Reuterdahl, Th. Dr;
Prof. Carl Säve, Ph. Dr.;
H. P. Tamm, Student.

To these favorers of Science I offer my hearty thanks, in my own name and in that of my readers.

From Drawings by Intendant P. A. SÄVE, and a Paper Cast forwarded by the Royal Swedish Academy

FRONT. RIGHT EDGE.

of History and Antiquities, Stockholm, thro its Secretary the Riks-Antiquary BROR E. HILDEBRAND.



BACK. BACK EDGE.

AFTER UAMUTH STAND RUNES THESE

NUARIN FAWED (carved them), his-FATHER AFTER his-FEY (fated, by destiny death-doomed) SON, for-the-SAKES EKE (and) MINNE (for the sake and memory) THAT AYE WARE (that alway may last, continue may ever) the-AR (ore, honor, fame) of-the-WALE-REIVER (spoil-taker, conqueror).

UARIN he-WOOG (slew); THERE SWAND (sank, fell), with-TWELVE SINE (his) (= in the midst of his twelve champions) UARIN MOST-BRAVELY. The WALE-REIVER (victor) BODE (gained) THERE SOME (glory) ON OUMI'S U-MEN (among the chief men, great captains, of Oumi). THAT for-the-SAKES (for the sake of that, on that account, even therefore) ON'S TIW (the Sea-goddess' champion, a gallant sea-king) he-WAS.

He-FOOR (marcht thro with fire and sword, ravaged) NINE WALDS (fylke-kingdoms, earldoms, folklands) ON the-NORTH-COAST, MERE (illustrious) AYE.

To-the-REID-GOTHS (the men of East and West Gotland) he-EKED (increast, enlarged) DOOM (power, dominion), MERE (illustrious) ON UB'S ACRE (on the field of the Terrible-one, on the plain of the Sea-god, the wide-spreading Ocean). RED (swept, shook), ILE-RICH (iland-mighty, lord of the iles), ONE (alone, sole-governing), that-THORMOODY (most daring) STILLER (subduer, ruler, sovran) the-FLOATERS' STRAND (the shore of the shipmen, the dry land of sailors, the home-land of wikings, = the billowy deep) AYE (alway).

In-his-CAR of-the-MERE (his sea-galley) SITTETH-he NOW at-REST from-UNROO (disquiet, = free from all his labors); the-GOTHS' SIN-WISE (wonder-wise, most wise and wary) SKAW-BEAR (ness-bear, promontory-bear, = mighty galley-chief) is-FETTERED, that-PRINCE of-MERE-RECKS (sea-swayers, ship-heroes, ocean-rulers)!

Rather more freely and modernly turned, this would be:

AFTER UAMUTH STAND RUNES THESE

NUARIN, HIS FATHER, 'CARVED THEM AFTER HIS FATE-DOOMED SON, FOR THE SAKE AND MEMORY THAT EVER MAY LAST THAT CONQUEROR'S GLORY.

UARIN SLEW HE. WITH HIS TWELVE CHAMPIONS UARIN SANK THERE, FIGHTING RIGHT GALLANTLY. HONOR GAINED THERE THE VICTOR AGAINST THE CAPTAINS OF OUMI. BUT THEREFORE WAS HE ON'S TIW (= the Sea-goddess's champion, a hero fearless).

NINE KINGDOMS RAVAGED HE UP ALONG THE NORTH-COAST.' ILLUSTRIOUS EVER.

ON UB'S ACRE (= the Seakings' field, the foam-flowered Ocean) WIDENED, HE, FAMOUS, THE RULE OF THE REID-GOTHS. ILE-RICH, SOLE-SWAYING, THAT GREAT-HEARTED SOVRAN AYE SHOOK AND SWEPT THE SEAMEN'S STRAND (= the wikings' land-realm, their billowy home, the wide-spreading water-fields).

NOW IN HIS SEA-CHARIOT (his proud war-ship) SITTETH HE FREE FROM CARE; FETTERED IS NOW OF THE GOTHS THE WARY-WISE SKAW-BEAR (Sea-king), THAT PRINCE OF SHIP-HEROES!

The rune for A is here ᚹ, but in one place, in the word DURMUDA, it is ᛋ, for there was no room to carve the arm on the other side. The letters are here often cut once, but taken twice, as is so usual on these monuments.

There are several dialectic peculiarities:

B for F: — ualraubar, ualraubr, iub.

E for A and I: — E, Ein, tEu.

I (= Y) added: — faikion, iub, skiaki.

O for A (and U): — faikion, monum, on, onar, somo, stonta.

U for F (or W): — tEu.

As distinct archaisms we have ON, with the N, and STRONTU and SUNU both with the final vowel still left.

Of course should my reading be seriously faulty some of the above characteristics may disappear, for the words can be divided and understood in a hundred ways. So difficult is the whole and so doubtful is my combination, that I will add a line or two or some of the expressions.

NUARIN is a mansname not found elsewhere, and therefore strange. But I cannot see how else it is to be redd. We might take the line-wall on the left as I, and read IN UARIN; but we should then have the same name (UARIN) for the father of the deceast and for the king slain by UAMUD, which is

so unlikely as to be almost impossible. Or we might separate the word as NUAR IN (= *Nuar but, but Nuar*) which is, I believe, unexampled on runic pieces, and which would also give us a name as strange as the one we wish to avoid. I therefore take NUARIN as it stands.

SAKUM, dat. pl. fem., here with ellipsis of FURIR; plural emphatic; Norse-Icel. FYRIR SÖKUM, (FOR THE SAKES, for the sake, for, on account of, THAT).

MINI, dat. s. neut., MINNE, memory, remembrance. With FURIR understood.

ÞAT, ac. s. n., THAT, governed by (FURIR) SAKUM.

UALRAUBAR, gen. s. m., of the WALE-REIVER, the spoiler of the WALE, the fallen on the battle-field, = the Conqueror, battle-hero. This word does not, I believe, occur elsewhere, but there are many compounds of a like kind. — UALRAUÞR, lower down, is the same word in the nominative.

UARINT, Proper Name, ac. s. m., and UARIN, the same mansname, nom. s. This name is not uncommon in the old North, as well as in Old-German. I take the NT to be = N, a sharp N, thus there being a kind of internal declension, NT in the accusative and N in the nominative. So on the still remaining Gåsinge stone we have the name SUIN in the accusative, but SUIT (= SUINT, the N elided = SUIT) in the nominative, the same process but here reverst.

SUAÞ. I take to be the 3rd pers. sing. past of [SUINÞAN]. This verb has not before been found on any old Scandian monument. It is the O. Engl. SWINÞAN, SWAND, SWUNÞEN, the Ohg. SUÚINTAN, SUANT, SUUNTANER.

UM-NART also occurs here (adverb) for the first time. I regard it as compounded of the intensitive prefix UM (very, most) in the usual way, and of NART, bravely, whose adjective we have in the forms HNAR, KNAR and NAR.

BAÞ, 3 s. p., BÖÐE, gained, acquired.

SOMO, ac. s. m., SOME, honor, glory. The N. I. nomin. is SOMI, ac. SOMA. In the long runic inscription on the Hällestad stone, Skåne, in the concluding verses, the word SAM is used for *honor-stone*, grave-mark, funeral block:

SATU TRIKAR
IFTIR SIN BRUÞR
SAM O BIARIK,
SAUÞAN RUNUM.

SET DRENGS (gallant men)
AFTER SIN (their) BROTHER
this-SOME (honor-stone) ON the-BERG (hill),
all-SOWN (carved, covered) with-RUNES.

OUMIS, gen. s. (? m.), I take to be a Place-name. Perhaps it is UMI, the district now called UME-Å, in Norrland, Sweden.

U-MONUM, d. pl. m., U emphatical prefix, for which we might also write UM-MONUM, doubling the M. Thus U or UM great, MONUM men. I have not seen this word before. It answers to the O. E. UN-MAN, a hero. — Should the preceding s be taken twice, we shall have SU-MONUM, sea-men, wikings.

ONAR, g. s. f., ON'S, the Sea-goddess'. UNN (N. I. UNNR) was the daughter of Ægir (Neptune). The word is used in a multitude of kennings (poetical synonyms) connected with Ocean and War. The particular ONAR ÞEU I have not met with before. Very few such old kennings occur on runic stones, which are usually comparatively modern and Christian. But we have, for instance, ÞRUTAR FIAKN, Nälberga, Södermanland, *ÞRUÐ'S ÞANE, the War-goddess' chieftain, = the noble warrior*; and ÞRUTAR NISBIURN, Lösfund, Södermanland, *ÞRUÐ'S NISBIURN, the War-goddess' Nisbiurn, = the gallant Nisbiurn.* In like manner, UTI ÆLI TUNÞ, Transjö, Värend, *IN ALA'S ÐIN, in the Sea-king's clatter, = in the shock of the battle-ships.* So FULKS KRIMR, Hamra, Södermanland, is *the-GRIM (Woden, Chief, Prince) of-the-FOLK, = the Folk-hero.*

ÞEU, n. s. m., ÞIW, god, demigod, hero. — ONAR ÞEU is therefore ON'S ÞIW, the Sea-goddess' champion, a daring wiking, a bold warrior. The N. I. has n. s. ÞIFL.

NURÐI-FIARU. If the first word be undeclined, we should expect NURÐR or NURÐ; if declined, NURÐRI. — FIARU might also signify *far-off, afar.* — The meaning, however, is apparently clear, expeditions northwards, probably to the Gulf of Bothnia and the coasts of Finland.

RAIÞ-KUTUM, d. pl. m. RAIÞ implies connected shires, mainland. The Rök stone is in the ancient folkland EAST-GOTLAND. This and the adjoining WEST-GOTLAND seem, therefore, the country intended.

UBS, g. s. m. Must be a name. I take it to be the mythic name of a war-god or battle-chief, of which we have scores in the oldest Scandian writings. But this one is found nowhere else. It seems to be left in the N. I. UBBI, wild, UBBILEGR, terrible, horrid, fearful. UBS AKAR would then be a kenning in the common way for *the Sea-chief's field, the briny deep.*

RAIÞI, 3 s. p. Governs an accusative. The N. I. form is REIÐA, REIDDA, REIDT.

ÞURMUÞA, n. s. m. def. From the emphatic ÞUR, daring, and MUÞ, mind, soul. I have not observed this compound elsewhere.

STRONTU, ac. s. ? m. STRAND, shore, land. The N. I. STRÖND is fem. Many feminines in Scandinavia were once masculines. This word was perhaps once STRAND, gen. STRANDES, masc., as in Old-Engl. and Old-Germ. In like manner RAND, usually fem., is masculine in Gotlandish (C. Säve). If masc., STRONTU has retained its antique final vowel in the accusative: if fem. it has kept the old U.

RAIÞ, d. s. ? (? f.). The N. I. REIÐ, f., a car, chariot, has the dative sing. REIÐ, REIÐO and REIÐU. — RAIÞ MARAR, in his Sea-car, his Wiking-ship. It is likely enough that this war-chief was really buried in his own war-vessel, over which the barrow was raised. Of this several instances have been found.

KAR, n. s. m. This Scandinavian adjective for *quiet, at rest, still, remaining*, usually has the digamma (KVAR, KWAR), but this U, W, V, is in some dialects elided, as here. The common N. I. adj. is KYRR or KYR. The N. I. had also a noun for *repose, quiet*, and this also has slurred the V. Thus in "Brudstykke af en gammel norsk Kongesaga", in "Samlinger til det norske Folks Sprog og Historie", 4to, Vol. 2, p. 312, Christiania 1833, we have: "Maugnus konungr sitr nu i Danmoreo meþ CURÞ oc meþ fullu friþi", and again: "meþ CURÞ oc rau". This is the usual N. I. KYRÐ, f.

SKIAKI-IUB, n. s. m. SKAW-BEAR, ness-king, mighty battle-chief. In N. I. SKAGI, skaw, cape, and UFR a bear. But this last obscure word also signifies a kind of bird. The meaning would be the same. I have not seen this compound elsewhere.

It will be observed in how many interesting points this ancient dialect differs from the later, and equally provincial, Norse-Icelandic.

We now come to the still more difficult

RUNES ON THE BACK.

1. All the upright lines in Scandinavics, beginning below with the first line on the left: and excluding the outside left line, in Old-Northern staves. These 9 lines in Scandian runes are taken the one after the other:

ÞAT SAKUM. TUALFTAE UAR EISTR. SIK-RUNAR_RITU ITU OK ION, KUNUKAR TUAIR TIKIR, SUAÞ(a)N LIKIA.
ÞAT SAKUM. ÞRITAUNTAE UAR IR. TUAIR TIKIR KUNUKAR SATI_INT SIULUNTI FIAKURA UINTUR.
AT FIAKURUM NABNUM BURNR;
FIAKURUM BRUÞRUM UALKAR;
FIMR ÞULFS,_SUNIR ERAI-ÞULFAR;
FIMR_RUKULFS,_SUNIR EOISLAR;
FIME ARUÞS, SUNIR SKUNMUNTAR;
FIMA IRNARS,_SUNIR NUKEKSE.

The rest of this last line is so damaged that it can scarcely be made out. The remaining staves seem to be:

SAINISSSNAINEUARSLSIL.

Some of the above letters would doubtless be different, if the stone were not broken. Then follow, in large runes:

FTIRFRA.

All these doubtful staves I will not attempt to read.

The last rune in the first line is a tie, ᛅ (R) and ᚳ (U). In line 2-3 the word SUADN is apparently written short, for SUADAN. At the beginning of line 5 only the arm of the ᚴ is carved, the stave being taken from the side-line. The 14th rune in the line above gives this letter reverst, as ᚴ. In the last line the word FTIR is a contraction; if for FLAUSTR it may refer to the ship in which they were buried (if they lay in the grave), or to the ship-setting of stones raised around the grave-mound (if they lay in another land and were here only commemorated).

Here we have OK (eke, and), on the other side UK. — INT is an example of the sharp N (NT = N), as in Danish. — In NABNUM we have B, otherwise F. — RITU is the 3 pl. past; yet we have SATI, not SATU. — BURNR, with the nom. R-mark, is very ancient; see the BARANR of the Barnspike Rock. — Such words as FIMR and SUNIR have the nom. R-mark; tho we have 4 names with the older nominative mark as S. And yet we again have UAR, not UAS. — So FIMA and FIME, both the adjective (FIMR) in the nom. sing. masc. definite form, appear to be used promiscuously. Other proofs of the local dialect being in a flux might be pointed out.

I propose to translate:

Of-THAT for-the-SAKES (for this reason, truly, = IN MEMORIAM). — (After 11 heroes, but) the-TWELFTH WAS EISTR. SIG-RUNES (victory-runes) WROTE ITU EKE (and) ION, KINGS TWO ILLUSTRIOUS, SO-AS (wherever) those-fallen-men-LIE.

Of-THAT for-the-SAKES (= IN MEMORY). — After 12 heroes, but) the-THIRTEENTH WAS IR. It-was-when-those-TWO ILLUSTRIOUS KINGS SAT IN SIULUNT FOUR WINTERS.

AT (to) FOUR NAMESAKES (four warriors all called) BURN:

FOUR BROTHERS of UALK:

the-SKILFUL (= good soldier) THULF, SON of-ERAI-THULF;

the-SKILFUL (= good soldier) RUKULF, SON of-EOISL;

the-SKILFUL (= good soldier) ARUTH, SON of-SKUNMUNT;

the-SKILFUL (= good soldier) IRNAR, SON of-NUKEKSA.

Only 12 names are here given. That of the 13th is doubtless on the stone, among some of the many crypt-runes.

Thus this is a commemorative funeral-roll of 13 officers, fallen during the 4-years' campaign of kings ITU and ION in SIULUNT, probably SEALAND in Denmark.

Should SUADN (= ? SUADAN) be admitted, it is not "from the German", and — the Scandinavian alphabet having no D — Þ is here used for D (= SUADAN).

The use of the preposition AT, in the sense of *in memory of*, followed by a *dative*, is excessively rare and antique in Scandinavia, where it otherwise governs an *accusative*. It is curious to see the familiar change of case in this list. First we have the dative, and then suddenly all the rest are nominatives, as tho by a kind of elliptical — *and so also comes, and then was.*

The unaccented vowel-sounds -R, -A, -E in FIMR, FIMA, FIME, are evidently nearly or quite identical and promiscuous.

TIKIR, n. pl. m., Illustrious. We have the N. L. TIGGI, TYGGI, a prince, and several derivatives; but I have not seen this adjective before.

SIULUNTI, d. s. (? m.). Probably the Danish iland now called SEALAND.

FIAKUREM, d. pl. m., FIAKURA, ac. m. FOUR. — Such olden forms of this numeral have never before been found in Scandinavia.

2. The three lines of runes, chiefly Old-Northern, which frame-in the last risting.

a. The horizontal row below; they must be lookt at from the upper part of the stone, otherwise they appear to stand on their head:

S, Þ, G, W, M, O, G, a bind-rune (either LÆ or UÆ or ITN or ITÆ), a bind-rune (either DAI or ÞT), N, F (or a double-F), Þ, D, H, O, Þ, R (or Y or OE), NG, G, O, L, D.

b. The upright line on the extreme left:

G, Þ, O, Þ, R (or Y or OE), NG, G, O, L, D, NG, N, D, G, O, Æ, N, Þ, R (or Y or OE), H, O, S, L, NG.

Of these two lines I can make nothing. Some letters (O, Þ, Y, NG, G, O, L, D) follow in the same order in both rows. I take both lines to be either contractions or crypt-runes, some kind of cipher.

c. The top flat line, like *a* redd from the top of the stone; or, if we prefer that expression, carved upside down:

I, A, I, U, N, U, I, L, I, N, I, S, Þ, A, T, O, O, K, O, O, S, S, S, yo.

Are these also initial or cryptic letters? Or, if we are to make a guess, may we read

IA, IUN UILIN: IS ÞAT O OK O; OSS SYO.

YEA, IUN is-WALEN (betrayed, slain); IS THAT OH EKE (and) OH! a-CRY (lament, tumult) is-THAT!

3. The line A, above the *c* last mentioned. The first stave, I, if there, is taken from the side-line:

I, R, T, R, O, K, I, U, I, L, I, N, I, S, Þ, A, T (or I), R, E, F, Þ, R, E, I, S.

Here we again are tempted to find the somewhat parallel letter-groups:

IRTROKI UILIN; IS ÞAT REF-ÞREIS.

The line B, above A:

A, I, R, F, B, F, R, B, N, E, N, F, I, N, B, A, N, T, F, O, N, E, N, U.

Both these lines are in Scandinavian runes. I do not attempt to read them.

4. The Tree- or Twig- or Branch- or Palm-runes. Of these there are three groups:

a. The line above No. 3;

b. The group on the top of the stone;

c. The staves on the south-edge.

This particular kind of Crypt-runes has obtained its name from the resemblance of the letters to Trees, Twigs, &c. The simpler sort are not hard to decipher. They depend on this principle: — the Scandinavian stave-row usually consists of 16 letters, which may be variously divided, into 2 or 3 or 4 or more groups, mostly into 3, thus:

1) F, U, Þ, O, R, K. — 2) H, N, I, A, S. — 3) T, B, L, M, O.

The last letter may also be R-final.

Now suppose, using Tree-runes, that we wish to write the word IK (I). We perceive above that I is the 3rd letter of the 2nd group, and therefore mark ᚴ, where the two arms on the left announce the 2nd class, the three on the right the order of the letter in the class. So K is the 6th letter of the 1st class; we therefore write ᚼ. Thus we get IK.

But this method often appeared too easy, and others were adopted — to most of which we have not yet found the key. I have hit upon one, of course a very simple affair when known. It merely consists in reversing the order of the groups. We begin with the last, now become No. 1, go on with the middle as No. 2, and end with the first, now No. 3. Writing IK according to this method, I is still the 3rd letter of the 2nd group, and therefore ᚴ; but K is now the 6th stave of the 3rd group, and therefore ᚿ.

As far as I can see, *none* of the common keys can unlock the Twig-runes on the Rök stone. In whatever order we take the alphabet-groups, 123, or 231, or 312, or 321, or 213, &c., we still get letters apparently making no sense. They are therefore initials or contractions, or else they must be redd after some system as yet undiscovered.

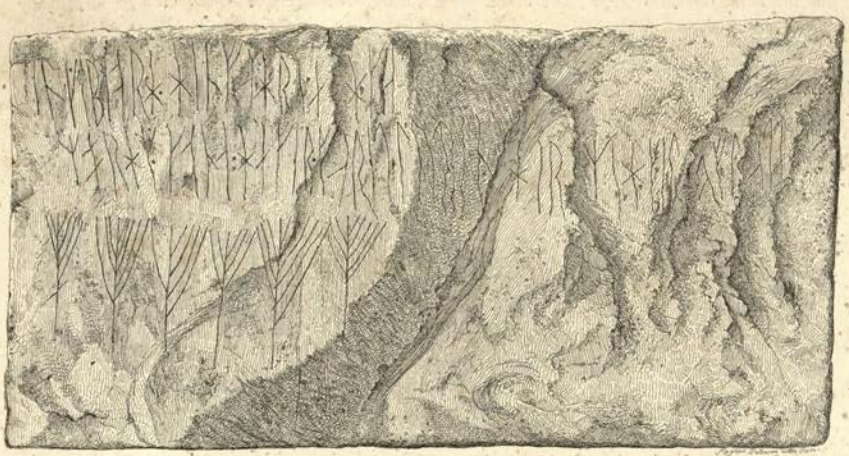
It will be observed that, in addition to the Twig-runes, *a* closes with Þ added on to the last long stroke and with R (ᛦ) carved separately below; and that *b* has, separately cut above the Palm-runes, the letters BI, A, and L.

I hope that some ingenious rune-smith will soon favor us with an interpretation of all these mysteries.

Meantime, parallels are very instructive. Of these Tree-runes I am able to give 2 remarkable — and, fortunately, also readable — examples among the Runic scribbles on the walls of the antique underground stone-house in Scotland which in long after-centuries was made use of as a stronghold and retreat by successive generations of Scandinavian wikings. I refer, of course, to the now famous Maeshowe in the Orkneys, and copy from the *set of casts* presented by James Farrer, Esq., to the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. The original stones have suffered from the air, since these fine casts were taken. The first of these blocks is Mr. Farrer's

MAESHOWE N° 8.

Here engraved on zinc (Chemityped), under my inspection, 1-5th of the full size, by Mr. J. MAGNUS PETERSEN.



The two lines of common runes here can be well made out. They are:

ᛁᚾᚴᛁᛒᛁᛅᚱᚴ · ᚼᛁᚾ · ᚠᚨᚼᚱᛅ · ᛏᚼᛁᛏ

ᛘᚨᚱᚴᚬ · ᚴᚬᚾᚨ : ᚼᚨᚠᚱ · ᚠᛅᚱᛁᛏ · ᛚᚢᛏᛁᚾ · ᚼᛁᚱ · ᛘᛁᚼᚴᛁᛚ · ᚬᚠᛚᛅᛏᛁ

The UT in LUUTIN is a bind. The third short line, of Twig-runes, reads, in the *reverst* order (group 3 as No. 1, group 2 as No. 2, and group 1 as No. 3):

4th stave of 2nd class = A.

Below is cut the Æ-mark (ᚼ), thus = Æ:

5th stave of 3rd class = R;

4th stave of 1st class = L; the vulgar order of the letters is here T, B, L, M, O, and the 4th letter would then be M, but in some Scandian futhorks the order is T, B, M, L, O. *This is the case here*, as is seen in the Scandian alphabet scratcht on the Maeshowe stone No. 5, for which see the Appendix. Consequently the letter is L, and this is the proper letter required in this name.

3rd stave of 2nd class = I;

6th „ „ 3rd „ = K;

5th „ „ 3rd „ = R.

Thus we get the mansname ÆRLIKR, the same as ÆRLIKR, the later vulgar ERLINGR, the R being the nominative-mark.

The whole inscription then will be:

INGIBIORH HIN FAHRA ÆHKIA.

MORHG KONA HÆFER FARET LUUTIN HIR, MIHKIL OFLATI.

ÆRLIKR.

I translate:

INGIBIORH THE FAIR WIDOW (or LADY).

MANY-a QUEAN (= Lady, woman) HATH FARED (gone, stept, trodden) LOUTEN (bent, bending) HERE, tho-a-MICKLE (much, great) FLAUNTER (gay proud-one). (= Many is the richly-clad haughty Beauty who has gone stooping here).

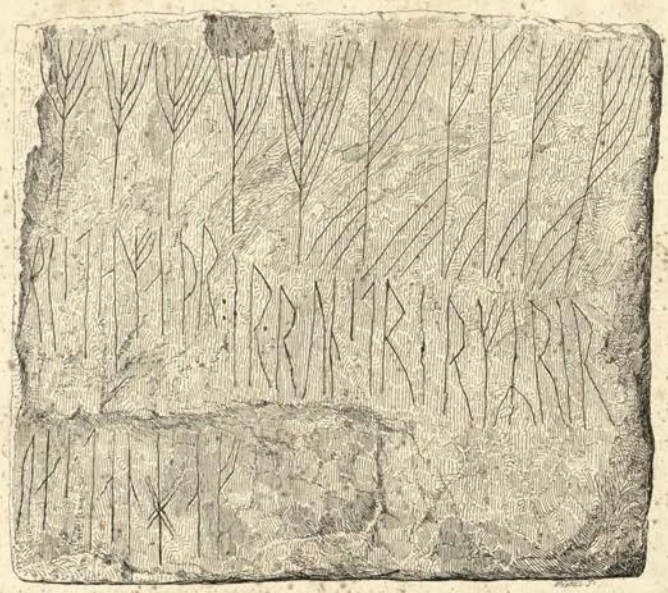
ÆRLIK.

Who the fair Lady (or Widow) Ingeborg was, we cannot tell. She may have taken refuge in this stone-castle for a time. As the long passage to the central chamber is at its entrance only 2 feet 4 inches high, afterwards increasing to 4 feet 4 in height and then to 4 feet 8, every visitor — even a Lady — must have *louted low*. Hence I take the word LUUTIN in this its common sense. But the word, in another sense, also means shaggy, hairy, woollen, skinclad, &c. Many rich or flashy women were doubtless from time to time in the Pirates' Castle, as Prisoners, Refugees, or Mistresses.

The second of these curious slabs, exactly copied from the cast, is Mr. Farrer's

MAESHOWE N° 18.

Here engraved in the same way by Mr. PETERSEN, 1-4th of the full size.



In this carving the Tree-runes commence the inscription. There are two fanciful variations of the letters. The first group has the class-arms upward, the second has the class-arms downward and at the bottom of the staff. We should at once guess that this will announce two different words; and this is the case. Taking the runes in the same *reverse* order we have:

3rd stave of 3rd class = Þ;
" " " 2nd " = I;
5th " " " " = S;
4th " " " " = A;
5th " " 3rd " = R; thus = ÞISAR;
" " " " = R;
2nd " " " " = U;
" " " 2nd " = N;
4th " " " " = A;
5th " " 3rd " = R; thus = RUNAR.

The common runes below offer no difficulty. Only we must remark the ornamental M in the first line, and the similar decorated H in the lower line. The whole is in stave-rime:

ÞISAR RUNAR·
RIST SA MAÞR
ER RUNSTR ER
FYRIR UÆSTAN-HAF.

ÞESE RUNES
RISTED SA (that) MAN
AS (who) RUNEST (most-rune-skill'd) IS
FORE (o'er) the-WESTERN HAFF (sea).

(= That man carved these runes who is the cleverest rune-smith in these western lands.)

Now both these inscriptions have the same general character in language and in runes. Modern runes and the modern dialect occur in both, and they are apparently the work of one man, say in the 11th or 12th century. If so, the rune-carver's name was given by himself on No. 8. It was Master ÆRLING, who evidently had no mean opinion of his runic accomplishments, and who was not afraid of blowing his own trumpet, — if it were only to banter his laughing comrades who were standing in jolly groups around him.

But these particular crypt-runes can be modified in many other ways. Instead of a central staff we may have a square, or a Fish (FISH-RUNES), or a Face (FACE-RUNES), or a Helm (HELM-RUNES), and so on, the principle being always the same. More common is the choice of a letter (for instance I = IS) for the class, and then repeating it on one side for the number. Thus we may have ᚴ = LAGO-RUNES, or ᚼ = HAHAL-RUNES, and so on, thus denominated from the runic name of the letter.

The earliest written mention of these Class- or Twig-Runes known to me, is in the Alcuin Manuscript in St. Gall, of the 9th century, No. 40 in my collection of Runic Alphabets. Although printed elsewhere I here repeat the words from Hattemer (Denkmahle des Mittelalters, Vol. 1. St. Gallen 1844, 8vo. p. 418), as his text is evidently more correct than that supplied by Mone and printed by W. Grimm (Ueber deutsche Runen, p. 110. 111) and others. This runic note occurs at page 52 of the skinbook:

"iis-runa dicitur quæ I littera per totum scribuntur. Ita ut quotus uersus sit, primum breuioribus I, quæ hæc littera sit in uersu, longioribus I. scribatur. Ita ut nomen corui scribatur his litteris ita.

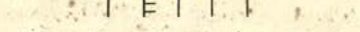
I . IIIIII . III . IIIIIII . I . IIIII . I . II . II . III .

"lagoruna dicuntur quæ ita scribuntur per L litteram . ut nomen corui.

ᚴ.ᚴᚴᚴᚴᚴᚴ.ᚴᚴᚴ.ᚴᚴᚴᚴᚴᚴᚴᚴ.ᚴ.ᚴᚴᚴᚴᚴ.ᚴ.ᚴᚴ.ᚴᚴ.ᚴᚴᚴ

"hahalruna dicuntur ista quæ in sinistra parte quotus uersus ostenditur et in dextera quota littera ipsius uersus sit.

"Soofruna dicuntur quæ supra in punctis quotus sit uersus subtiliter ostendunt



sed aliquando mixtim illas faciunt ut supra sint puncti qui litteram signant et subtus ordo uersus.

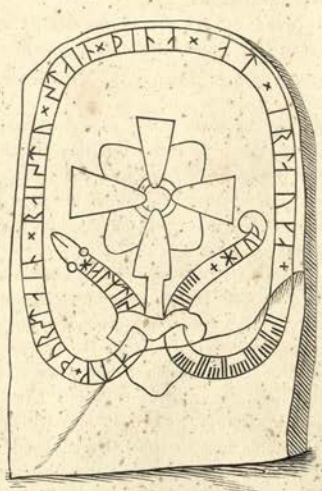
"Clofruna dicitur quæ pulsu efficitur distinctis personis et litteris ita ut primum incipiatur a personis postea a litteris."

Thus the 6th stave of the 1st Class or Row is C, the 8th of the 3rd is O, the 5th of the 1st is R, the 2nd of the 1st is U and the 3rd of the 2nd is I, the whole making CORUI, the word required.

To make all this clearer, I will also give a monumental specimen of this latter variety of these fanciful runes. This is the stone at

ROTBRUNNA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Copied from GÖRANSSON'S *Bautil, No. 646, as amended by the more correct transcripts in Buré's Copper-plate, and in Buré's Ms. Svenum Runæ No. 169.*



This stone is No. 774 in Liljegren, who could neither read the secret nor the common runes. As here given there is apparently no error of any kind. The body of the inscription is in the usual staves; then we have the name of the carver in Ice-runes, and then the word HIUK in common letters. The Ice-runes are redd in the same way as the Bough-runes on the Maeshowe stones, namely backward. The 3rd group is class 1, the 2nd is class 2, and the 1st is class 3. Thus

2nd stave of 2nd group = ᛦ;
3rd ,, ,, ,, ,, = I;
5th ,, ,, 3rd ,, = R;
3rd ,, ,, 2nd ,, = I;
6th ,, ,, 3rd ,, = K;
5th ,, ,, ,, ,, = R; = NIRIKR.

Thus the whole risting will be:

HIALMTIS AUK ÞURSTAIN RAISTU STAIN ÞINA AT IRLAUKA. NIRIKR HIUK.

HIALMTIS EKE (and) THURSTAIN RAISED STONE THIS AT (to) IRLAUK. NIRIK HEWED (= carved the runes).

Should the name IRLAUKA be a masculine from a nominative IRLAUKR, it will then be an instance of the antique vowel-ending in the accus. sing.

I need not add, that the Rök stone is by far the oldest monument on which these curious Tree-runes have hitherto been found.

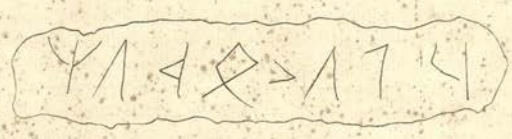
VÅNGA, SWEDEN.

From LILJEGREN'S *"Fullständig Bautil", Manuscript in the Archives of the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres, History and Antiquities, Stockholm, Vol. 5. Kindly communicated by Prof.* CARL SÄVE.

Of these two stones we know nothing, nor can we depend on the correctness of the transcripts. But they are too striking and valuable to be altogether omitted here, the above being the only Runic collection in which they have been preserved. I therefore give them as I find them. They were copied by a Hr. E. Junggren in 1791, and his text and drawings are as follows:

"Nedanstående Figurer befinnas på en gråsten å norra sidan i nedersta afdelningen af Wånga kyrko-torn, som til kännares granskning öfverlemnas, neml.:

The figures below are on a greystone in the north-side of the lowest compartment of Wånga church-tower, and are here submitted to the examination of the curious:



"aftagne d. 28 Maji 1791 af E. Junggren men oricktigt

Copied the 28th of May 1791 by E. Junggren but incorrectly

a hobauk nio ianī"

Prof. Säve remarks on the above: "Properly speaking, we can scarcely have any confidence in the first inscription, especially as "incorrectly" has been added. But whence did Hr. Junggren get the Old-Northern rune ᛟ 73 years ago, unless he saw something of the kind?" — Nor do I know which *Vånga* is here intended, for we have 4 Parishes of this name, 1, in East-Gotland; 2, in West-Gotland; 3, in West-Gotland, 1½ Swedish mile from Ulricehamn; 4, in Skåne."

It is clear that the first of the above stones, which perhaps were both in Vånga Church-tower, is in reverst runes and is redd from right to left. It has 2 if not 3 Old-Northern runes, ᚲ (c), ᛟ (o) and ᛘ (a). The staves are:

KLUCODUA

and may be divided:

KLUC O DUA.

KLUC OWNS this-TUVA (grave-mound).

This at once reminds us of the

STONE THIS THORLÆF SET BY the-TUVA (mound, grave) of-LÆVI

so undoubtedly carved on the lost Gommor block.

But, as the block is not authentically before us, I will not dwell upon it.

The second stone is not easy to make out. It contains only one O. N. rune, the ᚺ (h).

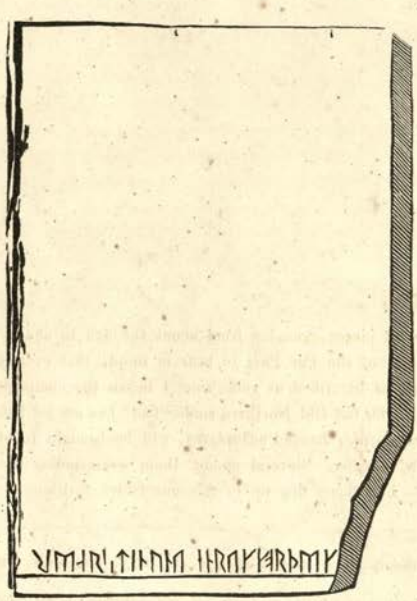
Should the above monuments have really existed in something like the form given above, they have every appearance of extreme antiquity. At all events we should always give *all that we know* respecting olden Runic memorials now lost or injured. To give only what is left, or not to complete a piece now broken when our materials enable us so to do, is unjust to ourselves, to science and to the public. All are aware that we cannot depend upon early drawings or engravings, sometimes not even upon those of our contemporaries, nay even *our own* may not be faultless; but that is no reason for ignoring and suppressing monuments which have existed. Quoting our sources, we can only give them for what they are worth. It is unreasonable to demand of a general reader that he should know of the scores of manuscripts and scarce books in which such remains are preserved; very seldom will he be able to see a small fraction of them. But these old copies — the originals having been accidentally rediscovered — have sometimes turned out substantially correct; others can be redd with tolerable certainty by a person familiar with these remains. Even those given in a shape helpless and barbarous are instructive from the nature of the mistakes, and at all events announce to us that such a runic piece was once in being in a certain land. They become at least a runically important topographic and statistical fact. But of course it is very easy and agreeable to turn our back upon all lost monuments, and to handle only those pieces or fragments which actually stare us in the face!

When restoring from old transcripts an ancient inscribed block now incomplete, but which was whole when such copies were made, we can distinguish the original actually before us from what is taken from an old drawing or memorandum by pointing out in our text the parts or letters which we have thus added, or by engraving them in dotted lines, or by printing them in ink of another color. But to do nothing of the kind, and to give the public a more or less *broken* stone or other carving instead of (when we can) a more or less *perfect* one, is insufferable. It would not be permitted in publishing Classical or Oriental remains, and should not be borne in reference to our own. If we have not time or inclination to do a thing well, — we are really quite at liberty to leave it alone.

MÖRBYLÅNGA, ÖLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1200-1250.

Exactly copied from the woodcut in GÖRANSSON'S *Bautil. No. 1073.*



Flat slabs, like the one here before us, are of course far later in date than standing stones. It is also clear that this is comparatively modern, in fact a transition-piece, from its bearing only *one* of the old Runes, altho this one is twice repeated. In both instances this letter (ᛖ) has an uncommon form, the middle stroke being prolonged downwards.

The first letter can only be ᚴ. A fanciful shape is often given to this stave. The 5th character was originally on the stone the usual ᛋ (ᛋ), the middle stroke being worn away or unobserved by the copyist. The last stave, ᛦ (ᚴ), either stands for the common word KUML, or the ᚢ, ᛘ, ᛚ have been on the piece of the stone broken off.

The two names, CHRISTINA and HENRY, also show that this stone belongs to the Christian middle age.

By the scale markt on Göransson's woodcut, the Mörbylånga piece was about 6 feet 11 inches long by about 4 feet 9 inches broad.

I engrave this slab as I find it in Bautil. No other or better copy can now be gotten. This transcript seems substantially correct. As lying in a churchyard, the stone could not expect to escape all kinds of injury from both idle hands and busy feet. The Parish Church of Mörbylånga was rebuilt in 1811, and this slab was then *altogether illegible* ("alldeles oläslig"), as we are assured by the antiquarian and runologist the Rev. A. Ahlqvist[1], in his History and Description of the Iland of Öland.

The words then are[2]:

KEARSTIN UNU. ENRUK KORDE K .....

KEARSTIN (= Kerstin, Kristina) UNU. ENRUK (= Henrik, Henry) GAR'D (made) this KUMBEL (grave-mark).

And with this mere handful of Old-Runic monuments — more precious than fine gold tho so few — I take leave of the *Swedish* province of our common Northland. They are, summed up:

STONES.	BROOCHES.	AXES.	STAFFS.	AMULETS.	COMBS.
1. Björketorp.	1. Etelhem.	1. Upsala.	1. Konghell.	1. Lindholm.	1. West-Thorp.
2. Stentoften.					
3. Istaby.					
4. Berga.					
5. Möjebro.					
6. Tanum.					
7. Gommor. (Lost.)					
8. Varnum.					
9. Tjängvide (Overgang).					
10. Rök (Overgang).					
11. ? Vånga. (Lost.)					
12. ? Vånga. (Lost.)					
13. Mörbylånga (Overgang).					

Thus in all only 18 pieces, running from about the 4th to about the 13th century. Still it cannot but encourage students of the Far Past to bear in mind, that exactly *one half* of these remains have been either discovered or identified as runic *since* I began the composition of this work. Let us therefore hope and trust that *the last* Old-Northern runic "find" has *not yet* been made on Swedish ground!

Farther on, in the chapter headed BRACTEATES, will be brought together all the inscribed golden pieces of this class known to exist. Several among them — including the costliest of them all, the golden Alphabet-roundel — have been dug up in this our Olden Swithiod.

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[1] Ölands Historia och Beskrifning, af Abraham Ahlqvist, Ph. Mag., Kyrkoherde i Runsten Församling. 8vo. Vol. 2. Calmar 1827. p. 213.

[2] If we should take KEARSTIN as equal to KEARSTINE, or some such form, in the dative singular, and UNU to be also in the dative (nom. UNA), we might read:

TO-KEARSTIN UNA — ENRUK MADE (THIS TOMB).

NORWAY.

IN MINNE

OF

THE RUNE-SMITHS OF NORWAY;

WITH MANY GREETINGS

TO

PROF. SOPHUS BUGGE,

OF CHRISTIANIA.

TUNE, SMÅLENENE, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200-300.

From Photographs, and from a Rubbing taken by Prof. P. A. MUNCH; *the whole carefully checkt and corrected from the stone itself by Prof.* SOPHUS BUGGE, *Christiania; afterwards again compared with a fine Paper Cast forwarded by Lector* O. RYGH, *of Christiania. — Drawn and chemitypod by* J. MAGNUS PETERSEN.

This is the most precious rock-memorial bearing Old-Northern Runes now known in Scandinavia. Not only is it perhaps the oldest, but the length of its inscription and the antique character of its word-forms give it a markt advantage over those other stones which might otherwise come into competition with it. It is also very fortunate that it has escaped so well. Only a few letters have disappeared, and these, by the help of a little thought and criticism, can be restored with an approach to absolute certainty. The block is of red granite.

Tune Church was built by SAINT OLAF, who died in 1030. His craftsmen brought together blocks and stones for the church-yard wall. Among these was this Rune-stone, doubtless dragged from some neighboring Cairn, some even then *old* heathen Grave-mound, which it decorated. Standing thus in Tune church-yard fence, it remained for more than 8 year-hundreds. But by the efforts of the Norwegian Society for the preservation of the National Antiquities, and the generous consent of the land-owner on whose ground it abode, Hr. Lindemann, it was in 1857 removed to Christiania and placed in the Botanical Gardens of the University. Thus, from the very entrance to Christiania Frith — for it stood in Moss Fogderi — it has traveled a considerable distance up north, and will doubtless now be carefully protected from wind and weather, as well as the wicked hands of the thoughtless or wilful spoiler.

This monument rises 6 feet 7 inches, and at its widest part is 2 feet 4 inches broad. I need not say that the copies given of it by Worm[1] and his successors were absurdly incorrect, and consequently that all the learning devoted to them was a mere waste. It was first made public in a more trustworthy shape by Professor P. A. Munch in 1857, in "Almuevennen" for July 4, Christiania, 4to, with one woodcut; in his "Runestenen fra Tune", 4to, Christiania, with 2 woodcuts, founded on Rubbings[2]; and again in 1857, in the "Aarsberetning" of the society aforesaid, Christiania, 8vo, with 2 lithographs, founded on photographs, and still more correct than the woodcuts. In these communications Prof. Munch successfully translated about half the text, commenting thereon with his usual talent. The late Professor Uppström made some remarks on Munch's reading, in "Nova Acta Regiæ Societatis Scientiarum Upsaliensis", 4to, Upsaliæ 1858, pp. 381-9; but he did not add anything material. For information on former attempts see Runamo, p. 485. But, thanks to the kindness of my friend Sophus Bugge, I have now the pleasure of giving copies *absolutely perfect*, at least so far as mechanical skill and a sharp eye can secure perfection in these matters. Having thus obtained a real and unbroken text, I have been enabled, as I hope, to translate the whole of this venerable and invaluable Rune-pillar.

I would take the Northern side first, which is hewn ploughing-wise; first line from above downward, 2nd line (Reverst Runes) from below upwards.

On the Northern side the block has suffered at the tip, where the last word should stand. After the remains of a mark which can only be R, the stone is broken away. But the word here, as universally or nearly so elsewhere in the like formulas, was of course RUNES. This, in accordance with the very archaic dialect otherwise exhibited on this monument, was most likely RUNÆS. But if the S were already vocalized it may have been RUNÆA, RUNAR, or RUNA, &c. On this side, the IGÆ are closed staves and the ÆR a Bind-rune.

Next the Southern side. This is also carved *Oxgang-wise*, *Βουστροφηδόν*, 1st line right on from below upwards, 2nd line (Reverst Runes) from above downward, 3rd line (also Wend-runes) from below upward.

On the Southern side there are three weak places. The first is the Proper name LIA; the stone is injured here, but not materially; the ᛉ (A) is plain. Next, the last stave in ÆRBINGW, the ᚹ (W), is not quite clear, but so nearly so as to leave no doubt. Lastly, the stone is broken just where the verb in the infinitive *should* be found and, in my opinion *really occurs*. But even here we are not helpless. Fortunately one whole stave and fragments of all the others remain. The word usual in a place of this kind is SETA, and the spores left exactly agree therewith. Of the shaft of the S only a tiny trace is left. Next come the leavings of two straight strokes, which are evidently the legs of the ᛖ (E).

[1] In his Danica Literatura, 4to, 1636, p. 68, and p. 66 in the folio edition of 1651; a different and altered woodcut in his Monumenta, p. 478. For some corrections see Runamo, pp. 488-490.

[2] This is properly an overprint. The whole article, text and woodcuts, had previously appeared in "Illustreret Nyhedsblad", fol., Christiania, June 28, 1857, pp. 130-2.

Thereafter the lower shaft of ᛏ (T), and lastly a nearly perfect ᛉ (A). — The SI in the 1st line are *closed staves* (letters jammed close together), and the DÆ in the 2nd line are *tied* (a Bind-rune).

After this ingress, which I could not make shorter, I come to the epitaphs. I propose no change, find no "mis-risting", no "blunders by an ignorant workman", and would divide and translate:

ECWIWÆ

ÆFTER WODURIDE, WITÆI GÆHÆLÆIBÆN,

WORÆHTO R(unæs).

ÆRBINGÆS INGOST, LIA,

ÆRBINGW NODU, INGOA, DOHTRIA,

DÆLIDUN (SET)A WODURIDE STÆINÆ.

ECWIWÆ

ÆFTER (in memory of) WODURID, her-WISE (noble) LOAF-FELLOW (companion, mate, husband),

WROUGHT (carved) these-RUNES.

The-HEIRS INGOST and-LIA,

the-HEIRESSES NOTHU and-INGOA, DAUGHTERS,

DEALED to-SET (shared in setting) to-WODURID this-STONE.

In both these inscriptions ᚾ (the later A) is used for N, a Runic peculiarity or elegance often found on very old Runic monuments.

ELDER was a title and an office in the oldest times, and a very young chieftain might be an ALDERMAN. So in England the WITA was a member of the WITENA-ge-MOT, the Moot or Assembly of the Witas, the Free Parliament of those days, and the pl. nom. WITAN signified the Grand Council, the Chief Rulers, the Nobility, &c. In the oldest Runic monuments WITA &c. would seem to be often used in the same sense, and I have no doubt that it signifies above, not *Wise* but, NOBLE, ILLUSTRIOUS.

As the Northern side of this monolith is so much finer than the other, and as the staves there are carved so much larger and bolder, it would seem that this was the first and principal surface. In other words, the chief actor in this memorial sarsen (natural block or boulder) appears to have been ECWIWÆ, the widow of the deceast. But the same runic "hand" prevails on both sides of the stone, and both may have been carved at the same time, or the one very shortly after the other. On neither side have we the letter M. We therefore cannot see how it would have been carved to distinguish it from D, which is here given by the shankless ᛞ — either M or D as the context may require.

In my translation I had, with Prof. P. A. Munch, taken GÆHÆLÆIBÆN (LOAF-FELLOW) as equal to *Brother-in-arms, Comrade*. But, when reading the last proof, Miss Maria Meinert suggested to me that ECWIWÆ might be a fem. name and gæHÆLÆIBÆ simply *HUSBAND*, when we should have the whole family: WODURID, his Widow ECWIWÆ, his sons INGOST and LIA, and the daughters NODU and INGOA. I take it that this is self-evident, the old story of the Egg of Columbus, and at once adopt so happy a hint. It is true that we have no other example of this meaning — in Mæso-Gothic gaHLAIBA has the sense of *comrade, fellow-soldier*. But this is no argument. As I have said so often, the old dialects have had thousands of forms and words and meanings of which we now know nothing. — Should this be the true signification, it is a powerful confirmation of my translation of the Varnum stone, Sweden (p. 218).

If my reading be correct, we have here the most hoary archaisms. — the prefix GÆ and a nasal noun acc. sing. masc. in N (GÆHÆLÆIBÆN), a verb in the past tense 3rd pers. sing. ending in O (like the Gallehus Golden Horn) instead of I (WORÆHTO), a strong noun masc. in the nom. pl. ending in S (ÆRBINGÆS), with an equally remarkable nom. pl. fem. noun in W (ÆRBINGW), and a striking and decisive past tense 3rd pers. pl. ending in N (DÆLIDUN) — with the comparatively modern form of an infinitive ending in A (SETA), and not in AN, as we should naturally expect. The whole might at first sight be mistaken for a stone carved in Northumberland, in our venerable Old North-English dialect. In fact it strikingly reminds us, in spite of the difference of time, of the lines carved on the Ruthwell Cross. — ECWIWÆ is a well-known Scando-Gothic womans-name.

Thus in the folkland and at the time when this monolith was raised, daughters inherited as well as sons; whether equally or not, we cannot say.

FRÖHAUG, RÖMERIKE, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

Full size. From Drawings and a Photograph, made immediately after its discovery, kindly forwarded by Lector OLAF RYGH, *Keeper of the University Museum, Christiania. — Drawn by Lieut.* A. P. MADSEN. *Engraved on wood by* J. F. ROSENSTAND.

Many Old-Northern inscriptions have of late happily been found on more or less *fast* objects in Norway, but hitherto none on small pieces. In Denmark, where so many jewels and other inscribed minor things have been discovered, all the stones &c. bearing these runes are overgang. Not one has yet been found *only* in the Old-Northern letters. But we need not despair of both lands eventually offering materials of either kind. This is already the case in Norway. A small figure has just (November 1865) turned up there, risted with the Olden staves.

This remarkable object is the bild of a man, of Copper (or perhaps of Bronze, for it has not yet been analyzed), apparently an Amulet, worn for good luck in battle. It is not quite perfect, having lost the ends of both arms and of one foot. Its length from the crown of the head to the toe-point is 75 millimètres; the distance between the ends of the arms is 40 millimètres. The inscription also is not complete. It consisted originally of 4 letters, but the last of these, that to the extreme left, has been nearly destroyed, rubbed away by the finder to see whether the metal was gold!

But I continue in the words of the excellent old-lorist Olaf Rygh, who has allowed me to translate his letter to me describing this interesting piece:

"It was found on the grounds of the homestead *Fröhaug*, in Udenæs Sogn, Nis Prestegjeld, Romerike, on the west of the river Glommen, about 2 Norse miles from where it flows into the lake Öieren, 5 Norse miles north-east of Christiania. This freehold was formerly called *Freyhof*, and

consequently has once had a temple dedicated to the god Frey. The remains were discovered by a ploughman, the plough grating against them. They were carefully collected by the land-owner, Christen Fröhaug, and by him were given to the University Collection. The find was as follows:

"1. A "Kettle" or dish of Brass or Bronze, 6½ inches high and about 10 inches across the mouth, considerably bent. Is of very thin metal, and was filled with burnt bones.

"2. A double-edged iron Sword, bent so as to lie 5-double.

"3. A Lance-head of iron, with a double-edged blade and a sharp ridge along the middle of the blade.

"4. Fragment of a second iron double-edged Lance-head. The original shape cannot be distinctly made out.

"5. An iron Spear-head, with barbs.

"6. Piece of an iron Shield-boss.

"7. The fastenings of a Shield-handle, of iron.

"8. A Knife-blade of iron.

"9. Fragments of a Rand or Edging of bronze, with the nails still left. I cannot say to what they have belonged; they seem too small to have been attacht to a Shield.

"10. Some hemispherical hollow Buttons of sheet bronze, of three several sizes, all of them with nubs of bronze on whose ends are small rivet-plates of iron. Judging from the length of the nails, the substance on which these Buttons were fastened must have been about 1½ line thick, and was apparently a Belt, perhaps of leather.

"11. The above-mentioned COPPER HUMAN FIGURE, which had evidently been riveted as an ornament on the object (? Belt) to which the Buttons belonged. On the hollow back are two pins, cast in a piece with the rest, and on the one is still a rivet-plate of iron, of the same form as those on the Buttons; the other pin, the lowermost, is broken off. The bild is convex on the front and concave on the back; the right foot and both the arms are gone; and it is also broken across the breast. All these are old breakages. The runes would seem to be redd from right to left. The first stave on the right is ᚹ. The little stroke on the right of the circle is plain, but somewhat weaker than the other ristings, for it is accidental, the sharp instrument having slipt down a little lower than was intended. On the left of the circle, lowish down, is a small slanting scratch, faint and fortuitous. The second rune is quite plain. The third letter is ᛞ. The upper horizontal stroke is somewhat weaker, than the lower, but I think there is no doubt about it; the dotted lines may, I think, be made out. The last stave, on the left, was scraped away with a knife before the piece was sent to the Museum: I cannot say positively, but I think there are traces of a stave here. It is not sure that the runes were carved when the figure was made; they may have been engraved much later.

"When found, these remains lay on the top of the burnt bones in the bronze vessel. The whole was covered with a stone, which to the finder lookt like a tile. The soil where it lay has been cultivated from the oldest times, there was no stone-setting round the Dish, and the earth near was like the rest of the field. But still there may have been, doubtless has been, a barrow here. Cultivation has gradually cleared it away, tho not till now have the grave-remains been reacht. About 100 paces farther off are a whole group of small grave-mounds, and about 500 paces away is a large burial-how.

"As far as I can see, all the objects lying on the Dish have been placed on the bale-fire. The best preserved among them — they are mostly much damaged by rust — seem to bear evident marks of cremation, besides which, among the charred bones were many small lumps of *melted glass*, probably of a glass cup which had been placed on the funeral pyre. This, in my opinion, is the explanation of the fact that on the Figure and Buttons are no traces of the substance on which they were fixt, which would have been the case if they had been deposited unburnt.

"I have no hesitation in classing this hoard with the Runic pieces in the Danish finds from the Early Iron Age. The iron weapons have the same form as those from the Danish Mosses. Sword No. 2 is the same in shape as those in Engelhardt's "Nydam Mosefund" Pl. VI and VII; Spear No. 3 answers to those in the same work Pl. X; especially to Fig. 1; Spear No. 5 resembles that on Pl. XI. Fig. 25; Umbo No. 6 is like that in Worsaae's "Nordiske Oldsager" No. 339, from Alleso Moss; Knife-blade No. 8 is nearly the same as Pl. XV. Fig. 8 in "Nydam Mosefund", and, like that, has dotted ornaments, tho not exactly of the same pattern; Shield-handle No. 7 resembles in form

"Thorsbjerg Mosefund" Pl. 8, Fig. 9, only that on the Frohaug piece the two nails (with semispherical heads) are still left.

"Another peculiarity connecting this and other Norse grave-finds on the one hand with the Danish Moss-finds on the other, is the evidently wilfully-injured condition of the pieces before they were deposited; compare Thorsbjerg Mosefund pp. 15, 16, and Nydam Mosefund pp. 5, 6. That a Sword is bent double and Spears bent, is common enough in other Norwegian grave-finds; but I have not hitherto seen any Umbo so violently wrencht as the one found here: it is literally turned inside out; what was originally convex is here concave, and its upright point is bent to the very edge.

"On the other hand this hoard is identical with most of the other Norse grave-finds from the Early Iron Age. In these, as here, the burnt bones are chiefly deposited in a dish of bronze; the weapons have the same form; and the manner in which they are laid down is the same — always supposing that Frohaug was originally a grave-mound.

"This whole find appears to me highly interesting as confirming the conclusion that the Older Runic inscriptions are from the same time and the same people as the Antiquities and Graves from the Early Iron Age; we had before proofs from Denmark and elsewhere in the North, we now have them also from Norway.

"As to the COPPER (or Bronze) FIGURE, I know of no parallel instance from any Norwegian find. It is true that it somewhat resembles the small Bronze bild (from a grave-hoy on the farm Rise in Opdal Præstegjeld, South-Throndhjem Amt) described by Prof. Keyser in Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed 1842-3, p. 172, copied on Pl. VIII Fig. 2, which has also been nailed fast as an ornament, and whose size is nearly the same. But the style and workmanship are very different, and the Risé piece is undoubtedly from *the later Iron Age*. This is clear from the shape of the haft on the Sword which is swung before, and from the style of the ornaments on either side of the head (but of which we get a very imperfect idea from the engraving); besides which, it was found together with an oval bowl-shaped Brooch of brass, resembling those in Worsaae's Oldsager Nos. 419-422."

If it had not been for the words "but of which we get a very imperfect idea from the engraving", as to the style of the ornaments on either side of the head, I should have copied Prof. Keyser's drawing of the interesting Bronze bild found at Risé. But I am everywhere anxious, as far as in me lies, to give engravings altogether trustworthy. I will, however, translate the learned Professor's description of this piece, l. c. p. 172:

"The BRONZE FIGURE on Tab. VIII, Fig. 2, which is preserved in the Cabinet of Antiquities at Christiania, is a thin plate of carved and embossed work, 2½ inches long and where broadest about 1 inch, with no due proportions and very fantastically ornamented. The head, which is quite *en face*, is surrounded with a ring, perhaps intended to represent a Cap tied under the chin, and from this ring expand on each side broad but short wings or ears adorned with engraved work. The face is beardless. On the breast is a square, which, in spite of its extraordinary size, probably represents some kind of Brooch for the bosom or waist. Lower down, and seemingly suspended in two bands or straps fastened to the Belt, hangs slantingly in its sheath a short and broad Sword, whose haft perfectly agrees with the hafts of Iron Swords found in our heathen graves. The figure is covered with a long kirtle which reaches to the feet, and which is everywhere decorated with carved lines arranged in lozenges, the whole ending below with a border. Arms or Sleeves there are none; but the ornamental work on each side the cloke, from the shoulders to the feet, looks as if meant for either Wings or a wide and side (long) Cloke. Most likely these ornaments should be taken for Wings, the nether part being really very like feathers laid over each other. In the scorings of all the ornaments are yet the remains of gilding, and the whole form of this piece, in connection with the two nail-holes — one on each side the feet —, would incline us to believe that it was *an ornament* originally nailed fast to some object on which it was to appear as if *sitting*. Accordingly the legs, from the knee to the foot, are rather prominent."

From the engraving it is not easy to see what the pillow-like object behind or on each side the hair or cap or helm was intended to represent. The square decoration a little below the neck looks rather like a Breastplate than a Brooch. Both Sword and Sheath are old-fashioned, and hang athwart over the belly, from the right breast just below the ? Breastplate to past the left thigh. The legs are given but no feet. It does not seem to me to be represented standing. If pagan, this figure may

be that of a warrior: if Christian, perhaps that of St. Michael. However this may be, it would seem to have been fixt on a Belt, like the piece found at Fröhaug.

If we now turn to the runes. The first (reading from right to left) is ᛉ, a very rare variety of the S, and nearly the same as the ᛉ of the Sigdal stone. The second is ᚨ, here reverst (ᚬ) as are all the letters, altho this only influences the shape of this one: that it is the usual Old-Northern Æ is self-evident. Next comes a nearly perfect ⊠, which is merely the usual Old-Northern ✕ (G) in an ornamental frame. Lastly was a 4th stave, now nearly obliterated by the knife of the finder. It may have been ᛁ or ᛉ or ᛉ. Rygh from the distance of what is left of the staff from the 3rd rune, judges that it must have had an arm on that side (and therefore on the other), and consequently must have been the letter ᛉ.

These letters give us SÆGI, or SÆGS, or SÆGA, probably the latter. But all would mean the same thing, the two former perhaps in the nominative VICTORY, the latter most likely in the dative, FOR-VICTORY. It is almost impossible to suppose that on *such* an object and on *such* a place should have been carved the name of the owner, (SÆGI or SÆGS or) SÆGA. There can be little doubt that the piece before us is an Amulet, a Victory-token, probably the image of some war-god. This is in accordance with the custom of bearing similar pieces for this purpose in the oldest[1] as in later times, and would seem also to result from the figure itself: for I think that the head bears a "Kettle" or skull-cap, close-fitting helm, and that body-armor covers the breast and stomach.

Looking then at the figure as that of a War-god, and as an Amulet worn for luck in battle or as a charm against wounds and death, I read:

SÆG (? A).

For-SEGE! (= far-Victory!)

It is true that this word has usually I in most of the old dialects, not Æ or E. But many word-smiths have conjectured that the earliest form may really have been the E (or Æ). Certain it is, that the oldest Scando-Gothic names known to us into which this word enters — the SEGESTES (= SEGIGASTS, SIGIGAST) and SEGEMAR (SIGIMAR) of Tacitus in the 1st century after Christ — have the E not the I. But here, as elsewhere, the floating dialects may have had a floating vowel, Æ or E or I, the one as old as the other. — As for SÆGA instead of SÆGI, I need not add that A (or Æ) is the characteristic dative-mark of strong masculines of this class in *the very oldest* Scando-Gothic tungs. We have this dative in A again on the Reidstad stone, p. 256, (IUÐINGÆA ICWÆSUNA), and elsewhere.

Should we make the word to be the dative of SIGI or SIGGI "the son of (W)oden", and translate *To-SIGI*, the meaning in fact still comes to the same thing.

(While reading the last proof of this sheet, a note from Lector Rygh has reacht me, dated Jan. 19, 1866, announcing that this piece is — as was to be expected — of BRONZE. He says: "You will have remarkt that I was doubtful whether the Fröhaug piece was of Copper or of Bronze. The strong red color of the metal seemed in favor of the former. The question could only be decided by a chemical analysis, but I durst not sacrifice so large a bit of the figure as this would require. So I thought it would be sufficient to analyze one of the small Buttons which have been used in the same way as the little bild (doubtless on a Belt), and whose metal has exactly the same hue. Accordingly I have had one of these examined, and the result is that it is *Bronze*. The proportion of Tin is not large, which explains the red color, but yet too considerable to be merely accidental. There was not time for a quantative analysis.")

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[1] Besides the well-known LIFE-STONE (against wounds and death) and SIGER-STONE (Victory-stone), the Northmen used talismans of many other kinds, particularly small figures of Gods and Men, Rings, Pendants, &c., a custom which Christianity modified but did not do away with. These things were worn on their weapons or armor, or on the person in a small bag, and often accompanied them to the tomb. Runic formulas were frequently inscribed on various objects for the same purpose, as in later days were short prayers and the names of Saints in Latin letters. In the Early Iron Age Gnostic Gems and ornaments were sometimes made use of in the same way. — See also the remarks of W. F. R. Christie in Urda, 4to, Vol. 1, Bergen 1837, pp. 45-66, "Den Rotlandske Steenring".

STENSTAD, THELEMARK, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

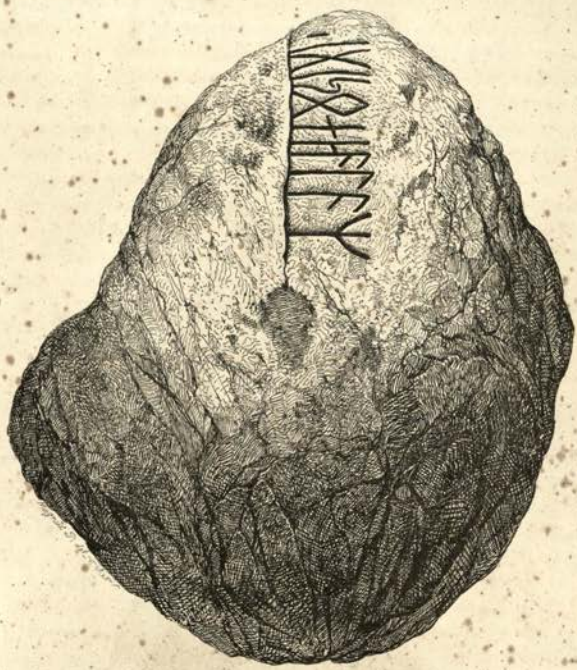
Of this monument I am able to give two different views. The first

is copied from Fin Magnusen's Runamo, Plate 13, Fig. 5. I had it re-engraved at a period when it was doubtful whether I should ever have an opportunity of visiting the original block, which as here seen is drawn from the extreme left and is in substance correctly given.

But since then, in July 1864, I have been able to examine the stone itself, in company with my artist, Mr. J. Magnus Petersen. To give variety, I directed that gentleman to make his sketch, which is extremely accurate, from the right centre. We can thus examine it from two points of view. I have not thought it desirable to give the useful but very tasteless pedestal 3 feet 3 inches high, on which the stone has been raised.

The block is roundish in form, greatest height about 23 inches, greatest width about 20, and greatest thickness about 24. It is quartzose in structure, of fine grain, a kind of greyish Norse marble, and is the only Runic piece of that material which I have seen or heard of. This alone would have led us to suspect that it was of Norwegian origin. But it has usually been regarded as Danish. Fin Magnusen was the first to identify it as a Norse monument. Since then, the Archivary Herbst has disinterred from the archives of the Old-Northern Museum and communicated to Councilor C. F. Wegener two letters from the Baillie Samuel Thornsohn, dated Oct. 22. 1781 and Feb. 23. 1782, detailing the facts connected with this stone. From this source Councilor Wegener has ably elucidated the question in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", Kjobenhavn 1856, pp. 182-84, where also the stone and pedestal are engraved on a very small scale[1]. See also the Annaler for 1855, p. 371, for Rafn's reading, and Runamo, p. 395, for Fin Magnusen's.

[1] The engraving is copied into the Norse "Illustreret Nyhedsblad", Christiania 1859, Febr. 13, fol., p. 34, with a short text.



The fact is, then, that this piece was found in 1781, in a Cairn in Holden Parish, and was sent over to Denmark the year following by the Baillie Samuel Thornsohn, of Lower Thelemark, as a gift to the Hereditary Prince Frederik, who placed it on a pedestal on Juliane-höi in the grounds of Jægerspris, a Palace in Sealand, Denmark. It was discovered not on but *inside* the Barrow, 2 feet below the surface. Beneath it were 3 flat stones, the two standing as sides while the third was an overlier. In this kist lay 4 glazed pots or urns of several sizes, full of ashes and bones and charcoal, together with a small cast golden ring, a round wooden (? birchen) pail with a handle of bronze and thin narrow bronze bands or hoops, 4 small beads of stone or burnt clay, a kind of brooch not further described, and fragments of a small iron sword, with a piece of bronze probably used as a fastening for the sword-belt. At the bottom of one of the urns was a piece of cut glass, which refracted the rays of a candle. All these things were sent to Gheapinghaven at the same time. Of course they cannot now be traced.

The runes are about 3½ inches high, plainly and sharply cut. Here also we have ᚴ as N. The HÆ is a monogram. The staves read from left to right. They are preceded and announced by a short stroke, opposite the center of the first letter. I divide them thus:

IGING ON HÆLÆ A.

IGING ON (of) HÆLI OWNETH (this grave).

It is not for me to identify the place here named. But several localities called HALI, HELI, &c., are mentioned in old Norse documents, and there may well have been a homestead of this name also in Thelemarken.

As 4 Burial-urns were found inside the kist, this may have been a family grave.

REIDSTAD, LISTER, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

From Rubbings, a Paper Cast and a Photograph, kindly forwarded by Prof. SOPHUS BUGGE, of Christiania. Drawn and engraved by HENNEBERG and ROSENSTAND.

Found in the year 1857[1] by a ploughman caring a field on the lands of Reidstad, Hiterön, Lister Fogderi, Lister and Mandal Amt, South-Norway. This stone has been carefully removed to Christiania, and is now raised on a garden-plot near the University. Its greatest height and breadth is about 2 feet, its greatest thickness 8 inches. There are runes only on one side.

This inscribed sarsen was first hit upon by Hr. Vaage, and a rough sketch by his hand was politely communicated to me by Prof. Unger. But since then other excellent materials have been pro-

[1] Not in 1847 or 1848, as stated in Nicolaysen's „Norske Fornlevninger". Part 2 8vo. Kristiania 1863, p. 287.

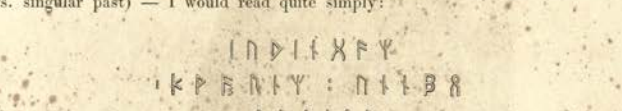
vided me by Prof. Bugge, who has also repeatedly compared my Artist's drawing with the original monument, ameliorating any slight imperfection. In this way, as in the similar case of the Tune stone, has been obtained as I hope entire and minute accuracy.

The block in some places has suffered, as all can see. I would particularly point out that in the first line, after the ᚦ, there is a flaw close to the left top of the ᛁ; and that there is another still greater damage in the 2nd line, between the ᚾ and the ᚨ, so that the ᚾ (ᚿ) at first sight looks like an ᚫ (ᚭ), while the left arm of the ᚨ (ᚪ) is partly gone. Towards the end of this line the ᛒ, in my opinion, is plain tho injured. The very tip of the following ᛟ (ᛟ) has partly scaled away or else has never been deeply cut: the same letter was perhaps open at the top on the Gommor stone, in fact such slight variations or scathes are common in runes as in our own handwriting and on modern monuments. Time has a sharp tooth. That this last letter is ᛟ (ᛟ), tho the legs are long and straight (ᛟ) as often elsewhere, cannot be doubted as far as I can see.

There is little to be said with regard to the runes. In the 1st line the bow of the ᚦ grasps the whole stave (ᚦ), as often. At the beginning of the 2nd line the ᛁᚳ are *closed* (carved close, so as to touch), as occurs so frequently with runic letters. Under the 3rd stave, the ᚫ (ᚭ), is an ᛋ, written small to save room, for that the letter is really ᛋ there can be no doubt; diminutive letters, mixt with larger, are found repeatedly on old monuments; the following ᚢ is, as often, so carved that it might be taken for ᚱ. It is also noteworthy that in this line we have the ᚾ in two variations, as ᚿ and as ᚾ.

It will be observed that at the very beginning of the second line, close to the edge, is a short mark apparently cut in. Should this dwarf line — which cannot be a letter — have been intentional, I take it to have been a divisional mark *before* the name ICWÆSUNA, like as the 2 dots directly *after* it.

With this introduction — and premising that I take the first 2 words to be the name (in the dative sing. masc.) of the deceast warrior, the 3rd to be the name (in the nominative sing.) of the friend who raised the stone and carved the runes to his memory, and the 4th to be the required verb (in the 3 pers. singular past) — I would read quite simply:



IUÞINGÆA ICWÆSUNA

UNNBO

WRÆITÆ.

To-IUTHING ICWÆSON (= Incwæson) UNNBO WROTE (these runes).

(= Unnbo inscribed this stone in memory of Iuthing Ingweson.)

As on some other runic pieces, the carver of this block has cut the letters ᚾ and ᚷ (ᚾ and ᚷ) separately, instead of using the double-rune ᛝ (ᛝ), or some other of the many variations of that Old-Northern type. But it is not therefore sure that he was ignorant of this universal Old-Northern ᛝ-rune, or, as it has been exprest, that "it was not in his Futhorc". On the contrary, it was most likely merely a matter of taste or local custom, as when we write ᚲᛋ instead of ᛪ, ᚹᚺ instead of ᚠ, and so on. At all events the fact is worthy of being pointed out. Similar instances occur in England as well as in Scandinavia.

A Norwegian friend has declared that the last 5 staves of the 2nd line cannot be redd ᚢᚾᚾᛒᚩ, because this would give us "a union of consonants (ᚾᛒ) unknown to Scandinavian monuments". I answer, first, that I do not care for such a-priori rules, but only for what really stands on the block: and next, all I can say is — "so much the worse for the monuments" —, as this so-called "rule" only proves how comparatively *modern* these "monuments" are. The whole is only the result of the more or less universal slurring and nasalizing and falling-away of the ᚾ in the later Scandinavian dialects, of which I have spoken in the Introduction. The common mansname ᚢᚾᛒᛖᚷᛖᚾ in Old-English, and the as common ᚢᚾᛒᛖᚱᛏ in Old-German are authority enough for ᚢᚾᚾᛒᚩ in Old-Scandian. Besides which we have this same name again (spelt ᚢᚾᛒᚩ), as far as I can see, on the West-Thorp Comb, Sweden.

ORSTAD, STAVANGER AMT, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

From a Paper Cast and a Photograph, kindly sent me by Prof. SOPHUS BUGGE, *Christiania. Drawn by Lieut.* A. P. MADSEN, *on wood by* J. P. ROSENSTAND.

For the recovery and preservation of this monument we have to thank the exertions of Prof. Bugge, by whom it was obtained for the Christiania Museum in 1865. The following account,

the result of his minute enquiries. I have here with his permission brought together from his pencilings on the spot.

In 1855, or thereabouts, the yeoman Tobias Torgerson Orstad, of Orstad Farm in Sokkendal, Stavanger Amt, dug away a round "Houg", about 6 fathoms on every side, on a bank close to the river. He began to dig at the lower part; and at about the level of the ground, inside the How, he found "a square grave set with stones on all its 4 sides" — that is to say, a grave-kist — in whose center stood a high Pot or Urn, at first whole and full of ashes but which afterwards was broken in pieces. Near this cruch or pot lay heaps of "Sabres" (as the peasant called the iron Swords), perfect when taken up but crumbling away when exposed to the air. Besides these, were half a score "Bills" or iron Axes, and several large Beads of white glass, of which only one (rather small) was left and came into Prof. Bugge's hands. It was also rumored that a man of bad character, who had been present when the barrow was cleared, had found some gold which he sold to a village goldsmith for 30 Norwegian specie-dollars. Above the Urn, but resting on the side-stones, was a slab so large that 3 horses could not drag it away. Just at the edge of this slab, and outside the western end of the kist, stood a Runic Stone, fixt about the depth of a foot in the earth, so that the lowest line of runes was entirely hidden. The inscribed side faced the Urn. The finder supposed, from this position of the carved block, that it contained the name of the deceast. Round about the whole group was a considerable pile of cobbles and small stones, which on the one side lay quite close to the Rune-bearer. This was shortly after flitted by Master Tobias to his potato-cellar, where it did good service as a roof. But Tobias meant everything for the best, and at Prof. Bugge's request willingly replaced it by another slab, and the Runic Pillar is now in Christiania, properly taken care of.

This block is about 3 feet 9 inches high, 2 feet 7 broad below, 5 inches at the top and 4½ inches thick, and is of light-gray granite.

Prof. Bugge was convinced of the intelligence and trustiness of the finder, and does not doubt the correctness of his statements. In fact he was a respectable man, and had no earthly motive for misrepresenting what he had done.

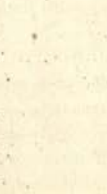
From the above it will be seen that the lettered sarsen could not possibly have sunk down from the top of the Hoy, but was deliberately planted firmly in the ground close to the Burial-urn, when the grave-kist was made and the barrow thrown over it. This is therefore a decisive instance of the funeral block having been placed *inside* the tomb.

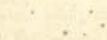
Whether from the sour earth or from accidental friction or other damage during the removal of this slab, the runes have here and there suffered. This is especially the case with the lowest line, which has been for nearly 1500 years in contact with the soil: the two first letters are very indistinct, and the last is doubtful and broken. Still it might have been worse. The two upper lines can be well made out, and the third may be redd with at least tolerable certainty notwithstanding its injuries.

Apparently there is nothing exceptional in the shape of the letters, save perhaps that we should not have expected so simple a form of ᚢ (ᚨ) on so old a stone. As will be remarkt, there are several accidental dints or small holes at the end of the 2nd line, and Prof. Bugge thinks that the vowel may have been ᚣ (ᚬ) not ᚢ (ᚨ). I need not observe that it is often very difficult to distinguish between this dotted and undotted ᚿ, as also between ᚴ (ᚲ) and ᚵ (ᚷ), ᛁ and ᛏ (ᛖ), &c., on the later Scandinavian-runic stones. Copyists seldom agree where the piece is much worn, so readily may a flaw or weathering or dint or injury on the surface be mistaken for a really hand-made intentional "sting", and *vice versa*. As to the letter before us it is of no great consequence either way, but I think that the point in the ᚬ is evidently regularly carved and the stave therefore ᚬ. And this thinner vowel we should expect if my reading be admitted, for the ᚢ will then be the nominative-ending of the name ᛋᛅᚱᛚᚢ (= SÖRLI). In the last line the down-stroke on the bar of the ᚼ seems carved, not accidental.

Æ is a favorite vowel-sound in the folk-talk on this block.

So surprising a distance between the undermost row of runes and the foregoing lines, I have never before seen. The Peace-formula was thus in direct contact with the Genii of Mother Earth, in whose bosom her child was asleep. I therefore judge that the first two lines stand by themselves, take each as it meets us — looking upon each as a Proper Name — and translate:





HILIGÆA
SÆRÆLŪ.

A ÞÆW HÆR(Æ).

To-HILIGÆ (= HILGE, HELGE)
SÆRÆLŪ (= SÖRLI, = carved these runes).

OWES (owns, hath, enjoys)-he ROO (rest) HERE!
(= Here rests he now in peace!)

In accordance with the information sent me from Norway, I have hitherto followed Bugge in calling this the *Årstad* stone. But that learned gentleman now thinks that it had better be named the *Orstad* stone, as it is spelt in the Terrier and in Munch; for the old name is *Ormstaðir*. See Munch, Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge, p. 157, and Diplom. Norvegicum, Vol. 4, passim.

This, like every other of my translations, is tentative. I assert nothing, only suggest. We must feel our way, and every anology is welcome. — Thus, only confining ourselves to the monuments already given and to the approaching Tomstad stone, we have a goodly array of nouns *all* — apparently, probably, almost certainly — in the *dative singular*, and all *ending in* A. We have:

Björketorp, BÆRUTA,
Möjebro, LÆGINIA, FRÆWÆRÆDÆA,
Krogstad, ÆA,
Tanum, ÆA,
Lindholm, TUMBÁ,
Fröhaug, SÆG(A),
Reidstad, IUDINGÆA, ICWÆSUNA,
Orstad, HILIGÆA,
Tomstad, WÆRUA:

As A and Á are nearly the same, so A and Æ are mostly only local colorings of the same vowel. From times dim with antiquity down to our own age, we have this A and Æ, A and Á, A and E, fluctuating in all our manuscripts and in all our provinces. Accordingly, other examples of this same dative-ending might be added from these olden runic pieces, only with the narrow Æ instead of the broader A.

All these congruing forms cannot surely be "mistakes" or "misreadings" or "accidental". They are rather precious remains of a long bygone stage in our Northern mother-tung.

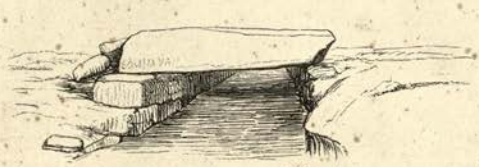
BELLAND, LISTER, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

From Drawings and Paper Cast, kindly forwarded by Prof. SOPHUS BUGGE, *Christiania.*

This stone, irregular in shape, is about 5 feet long, 3 broad and from 9 to 10 inches thick. As far back as is known, it has lain as a spang, or foot-bridge, over a beck dividing the farm of Belland, along the reach of the dale, and is known under the name of "Oustegars-Bruna" (Ostergards-broen, Eastgarth-bridge). It is in nearly a right line between the farmsteads of Hans Belland and Bernt Nielsen, in Oustad Sogn (Parish), Lyngdal Præstegjeld (Cure), Lister and Mandal Amt (Shire). As the inscribed side was upward, the runes have suffered from tramp, particularly the first letter, and for the same reason the surface exhibits many flaws and scratches.

The following sketch, by Student H. C. Kielland, is a view of this sarsen as it now meets the eye of the wanderer:



Some years have past since this monument happened to be observed by a scientific man. Somewhere about the summer of 1850 was it first remarkt by the Civil Engineer Kielland, who sent his transcript to Christiania. But it afterwards was lost sight of. Nicolaysen lookt for it in vain, and it was not till April 1865 that Mr. H. C. Kielland, brother of the Engineer, fortunately added this piece to his treasure-trove. He at once drew the general view, as given above, made a tracing of the runes, and again figured the block itself. All these he communicated to Lector O. Rygh, and to his kindness and that of Prof. S. Bugge I am indebted for the information and drawings here given. To be quite sure, and as the two sketches have been made from a slightly different point of view, I here engrave both the outlines so obligingly forwarded me.

A.

ENGINEER KIELLAND'S DRAWING.

1850.

B.

STUDENT KIELLAND'S DRAWING.

1865.

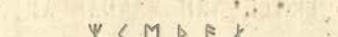
As we see, both these drawings are essentially identical, the variations in the runes being only such as arise from the difficulty of determining whether a mark is hewn a little longer or shorter, and so on.

These being all the materials available, and there being no hopes of getting better, I of course had them engraved. But I was not satisfied. The runes were evidently meaningless, and I could scarcely believe that so short a risting was contracted. So I implored Prof. Bugge to seek out the stone. And he was fortunately able so to do in the summer of 1865, on his runic tour. He procured a photograph of the rennil and its overlier, which I need not here repeat; but, owing to the position of the inscription, of course could not get a sun-picture of the runes. But he carefully took a fine Paper Cast, and this he placed in my hands. The result is — that the former copiers had not observed the first letter — it being faint and damaged from the feet of passengers — and that they had taken a plain break or flaw or scathe in the stone (on the left top of the ᛗ) to be a part of the stave, thus getting their ᛏ ᛚ or ᛏᛚ (or ᛘ), whereas it is only ᛗ. To make this quite clear, I have let my artist engrave on wood, with great accuracy 1-third the size of the original — the Paper Cast before him — this perfect "Rubbing". The result is, that what formerly made no sense is now full of meaning, and thus we have another example of the necessity for being exact and of getting Casts and other such really trustworthy facsimiles, if possible, when we approach olden inscribed pieces:

There is now no difficulty. The block before us is doubtless a funeral stone from the early heathen time, as are all others of the same character: and, like so many of its peers, it has been dragged from its cairn and devoted to a "useful" purpose. Its short runic inscription is valuable in

three respects, — as being only the name of the deceast, that noble simplicity which strikes us so much when found on ancient or later grave-stones Classical or "Barbarian", the fullsized ᚲ (c), instead of the more usual smaller figure ᚳ, — and the mark ᚾ for N, as so often on the oldest monuments, instead of the usual ᚿ. That the opening stave is ᚪ (A) seems to be certain, as far as I can judge from the paper cast sent to me. But the marks are shallow and broken from the flaws at this part, and from the continual tramp of passengers' feet. Before we can be fully satisfied, we must wait till the stone itself can be sent to Christiania and again examined. Should it reach that capital in time, I will communicate the result in the Addenda.

What, then, is the name of the warrior here commemorated? It is clearly



ACEÞÆN

ACÆTHÆN.

I have not seen this compound (of ACE, *driving, car*, and ÞEN, a THANE, *a chieftain*) before. It might be modernized as CAR-THANE, CARRIAGE-CHIEF, and was doubtless given to him on account of some splendid or singular vehicle in which he delighted to drive, at a time when such luxuries were comparatively scarce and costly. And this is so much the more likely and so much the more interesting, as we know that *the Horse* came into Scandinavia together with *the Runes* (written letters) and with *Iron*. Hence the predominant new "folk" or clan-group of highly civilized Colonists, settling among the richly gifted but horseless Bronze-peoples, would be proud of their noble steeds — one source of their war-like superiority and rapid success, for Iron-armed Cavalry among a Bronze-armed Infantry was the same as the Spanish Musqueteers and Culverin-men among the brave and disciplined but helpless cohorts of Montezuma and his Aztecs. Nothing more natural, then, than that some Lord of many Chariots, or some owner of a "Waggon" more than usually graceful in peace or terrible in battle, should inherit or acquire the appellation CAR-THANE. It is quite in harmony with this that the War-steed itself is carved on the Möjebro stone, and that the Horse plays so important a part in the decorations of the Early Iron Age. On the oldest Rock-carvings from this period (the famous "Häll-ristningar" in so many parts of Scandinavia, especially in Sweden) we have both "Blonk" and Car in abundance; in the oldest Moss-finds we have splendid Horse-trappings; as well as the Horse itself and Wheels from the Waggons they had drawn; on the venerable and magnificent Golden Horns (Gallehus, Denmark) we have the Palfrey as a familiar ornament. The Golden Bracteates exhibit the same fleet and fearless animal; on the oldest Gotlandish stones we have the Steed repeatedly, sometimes even the symbolical or mythical Charger with 8 feet; on the oldest Scandinavian-runic blocks also the Horse appears. Thus there can be no doubt that an epithet (ÅKE, *car* or *driving*), so characteristic as not to be unworthy of THU(NO)R himself, the mighty Mace-God, the foe and victor of all Giants and Goblins, ÅKE-THOR, would not be refused an Earl or Folk-leader who may have rejoiced in some kind of newly introduced on-rushing vehicle. — But even should these remarks be called far-fetcht, and whether this be the *meaning* of the word or no, the runes are clear, and they can only be the name of the departed. A word of 6 letters cannot be a sentence. And tho ÅKETHÆN is a mansname which we have not seen before, it is quite in accordance with hundreds of others from the oldest known Scando-Gothic period.

This stone seemed to Prof. Bugge to be of granite.

TOMSTAD, LISTER AND MANDAL AMT, NORWAY.

DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

From a Photograph and a Paper Cast, kindly forwarded by Prof. SOPHUS BUGGE, of Christiania. Drawn by Lieut. A. P. MADSEN, cut on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.

Found in Mandal Amt, 1852, as we learn from the following letter, now in the Museum-Archives, Christiania. It is from the learned Norwegian Priest Johan Fritzner to Prof. R. Keyser.

then Guardian of the Christiania Museum. I translate from a transcript for which I have to thank Prof. Bugge. It is dated Vanse Rectory, Sept. 18, 1852:

"When I last spring had the pleasure of sending you some old-laves for the University Collection, I mentioned in the accompanying note that I had just heard of a find on the homestead Tomstad, which had brought to light among other things an ancient Rune-stone. Since then I have had an opportunity of examining the spot itself, a long since ruined grave-barrow, and have thereby come into possession of some things found therein which I now have the pleasure of sending you. They are a Spear-blade, and 2 round Cakes of burnt clay. These latter have not only a hole thro the middle, but also, at the side thereof, on the one flat, a peculiar hollow. It is said that fragments of a third similar Cake were dug up at the same time, showing altogether the same form. But these bits were lost, as were two pieces of iron, from the description probably the blades of a Shears, similar in shape to the Shears still made in this country for farming purposes, but the Bow of which had rusted away. The finder had laid down the Rune-stone as the upper slab in the steps to his house, and it was first some time afterwards that the written characters were observed. But not only is it difficult to get any meaning out of them from the stone being apparently broken off in the middle, but the letters are such that most of them I do not understand, while others are plain runes. I enclose a sketch of the stone, which I hope is tolerably correct, tho I am not very clever in such things, and the marks themselves were not quite clear, at least when I examined them."

The antiquities here alluded to are now in the Christiania Museum, as is the drawing of the stone itself. Prof. Bugge was so obliging as to send me a copy of the latter, when I straight recognized our Old Runes. I immediately requested him to visit the stone, take a Rubbing and Photograph, and remove the block itself to Christiania. All this his zeal has enabled him to do, and I and my readers now reap the fruit of his untiring exertions.

Lector Rygh informs me that the measurements of this sarsen are: Length, taken at the center, about 2 feet 3 inches; Breadth, about 1 foot 6 inches; Thickness, about from 5 to 6 inches. The whole stone is rough and wild. What now remains is evidently the upper half; the lower part, including the commencement of the risting, is lost. To show this the better, I have added the base, but *dotted*. The only peculiarity is, the mark of division (3 dots) between the two words.

What has been the inscription on the stone? From its general look and size and the arrangement of the runes I am quite convinced that the block has never borne more than 2 or 3 words. But we can come still nearer. The last word, which is whole, is a mansname in the dative (WÆRUA). The foregoing word (of which only .....EN is left) has clearly been a mansname in the nominative. We had a similar mansname in the nominative, ending in N, on the Belland stone (ACEDÆN). Thus the whole may have been

.....ÆN WÆRUA.

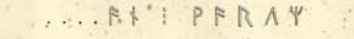
And this would seem the more probable. But if the missing piece has been very long, — that is, if the pillar has been very tall, — there may have been an additional word. In this case it was doubtless *the verb*, probably the usual WRÆITÆ. We should then have

WRÆITÆ .....ÆN WÆRUA,

just as, only with the verb *last* instead of *first* (which is quite immaterial) we have on the Reidstad stone *in this same Shire*:

IUDINGÆA ICWÆSUNA UNNBO WRÆITÆ.

As proper names ending in N are uncommon, and as the Belland stone (which bears only the name ACEDÆN) is in *this same Shire*, it is even not impossible that the whole name on the Tomstad stone may have been [ACED]ÆN, who thus, ere he himself died, may have raised this block to his friend or kinsman WÆRU. But I dare not speculate further and will simply propose, reversing the runes, which are all turned back and therefore redd from right to left (or from below upwards), what stands on the stone:

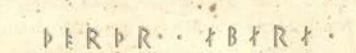


.....ÆN WÆRUA

(Wrote .....)ÆN to-WÆRU.

As to the shortness of the formula. We have many stones on which only one word has been inscribed, the name of the deceast. On others, only another word or two has been added.

The nearest approach to this Tomstad carving, as far as I can remember, in case it bore 2 names, one in the nom. and another in the dative, is the *Odensholm* stone, Skänella Socken, Upland, which exhibits a single row of runes between narrow lines forming the continuation of a circled Cross. The words are:

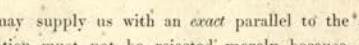


BORÞR ABARA.

THORTH to-ABARI.

But there is a break on the stone, and there *may* have been an additional word or two. This block has not yet been re-found, and I only know it from a drawing by Lars Bure.

Nearly allied, and quite perfect, is the ancient pillar at Runnbotorp, Daga Härad, Södermanland, copied by the Rev. Axel Wætter in 1856:



KISLAUK AUK BORÞ.

after-KISLAUK EKE (and) THORTH.

(= *To Kislauk and Thorth was this stone raised.*)

Some future find may supply us with an *exact* parallel to the at present unique form on the Tomstad stone. My translation must not be rejected merely because I have hitherto discovered no other *entirely* similar instance. Another such may turn up next week, or next year. WÆRU is a well-known Scando-Gothic mansname.

In the above remarks I have gone on the supposition that the Tomstad stone was taken out of the barrow whole, but that part of it had been destroyed ere the above half came into the hands of a runologist. The fact however may be otherwise. This stone may have been only a bit from the beginning. That is, it may have belonged to an older grave-mound, and may have been removed thence to aid in building the Tomstad kist. We have many examples of a similar employment of older materials in later sepulchres. Should this have been the case — and it is possible, not probable — it will only affect the age of the runic memorial. The Tomstad monolith may then be a century or two older, but otherwise it will make no difference in my reading.

In the same way, owing to the dimness of the scanty information available to us, we cannot tell whether the stone was originally placed *on* the barrow or *within* it; and, in case it originally belonged to a yet older low, whether it was used as a part of the tomb or was an overlier of the chamber or had been placed under the urn.

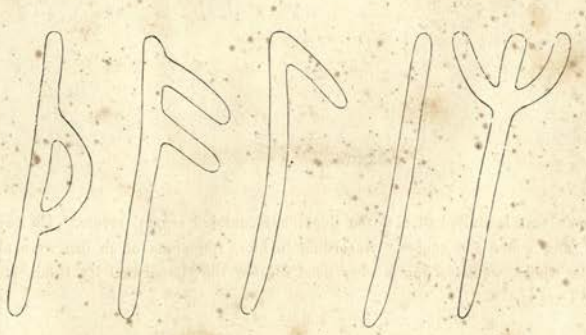
We can draw no conclusions as to the age of this piece from the staves being carved in one long perpendicular line. This is indeed a mark of great antiquity, but not necessarily of the greatest. — The Tomstad block is, as far as I can learn, of horn-blende granite.

BRATSBERG, TRONYEM, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

As far as I can learn, this monument, stated by Klüwer to have been of graystone, is lost or destroyed[1]. Bratsberg Parish is 4 or 5 English miles from Tronyem. We have 3 independent copies of the inscription, all of them agreeing with each other. These I shall give in their chronological order.

A. *A Rubbing of the staves, taken by the exact and zealous Danish antiquary* M. E. ARENDT, *May 2, 1806, and now preserved in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven.*



This engraving, which most accurately follows the original, has already appeared in F. Magnusen's Runamo, p. 498. It is here repeated *from the same wooden block*, for which, like as for the similar Berga pieces, I am indebted to the courtesy of Hr. H. H. J. Lynge, of Cheapinghaven.

It will be observed that Arendt's drawing, if we may call his Rubbing by that name, is dated, in his own hand, *May 2, 1806.*

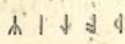
B. *Letter of Rev.* J. H. DARRE, *Parish Priest of Klæbo, dated the 17th of Dec. 1810, and now preserved in the same Museum.*

This intelligent clergyman first describes another immense Cairn, with a regular grave-chamber, opened in the same high ground by the Yeoman J. H. Bradsberg, who was moving his homestead to this bank and was clearing the ground for this purpose. He then continues[2]:

[1] In 1864 Lector Rygh visited Bratsberg farm, if possible to rescue the stone. The people there told him that it had been walled-up in one of the out-buildings many years ago; but no one could tell where. One old man, who said he had seen the stone, thought he could remember that the slab had been broken in pieces before it was thus used.

[2] "Den anden Gravhöy, hvis Omkreds stödte til denne, var besat med idel Kuppelstene. Den havde ingen egentlig indvendig Grav, eller Hule men i dens Centrum en horizontal Aabning, bedækket med to maadelig store og fladagtige Stene. Denne Höy

"The other Cairn, whose outer circle toucht upon the former, was heapt with cobble-stones. It had no regular internal grave or chamber, but in its center was a horizontal opening, covered with two tolerably large flattish stones. This How was still larger than the former, its diameter being at least 60 feet. Within it was found a Spear, about 10 inches long, but the haft for the weapon is nearly consumed. In shape this Spear was like a common swordblade, but somewhat thicker and rather higher on the flat part. Just such spears are still used by the Finlaps. At the eastern edge of the barrow was a square stone, about 22 inches on every side, and about 3 to 4 inches thick. A couple of hands-breadths were visible of this block above the surface, and on this part was the following inscription, in Runes nearly 3 inches high:



The Spear and the Stone are taken care of by the finder, Joen Hansen Bradsberg."

Here the runes are given upside down.

No date is mentioned for the find, but it is distinctly stated that the stone was 22 inches square, and was some 8 or 10 inches above the ground, it having probably partially sunk.

C. *The whole slab, copied from* KLÜWER'S *Norske Mindesmærker, p. 44, Pl. 10, Fig.* C.

Klüwer's text is only half a dozen lines, but contains several errors. He says the stone was found *in 1810*, and was *3 feet* square. According to him, fragments of an urn were also discovered.

On the whole, we have now a very good idea of the Mound and its Runic stone. The staves are plain, and I read:

ÞÆLI A.

THÆLI OWNS (this grave).

There is of course a possibility that this is one word, in the dative sing. masc., in which case it will mean

To-THÆLI.

But the former reading, which gives a formula often employed, seems preferable.

Should the word be in the nominative, we shall have the name

THÆLIA.

---

var noget större end hiin, og dens Gjennemsnit i det Ringeste 30 Alne. Her fandtes et Spyd, omtrent 10 Tommer langt. Fæstet for Spydstagen er næsten fortæret. Spydets Dannelse ligner en almindelig Kaardklinge, dog noget tykkere og mere ophöyet paa dets Flade. Just saadanne Spyd bruge endnu Finlapparne. I Hoyens Öster Kant stod en firkantet Steen, hver Linje omtrent 22 og Tykkelsen 3 til 4 Tommer. Et Par Haandbred af samme ragede frem over Jorden. Paa bemeldte Deel fandtes fölgende Runer indgravede — — omtrent af 3 Tommers Længde. Spydet og Stenen ere opbevarede hos Finderen Joen Hansen Bradsberg." — *Archives of the Mus. of Nor. Ant. Portfolio "Trondhjems Stift".*

WEST TANEM, TRONYEM, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

From KLÜWER'S *Norske Mindesmærker, p. 103, Plate 29, b.*

Klæbo Parish, in which this stone was found, is a few miles south of Tronyem. Klüwer gives the following account of the block, which I copy without change or abridgment[1]:

"Near the homestead West Tanem, at the foot of a high hill, are several kemphows. Two of these were leveled by the owner in 1813. In one of them, which was 28 to 32 feet in diameter, he found, towards the eastern end, a Spear and a Metal Urn, while about in the middle was an uneven graystone 3 feet long, with letters carved as shown in the engraving."

This Inscribed Stone was therefore found *inside* the "Kemp-how", the venerable Champion-barrow, not *upon* it, and is of micaceous clayey slate.

The above representation, drawn on stone by Klüwer himself, I take to be essentially correct. I think it self-evident that the apparent R is IS, tho perhaps carved somewhat close, and that the two last runes were A and U.

We thus get:

ᛗᚨᛁᚾᛁᛋᛚᚨᚢᚾ

MÆNIS LAU.

MÆNI'S LOW (= Heap, Tumulus, Grave-mound).

[1] "Ved Gaarden Vest Tanem findes ved Foden af et høit Bjerg adskillige Kæmpehouge. Tvende af disse lod Eieren af Gaarden opkaste 1813, og fandt i den ene, som var 14 à 16 Alen i Diameter, et Spyd og en Metal-Urne, i den østre Ende deraf, og omtrent i Midten, en halvanden Alens lang og ujævn Graasteen, hvorpaa var indhugget, som Tegningen viser." — Klüwer's valuable quarto was printed in 1823, but all the essential parts of the text and plates were ready for the press in 1818.

Since the above was written, Lector Olaf Rygh of Christiania has kindly forwarded me the following additional information, with permission for me to translate it for my work:

"It is still at the farm Tanem (or Tanem'en, with the article, as it is now pronounced); but has for many years been used as a step before the door of one of the out-buildings. The inscription was uppermost, so that the runes are nearly obliterated. The staves are cut in one corner of the squarish stone, and are about 5 Norwegian decimal inches high. They are bounded by a horizontal line above, but have no line below." [Traces, however, of this under line yet remain.] "The stone is not quite square, and the surface is tolerably uneven. The letters are cut rather thin and shallow."

All this perfectly agrees with the statements of Mr. Klüwer.

But in May 1865 this curious memorial was rescued from further desecration, and added to the treasures of the Christiania Museum. Lector Rygh instantly favored me with an admirable Paper Cast, showing — full size — all that is now left of the venerable Runes. This I add, engraved on wood by Mr. Rosenstand with all possible care and fidelity:

We see at once how terribly the stone has suffered from the tramp of half a century, especially on the lower half of the right side. But there can be no doubt of the correctness of Klüwer's copy, and of my original rendering of it. Of the first letter, the M (ᛗ), we have the two side-lines and a part of the top; of the second, the Æ (ᚫ), nearly all remains; the third, the N (ᚾ), is still nearly perfect; the fourth and fifth, the IS (ᛁᛋ), were really so, carved very near each other, and not R (ᚱ); the sixth, the L (ᛚ), wants only a part of the foot; of the seventh, or A (ᚨ), the top is quite plain; and of the last, the U (ᚢ), the upper half is left.

Thus the fortunate re-discovery of the original block has enabled us — in spite of the injuries it has received — to show that it was copied by Klüwer with his usual exactness (that is, with substantial tho not microscopically minute accuracy, such as we now require), and that the runic risting really was:

MÆNISLAU!

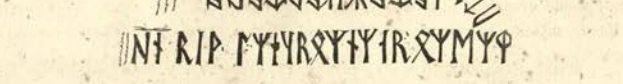
SIGDAL, AGGERSHUS (CHRISTIANIA) SHIRE, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

This piece has hitherto defied every effort at translation. The principal reason is, that it has suffered so much from wanton ill usage. For a century and a half, at least, it has been lying as a door-step to the homestead By, in Sigdal Parish, and *it lies there still!* Hence, besides other injuries, the lower part of nearly all the letters has been worn away in most places. It is a sandstone block, and probably, to judge from the lines ready drawn for writing, was intended to receive a much longer inscription.

In treating this monument I enjoy greater advantages than my predecessors, in having access to 3 tolerable transcripts, besides inferior copies. These I give as I find them, and shall afterwards speak of the result.

A. *A copy made by* G. FALCH, *dated Dec. 7, 1744, now preserved in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven.*



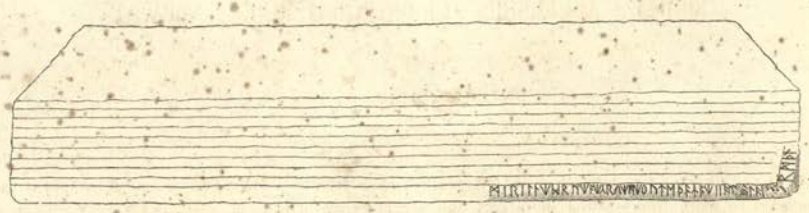
As we see at a glance, this omits the two last words. Perhaps they were then obscured by brickwork, or some other worthy and convenient "domestic arrangement". The other old tracings in the same Archives, which are absurdly incorrect, yet agree in making the 1st rune ᛖ (E) and the 6th ᚫ (Æ). Falch's transcript was printed by Finn Magnusen in his Runamo, p. 492, and I have here repeated it from that learned antiquary's *own block*, for which I have again to thank Hr. H. H. J. Lynge, of Cheapinghaven.

B. *A drawing taken in Dec. 1840 by the Rev.* P. HASLEF, *and now in the same Museum.*

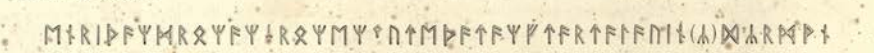
This second, the best and most complete yet discovered, is now for the first time made public. I found it among the same Collectanea about Norway. It is from the hand of the Rev. Paul

Haslef, Dean and Priest of Sigdal, who was an excellent draughtsman. He complains of the letters being more than half trodden away, and states that the greatest length of the stone was then 5½ feet, its greatest breadth 2 feet 3 inches, and its thickness 9½ inches. He has not thought it worth while to give the long lines, but the above is an exact facsimile of his drawing of that part of the block which contains the Runes.

C. *NICOLAYSEN'S copy, in "Foreningens til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring Aarsberetning for 1857". 8vo. Christiania 1858. Plate 1. Fig. 1.*



The above is re-engraved with scrupulous exactness. It is stated to be 1-9th the size of the original. — If now, placing the staves directly the one under the other, we patiently and carefully, letter by letter, compare these 3 copies of the stone, of which the last was taken nearly 120 years after the first, we shall see that they in fact essentially agree, in spite of all their mutual imperfections. Calling so to mind the formulæ usually employed on these monuments, remembering the mistakes so easily made by those who cannot read what they are imitating, and *restoring the lower part* of the staves so cruelly worn away, I think there can be little doubt that this ancient "risting" was originally very much as follows:



ENRIDÆAMROAÆACROAÆ ASUTEÞÆTÆAFTÆRTÆLÆUIN(Y) DYRMWN

This I would translate [also suggesting ENRID ÆAM ROAÆ, AC ROAEA, — *ENRITH EME (uncle) of-ROI, EKE (and) ROAEA*, when SUTE will be plural and TÆLÆ will be *their-TILL (good)*]:

ENRID, ÆAM ROAÆA CROAEA, SUTE ÞÆTÆ AFTÆR TÆLÆ UIN(Y) DYRMWN.

ENRITH, EME (uncle) of-ROI the-GRAY,
SET THIS (monument)
AFTER his-TILL (good) WIN (friend) DYRMUN.

The word understood after ÞÆTÆ (ac. s. n.) was probably KUBL or KUMBL, *Cumbel*, mound, grave-mark; or MIRKI, *Mark*; or possibly BÆKN, BAKN, *Beacon*, grave-mark.

I am not sure about the Y in UIN(Y). This Y or R nominative mark is not unfrequently found as a kind of vowel also in the accusative case in Scandinavian-Runic inscriptions. There are certainly traces of it in Haslef's copy, but, judging from Nicolaysen's engraving, there is scarcely room for it on the stone. — It is grammatically possible that ROAÆA CROAEA may be in the dative: *uncle TO Roi the Gray.*

I have implored the authorities in Christiania to rescue this stone, and to transport it to the capital. This has at last been done, that is, the block has been obtained for the Christiania Museum. But it has not yet arrived thither, for want of snow. While this sheet is passing thro the press (Jan. 1866) there is no sign of snow anywhere in Scandinavia, which is a very great misfortune in all the Iron and Timber districts. But should it reach Christiania before this book is closed, Prof. Bugge has promist me a Photograph and a Paper Cast. This may amend or altogether overturn my above reading — which is only founded on what I have, not on what I have not. I can only honestly do my best. Meantime, we must all hold the above "combination" or "guess" in suspense.

SEUDE, THELEMARK, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

Nothing is known of this Rune-stone. Nicolaysen, in the "Aarsberetning" for 1857, p. 28, of the "Forening til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring", Christiania 1858, suspects it to be lost.

We have two copies of the carving:

A. *WORM'S Literatura Runica, 4to, 1636, p. 68:*

P F ⅂ ⅂ F ⅂ 2 F ⋊ F ≣

B. *WORM'S Literatura Runica, fol., 1651, p. 66:*

P F ⅂ ⅂ F ⅂ Z F ⋊ F ≣

Worm himself is innocent of the above. He says the "characteres" were "delineati et transmissi" to him as he gives them. But the good "delineator" evidently thought he was copying Greek or Latin. The last is an impossible Rune. It is evidently a bad imitation of one of the many forms given to the mark for NG. Assuming this to be the case, I think the staves, if properly given, would have been nearly as follows:

P ᚠ ᛁ ᛁ ᚠ ᛁ ᛊ ᚠ ᛞ ᚠ Σ

This would seem to be:

WÆTTÆT SÆMÆNG.

These may be the words otherwise found spelt in later times in the form

WIÞANT SÆMING,

and are equal to

WITHANT SAM'S-SON

which is merely the name of the deceast.

Or we may divide:

WÆTT ÆT SÆMÆNG.

WÆT AT (to, in memory of) SÆMING.

Or again, taking the second ᚠ twice, in the runic manner, we may read:

VÆTTÆ_ÆT SÆMÆNG.

WÆTTE AT (to, in minne of) SÆMING.

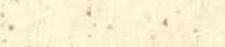
If so, one of the old names Norse-Icelandic VAÐI, Old-German WATTO, WETTI, may perhaps be the one here found; TT and Þ frequently interchange in ancient local dialects.

At all events Worm's copy has every appearance of being substantially correct, quite as much so as many of the runic monuments engraved in this century. We have no right to cast it altogether aside without notice, simply because it has shared the fate of so many other of the olden blocks — smasht or lost *since* the times of Worm in Denmark and of Göransson in Sweden.

VÆBLUNGSNÆS, ROMSDAL, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800-900.

Copied from G. SCHÖNING, *Reise giennem en Deel af Norge, 4to, Kjöbenhavn 1778, p. 136.*



This inscription, Schöning states, is on a cliff near the water at Runeberge, Gryten Parish, between Væblungsnæs and Indholm. The staves about 6 inches long, about 13 feet above high water. In another copy as given by Schanke, the Parish-priest in Schöning's time, the last 3 staves are:

which is doubtless more correct, they being, as I suppose, ᚾᛁᛁ, the stroke in the ᚾ perhaps more or less horizontal.

Not far off is still a homestead named IND-HOLM (= INN-HOLM), and Væblung is still a TING-STEAD (Session-court) for the Otting of Romsdal and Vold. The great annual Market is held at Devol, but the shipments take place at Væblung, where a privileged *Inn* is still kept up. All this may have been substantially the same in olden times. I would therefore suggest

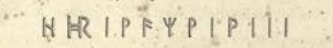
HIRIÐÆA ÞIK-INI.

Of-the-HERADS (Hundreds) the-THING-INN.

(The District Assize-hall or Court-house.)

I have not seen any modern trustworthy copy of this carving.

Lector Rygh has lately been kind enough to communicate to me the result of his enquiries on this head, in the Archives of the Academy of Sciences at Tronyem. A Ms. preserved there, No. 196, contains copies of letters from (? Dean) Spidberg of Christiansand, dated Nov. 12, 1734, and M. Tyrholm the Priest of Vanse, as also an appended anonymous "Report", to the effect that the letters could be pretty well made out when the sun shone and water was poured over them, that they were in one line on the rock, and that they were carefully copied, thus:



This has every appearance of being faulty. The two ᚦ's have become ᚹ (w), and the ᚠ has become a third ᚹ. At all events I can make nothing of this transcript.

I have just (Nov. 1865) received a note from Prof. Bugge with the following additional information, which I English:

"In a letter from the Parish-priest Kraft to Prof. R. Keyser, dated Lesje Parsonage 8 Sept. 1857 (in the Museum-Archives, Christiania) we find: "I have often copied the Runic Inscription on the rocky wall between Veblung and Indholm in Gryten Parish, which is also given by Schöning, and I have always found it to be:

ᚴᚾᛁᚱᛁᚦᚠᛉᛁᛁᚴᚿᛁ

The two last runes seem unfinisht; and we need not wonder at this, or that the rister has grown weary, for he sat at no enviable table. The carving is on a perpendicular steep "field-hammer", 12 to 14 feet above high water."

Here we have the impossible ᚴᚾᛁ (KNI), instead of ᚺᛁ (HI), and the equally impossible or unlikely ᛁᛁᚴᚳ (IKH) for ᚦᛁᚴᛁᚾᛁ (THIKINI). — But I continue:

"In the Report of the Committee of the Bergen Museum on a Journey undertaken in 1847 by the Customs' Inspector Christie and the Customs' Treasurer Christie (in the Archives of the Bergen Museum) we have:

"Runebjerg at Romsdal-fjord, on a steep and smooth wall of the rock by the Romsdal-fjord, some fathoms within the outflow of the second beck from the fell beyond Væblungsnæs, about 12 feet above the highest level of the lake, the following runes are cut in one line, about 5 to 6 inches high:

ᚴᚾᛁᚱᛁᚳ ᚠᛉᚦᛁᚴᛁᛁ

Here the runes are divided into two groups, and "Krafts ᛁᛁᚴᛁᛁ" has become this same "Krafts ᚦᛁᚴᛁᛁ".

But again: "Thus the runes have been copied by the Parish-priest Kraft, who has often examined them in different hight. ..... In a very favorable evening light, on the 8th of July, we copied the runes thus:

ᚴᚾᛁᚱᛁᚴ ᚠᛉᚦᛁᚴᛁᛁᛁ"

Here are new variations, but the last ᛁ now re-appears.

The old reading is, so far, evidently the correct one. At all events all the other copies differ among themselves and all are unreadable. So, with Fin Magnusen, I stick to Schöning as amended by Schanke.

Fin Magnusen copied into his Runamo, p. 504, Schöning's tracing of the Væblungsnæs runes, and I have repeated them above from the identical Runamo woodcut, for which I have to thank my friend Mr. Lynge. It is not only the best authenticated old copy which we have, but it is the only one with any sense in it. And in discussing its meaning the learned Icelander dwells on *the facts*, that this whole Romsdal district was famous for its strong cleaving to old ideas and old heathenism; that the great yearly Romsdal Market or Fair at Devol is held on ST. MICHAEL'S day, but that in Christian times this mighty Archangel usually took the place of the older god THOR; that the whole district here about shows ancient remains and local names proving heathen worship, especially of Thor; and that the cliff itself and its details seem to show that a Temple and a Thing (folk-court) once existed on its top. In all this I believe Magnusen to be reasonably correct. Adding hereto the antiquity of the staves, given by him as

HIRIÞOMÞIKHA

which only differ from my

HIRIÞÆÞIKINI

from his making ᚠ = O; instead of Æ, and ᛉ = M, instead of A, while he gets the HA from the imperfectly copied 3 last staves, redd by him as ᚺᚾ (HA), by me as ᛁᚾ (INI), he suggests:

HIRIÞOM ÞIKHA

*For-the-*HERADS *(Hundreds) the-*THING*-*STEAD

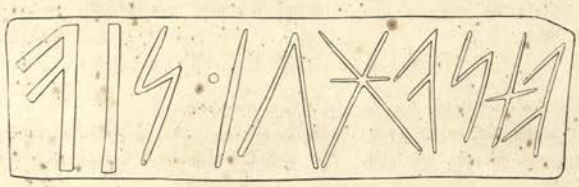
(= The Law-Court for these districts.)

He adds a second guess which is not so happy, but on the whole we both agree in the main idea.

GJEVEDAL, OMLID, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1050-1150.

From a Rubbing, dated August 11, 1805, by M. F. ARENDT, in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Here engraved Half the size of the Original.



Unfortunately I do not know whether this monument is of wood or of stone, or to what part of Norway it belongs. I have found it among the invaluable and exact Rubbings made by Arendt during his antiquarian wanderings. He commonly was very particular in marking all his Copies and Rubbings, not only with the place but also with the date when taken, usually even to the very day. But now and then he has omitted this, and such unhappily is the case with the piece in question.

In the Catalogue of *Arendtiana* drawn up by Fin Magnusen, that scholar thus describes the number. — "*An unknown Inscription*, in Runes like the Anglosaxon — apparently to be redd from right to left"[1].

The only guess I can make as to the identification is as follows. In the 9th Section of *Arendtiana* in the Museum is a list, in Arendt's own hand, of "Aftrykte Paaskrifter" (Paper Tracings and Rubbings). No. 5 of these is called "*A very old* and Anglosaxon inscription on wood, from Gievedal Church, Omlie, in the Westland. The *contents* perhaps speak of *the time when the Church was consecrated*. It cannot be less than 650 years old. Taken August 11, 1805". — Now I have carefully examined not only all the Rubbings by Arendt, but everything else among his notes and papers, and I can find nothing like an inscription in "Anglosaxon" Runes but this piece. I therefore suppose that this is the one here referred to.

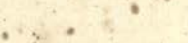
It may have been much older than the Church, a heathen piece given or transported thither from some other place. Or it may be a Christian transition-carving, either to mark a grave or for some other more particular purpose. I take it to have been a grave-memorial. My assumed date is the lowest possible; perhaps it is centuries older.

[1] "*En ubekjendt Indskrift*, i Runer der ligne de *Angelsaxiske*, — som synes at burde læses fra Höire til Venstre."

There is little hope of any information from the locality where it was found. I begged Prof. Sophus Bugge to oblige me by making what enquiries he could, but he tells me that Nicolaysen has informed him that this old Gjevedal or Gjævedal Church was pulled down many years ago! It stood in Gjevedal Sogn, Omlid Præstegjeld, Råbygdelag, Nedenæs Amt.

At all events this carving is evidently very old, agreeing in character with other early Runic Monuments, on which we often find merely the name of the deceast, or a word or two added.

The runes, being retrograde, are redd from right to left. Turned round, they are:



ÆNSÆGUI SLÆ.

There being a distinct dôt between the SLÆ and the foregoing word, I think the letters are already divided, and render them:

To - ÆNSÆGU THESE - memorial - runes.
(= These letters were cut in memory of Ænsægu.)

With reference to this risting we must remember that — whatever they may signify — there is no doubt as to the characters. The size of the runes is so large and the paper impression, by Arendt's own hand, is so sharp, that we must take all or nothing. Nor can I see the least sign of mistake. All is old and venerable. We see the same slight variations as elsewhere. There are two trifling differences in the shape of the ᚠ (Æ). The ᚾ (S) has an unusual form. The ᚷ (G) is rare on monuments, but occurs in many of the old parchments alphabets. — Should the staves be here redd aright, the formula as yet stands alone: but it is very near some others almost as short.

I have lately (1865) received a note from Prof. Bugge informing me that, in answer to his questions, the Priest of Gjevedal has made enquiries among the peasantry, and one old man remembered the runic piece and the visit of Arendt, when the old church was taken down, about 1824-5. So this inscription is now identified. But the old man added, that Arendt, after finishing his paper rubbing, had thrown down the piece of wood and said — 'now you may do what you like with it!'. This is incredible, impossible. Arendt would at any time have made any sacrifice to rescue a precious antiquity[1]. The tale is clearly only an excuse for the further statement of the peasant, — that this piece was afterwards burnt, 'together with other rubbish'. Nor does it agree with Arendt's own statement that he took the rubbing in 1805, not 1824 or 1825. In fact he was not alive in 1824, much less in 1825. Had the peasant known this, he would have "stretcht the bow" a little less strongly.

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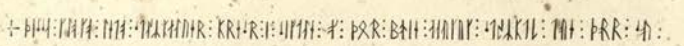
[1] Martin Friedrich Arendt was a learned Botanist and Linguist, and became one of the greatest enthusiasts and originals that ever lived. He carried his devotion to antiquities to such a pitch as almost to deny himself meat, drink and clothes, and for many years wandered on foot thro Scandinavia and half Europe hunting after "singularities and old-laves". These he copied with extraordinary accuracy and elegance. Very seldom have later students found a small error, here and there, in his valuable transcripts. Many of the pieces drawn by him have since perisht. At his death his portfolios were bought by the King of Denmark, by whom they were given to the Danish Museum. His biography reads like the strangest romance. He was born in Altona in 1773, and died near Venice in 1823. He was generously assisted by the Danish Government, and by several Scandinavian Magnates.

HOLMEN, SIGDAL, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1150-1250.

From a Drawing by the Rev. P. HASLEF, dated Dec. 1810, now in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven.



Naturally enough, as a matter of course, and with orthodox Churchwardens' barbarism, this Bell has been long since re-cast. In what particular year after 1810, I do not know. We cannot therefore verify the inscription. The only copy hitherto publisht is that given by Nicolaysen, in "Foreningens til Norske Fortidsmindesmærkers Bevaring Aarsberetning for 1857, Christiania 1858", 8vo, Pl. 1, Fig. 4. This is taken from the Rev. Mr. Bernhoft's "Indberetning" of the 8th July 1745, in the Kall Collection, but a copy of which is also in the Cheapinghaven Museum. But this is shamefully incorrect, and it is no wonder that Nicolaysen could make nothing of such an absurd text. The good priest has been just as successful here as in his woful attempt to copy the Sigdal stone, which he has done on the same page.

Fortunately, in the same rich Museum is preserved a careful and elegant and apparently exact drawing both of the Bell itself and of the Inscription which ran round it. It was made in 1810 by Dean Paul Haslef, Priest of Holmen and Sigdal in Buskerud Amt. His description, as written in explanation of his drawing, is (in English) as follows:

"The smallest Bell in Holmen Church, of common bell-metal, form and dimensions as shown by figure. Height, exclusive of the ears, 19 inches, greatest breadth in diameter about 2 feet. The height of the runes equals the space in which they stand, namely 2 inches. They are in relief; but whether that the flow of the metal has been unequal, or that the letters were not perfectly formed, the lines are in several places not well filled up, and they are sometimes not quite plain. But my copy is as exact as I could possibly make it" [1].

[1] "Den mindste klokke i *Holmen* kirke, støbt af sedvanlig klokkemetal, af Dimensjon og Forhold som af Fig. 1 Tab. 1 og hosføjede Maalestok vil erfare. Höjden, Orene fraregnede, er 1½ Fod 1 Tomme. Dens störste Vidde i Diameter 1½ Fod 5½ Tomme. Runernes Höjde er lig med rummets hvori de staae nemlig 2 Tommer. Skriften er ophævet; men da Metallet enten ikke har flydt vel, eller Bogstaverne ikke vare vel formede, findes Linierne paa mange af dem ikke vel fyldte, og ere derfor temmelig utydelige, imidlertid ere de med muligst Nöjagtighed afcöpierede."

We have here then an instance of a transition-carving, Old-Northern Runes being still employed intermixt with their successors the Scandinavian. The O. N. o occurs once, the P thrice, and the Y twice. In this last letter, in another copy taken by Haslef the little stroke on the left side of the one and at the right foot of the other *is wanting*; it may therefore have been a mere crack or flaw in the metal. In the last stave of the last word the stroke is prolonged downwards to make it an N, as it would otherwise have been an L. Possibly Haslef has overlookt the N-stroke and the last part was R, thus SONR. In either case the meaning is the same.

Several distinct ties occur. We have the bound AL in *Aluer* and *Sikktale*, OK in *Ok*, ON in *Bonte*, OR in *porr*, OU in *Toue*, RT in *port* and the same Bind-rune used for TR in *Prestr*, and UI in *Auik*, for so I take it that this last word must be redd. We may divide AA AUIK, or A AAUIK. The ᚠ is either a double K (ᚠᚠ); or was perhaps a pointed K, thus ᚠ, standing for G, so that we may read the word as SIKKTALE or SIGTALE; the former seems more probable. In BONTE the ᛁ stands for T (ᛏ), the T-stroke often wanting in old inscriptions both Latin and Runic; sometimes it has never been carved, sometimes it has become invisible. DORR doubtless stands for DORÐAR or DORAR.

The copy by Haslef then seems substantially correct, at least there is no Runic or Linguistic reason to the contrary, and the meaning is good and clear:

\+ DISSA KLOKO LETO STYOPA
ALUER, PRESTR, I SIKKTALE,
OK DORT BONTE AA AUIK·
UK STYOPTE TOUE DORR SON(R).

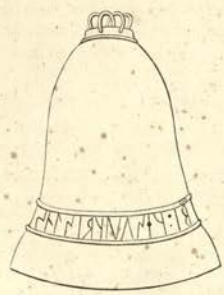
\+ *THIS CLOCK (bell) LET STEEP (vote: cast)*
ALUER, PRIEST IN SIKKTAL (Sigdal),
AND THORT (Thord) BONDE (yeoman) ON AUIK;
AND STEEPT (cast it) TOUE THORR-SON.

There are several bells in Scandinavia with Runic inscriptions, mostly in the Latin language, and in the usual Scandinavian staves. I am fortunately able to give one of these pieces, but bearing Swedish as well as Latin words, as an illustration of the above from Holmen. It is the

DREF BELL, SMÅLAND, SWEDEN.

From a Drawing in the Archives of the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven.

This is Liljegren's No. 1991 (Dref, Uppviddinge, Småland). The inscription is in reverst runes, to be redd from right to left:



BRODIR SBBI (? = SBIALBUDI):
YESUS KRISTAS. AFE MARIA. GRASIA.

BROTHER (? = SBIALBUTHI) (made me).
JESUS CHRISTUS. AVE MARIA. GRACIA.

The R in MARIA is ornamental. The Y in KESUS, whether regarded as hard K or as soft Y (YESUS), is equally remarkable. Observe also the A in KRISTAS for U, the F for V in AFE, and the S for C in GRACIA: the Latin C being often pronounced as K in olden times, the soft sound of the Romance peoples is given by the S. All these and similar peculiarities of spelling in Latin words abound in carved monuments from the oldest times down thro the middle age, and are usually not "mis-carvings" but peculiar or provincial methods of pronunciation, or the vulgar spelling according to the vulgar sound by workmen more or less ignorant of the Latin tung. Sometimes these Latin carvings are mere bungles by stone-cutters or metal-workers who knew nothing at all of what they copied, and perhaps sometimes followed the writing of a "clerk" as wise as themselves.

Runic Bells not in Latin sometimes bear the Runic Futhork, the alphabet thus inscribed being occasionally incomplete or overcomplete; sometimes the name of the maker (N. N. GARED ME, &c.); sometimes the Angelic Salutation, &c.; sometimes, as on the Dref Bell, Latin intermixt with the mother tung.

With the quaint echoes of this Old-Runic Bell ends our Roll of monuments from the second province of our proud Northland — OLD NORWAY. Besides the Golden Runic Bracteates found in its soil, and given farther on, we have:

STONES.	ROCKS.	? WOODEN PILLARS.	? AMULETS.	BELLS.
1. Tune.	1. Væblungsnæs.	1. Gjevedal. (Lost.)	1. Fröhaug.	1. Holmen. (Overgang. Lost.)
2. Stenstad.				
3. Reidstad.				
4. Orstad.				
5. Belland.				
6. Tomstad.				
7. Bratsberg.				
8. West-Tanem.				
9. Sigdal.				
10. Seude. (Lost.)				

Total only 14, dating from about the 3rd to about the 13th age. Of these pieces 5 have been found since the commencement of this work — harbingers, as we trust, of a still richer harvest. Tho few in number, the Norse Old-runics are several of them singularly valuable, either for their kind or their language or the circumstances under which they were discovered.

DENMARK.

IN MINNE

OF

THE RUNE-SMITHS OF DENMARK;

WITH MANY GREETINGS

TO

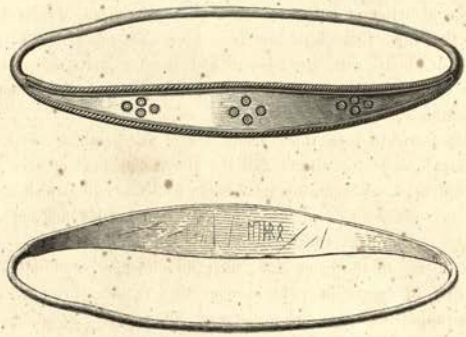
PROF. P. G. THORSEN,

OF CHEAPINGHAVEN.

DALBY, SOUTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200-250.

Half size. From the Original in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven, No. 8563. — Lent by me to Prof. THORSEN, *for publication in his Danske Runemindesmærker, 8vo, Vol. 1, where they stand at p. 325.*



Denmark is mostly a flat and agricultural land. On its rich soil Modern Farming has made great progress: its corn and cattle are known in all our markets. As might be expected, during the last century or two its Written and Unwritten Stones and Stone-settings, Cairns and Cromlechs, have been largely destroyed: the Plough and Macadamized Roads have done their work. Apart from the great heaths and mosses, where former populations and burials from the Runic period are not to be lookt for, the Danish Kingdom has few wild or lonely spots likely to shelter the granite grave-pillars of ancient times. Everywhere throout Europe such remains have been sweepingly cleared away, partly from Heathen or Christian or Civilized fanaticism, partly from the wanton barbarism of sheer brutality, partly for material use and profit in foundations and walls and posts and slabs and road-making. But in Denmark this smashing or re-using has been almost entire. The *oldest* stones have disappeared, and even the *later* are comparatively few and rare. Hundreds of them have perisht within the last 5 or 6 generations, scores *within this century*, — some of them without having been even copied. At least *some* of these *may* have been Old-Northern!

But that Old-Northern Runic Pillars have been as common in Denmark as elsewhere in the North, we may be sure. If these Runes were inscribed on so many other things found in its soil,

they must have also been used on its Standing Stones. And Saxo Grammaticus (the Venerabilis Bæda of Denmark) appeals to Runic blocks in such a way, as to show that he must have referred to memorials some of which — even in his day — were from the most hoary eld.

But this is also evident from these Runes occurring, *mixt* with the Scandinavian staves, on a few of the later stones still left. These can only be overgang pieces, dating from the transition period from the older to the younger alphabet. They are nearly all heathen; the carvers would not use characters which no one could understand, and these characters are found nowhere but in the gradually receding Old-Northern stave-row. When old letters die out by degrees, it proves that the older alphabet was formerly in common use. And as these old runes slowly fell away before the simpler letter-row, so the simpler runes in like manner drew back step by step before the Latin letters.

Still it is not impossible that some stone with *only* the Old-Northern staves may yet turn up in Denmark. Meanwhile, besides the overgang-blocks, we have many precious objects, of wood, bone, gold, silver, &c., from the 3rd century downwards, on which these ancient characters — and only these — are abundantly employed. We will begin with the Golden Diadem found in the folkland of the Jutes, one of the best-known clans of our gallant forefathers.

Dalby Parish, Tyrstrup Hundred, Haderslev Shire, lies high up in South-Jutland. Its Church is the most northerly in the province. A very considerable oblong Barrow containing dry sandy mold, with the remains of a stone-kist, now partly leveled and used as an earth-fence, is the place where this GOLDEN DIADEM or Hair-ring[1] was found in 1840, at the topmost edge of a dale stretching towards the inner part of Kolding-fiord in Tyrstrup Hundred. But this jewel has sometimes taken its name from the nearlying Strarup, a homestead in Haderslev Amt. Shortly afterwards was discovered, in the centre of the same mound, the skeleton of an ox with bent legs, its head toward the east. As there was some distance between the two, there *need* not have been any connection between them. Yet it is most likely that the dead body with its Diadem and the Ox were buried together in the funeral chamber. Several large stones had been removed from the same spot in former years. Other grave-hoys exist in the neighborhood.

This elegant Head-wreath is a thick round bar of the precious metal, hammered out flat in the front half, with a raised edge of cordwork and the star-ornaments[2] of very early times. It weighs 13 ounces. The sum paid by the Museum for its value in gold was 320 Danish dollars, about 35 guineas.

Older engravings will be found in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", 1842-3, pp. 167-71, Tab. VIII, and in Worsaae's "Nordiske Oldsager", Ed. 2, No. 366.

The runes, as usual on the inner side, offer no difficulty, and nothing remarkable save the square-topt u. They may of course be redd in one, thus LUTHRO, probably as a dative, *for* or *to LUTHR*. But as the o is apparently here the usual mark of property, *ownership*, I divide:

ᛚᚢᚦᚱ ᛟ

LUÞR O.

LUTHR OWNS (possesses this).

(= This belongs to Luthr.)

At the right corner is also, still more lightly engraved, what seems to be a double-rune:

Should this be really a letter-sign, it is apparently only a repetition of the above, the first stave in this Bind-rune being ᛚ (L) and the second ᛟ (O).

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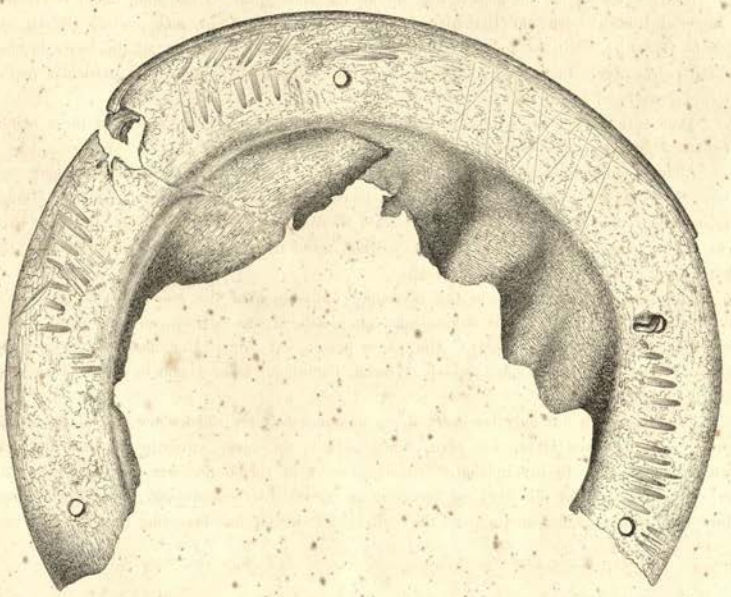
[1] Or perhaps it may have been worn *outside* the hat or cap or other headdress. This ornament appears to have been the Norse-Icelandic HLAD, from its being usually of Gold also called the GULL-HLAD. Similar pieces have been several times found.

[2] A similar ornament, of gold, is let into the iron of one of the spear-heads found in Nydam-moss, South-Jutland. — See Nydam Mosefund, 1859-63, af Conr. Engelhardt, 4to, Kjöbenhavn 1865, p. 29, Pl. XI, No. 40.

THORSBJERG MOSS, SOUTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200-250.

From the Original, deposited in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Flensborg. Full size. — An engraving of the one half, showing the Runes, has appeared in THORSEN'S *Danske Runemindesmærker, Vol. 1, p. 331.*



Who has not heard of the famous antiquarian Thorsbjerg Moss, near South-Brarup in Angle, and of the now equally famous Nydam Moss, also in South-Jutland, the Pompeii and Herculaneum of our early folk-lore! Other Scandian Mosses have yielded precious objects; but it is striking, astounding, that such *a crowd* of costly as well as warlike and other remains should have been found in these spots,

and the learned are not yet agreed how and why they came there. Probably they were war-spoils, or purchast by a traveling chapman or metal-merchant or speculator from some battle-field, perhaps in England. The owner or owners, suddenly surprised by a foe, hid them away till some convenient opportunity for removing and realizing the accumulated stock. Certain it is, that many of them are smasht and gasht and hackt and hewn and broken in an extraordinary way, an evident proof that they have seen hard fighting, and have been afterwards hammered up as mere metal. But death or accident prevented their exhumation, and they continued to lie in their place of concealment till prosaic turf-cutters rediscovered the hoard in our days. The Danish Government spared no expense in making the necessary researches, and a rich harvest — swords, shields, spears, bows, arrows, harness, coats-of-mail (fine ring-mail!), clothing, helmets, ornaments (many of them of the precious metals, gold, silver, bronze, or decorated therewith), iron, wooden implements, glass &c. — has been the result.

But only two articles were found at Thorsbjerg bearing runes.

The engraving represents the one of these, *a Bronze or Brass Shield-boss*, found in June 1858. It is rather thin, of Barbarian not Roman make, with the letters on the inner side, that which had been turned to the wooden shield.

This and the following lave (or, to speak in Romance, this and the following relic), mementoes mayhap of Roman defeat by barbarian Freemen, are of the highest value, not only as bearing runes, but also and particularly as being found under circumstances which give them *an approximate date*; a thing so rare with these Old-Northern remains, and so welcome when it does occur.

This approximate date is derived from a twofold source.

First, we have the *Coins* found in the Moss along with the many and costly antiquities. These Coins amounted to 37, all small Roman silver pieces, much worn, running from the days of Nero to the time of Septimius Severus in 194.

Next, the *style* of the objects dug up at the same spot. Everything found is either direct early Imperial Roman work, or Barbarian imitations of the same, or such ancient Roman originals modified by Barbarian additions and alterations, or genuine Barbarian articles, all the latter in the taste of the Early Iron Age. In a word, the form, style, decorations, all point to one particular period, the 2nd or 3rd century after Christ.

Thus both Coins and Style agree, and no one who has personally examined these objects, as I have done repeatedly, can doubt the high antiquity of this whole find.

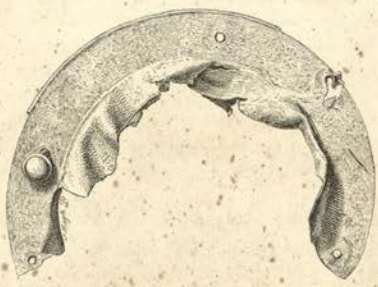
About Anno Domini 200-250, then, is the date when most of the articles were made, or when they were deposited in the oozy hollow which afterwards became a Moss. But a particular thing may or may not be much older. Such an article as a Sword or a Shield may long have wandered from hand to hand; or it may have been nearly new when taken from the dead soldier or bought from the plunder-seeker. Of all this we know nothing.

This find was deposited in the Flensborg Museum, and the whole has been described by Mr. Engelhardt, the Curator. This archæologist superintended the diggings, and the happy result was largely owing to his zeal and energy. His paper hereon was printed in "Slesvigske Provindsialefterretninger", March 1859, Flensborg, 8vo, p. 175 and following[1]. The Umbo is engraved by him on a small scale, fig. 6, 6 a.

Some lore-men not only lay great stress on those features which show that pieces of this kind have been turned on the lathe, but even, when such is the case, attribute to them the predicate "Roman manufacture". In my opinion, "barbarian" work of this period was as often lathe-turned as Roman, and any marks of this kind are therefore so far of little consequence. However this may be, the Boss now before us *has* on its front the well-known circular line betraying the lathe. I therefore

[1] See my notice of this in the Gentleman's Magazine, July 1861, pp. 74-76. — Since the above was written, Mr. E. has publisht a large and elaborate work on the "Thorsbjerg Mosefund", 4to, Kjobenhavn 1863; with splendid copper plates. This was described by me in the same journal, March 1863, pp. 308-10. — It is now (Feb. 1866) announced for publication in English by a London House (Messrs. Williams and Norgate)[1], in connection with the same gentleman's work on the similar finds in the Nydam Moss. The two volumes will be thrown into one, the plates of both being given entire, and the text will be carefully revised by the author himself.

engrave the obverse, *half size*, to show this. On the battered and broken metal we can still see traces of the lathe-mark on the left. Only one of the large-headed brass nails now remains.



And now to the inscription. It is boldly cut or scratcht, in sharp and fine but clear lines, and is as short and simple as may be. The runes are only the *me possidet* of the hardy owner:

ᚺᛉᚷᚾᛁᛅ

HAGSI Æ.

HAGSI OWNS (this).

(= This Shield belongs to Hagsi.)

All that is noteworthy in the shape of the staves is, that the ᛉ (A) has its left arm a little higher than the right, and that the s is of the older form. As usual, there is no division between the letters.

The last rune (ᛅ), if different from ᚬ, may have been provincial for ᛟ, and thus o.

But the runic pieces were not the only inscribed objects found at Thorsbjerg. There was also dug up a Bronze Shield-boss, massive and well preserved, of *Roman* workmanship and bearing a *Roman* name:

AEL. AELIANVS.[1]

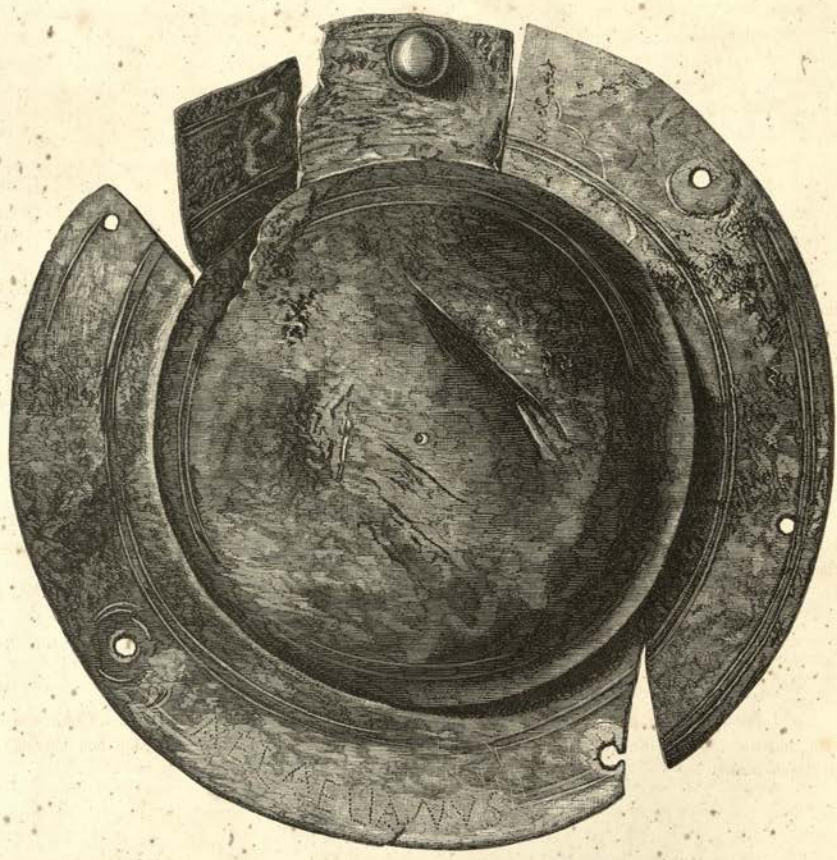
(AELius AELIANUS.)

These letters are not carved, but *dotted in*, *puncht in*, slowly and carefully. The shape here given to the A — the hanging stroke of dots added to its left limb — is remarkable.

Now this umbo is of immense archæological value, not only as a Roman parallel to the Barbarian umbo already described, but much more as an evident and striking proof that some of this war-spoil must have come from fields where Romans and Northmen fought in deadly conflict. And this could not have been in Scandia itself, where no Roman soldier ever set his foot, but was more pro-

[1] The name AELIANVS twice occurs on Roman stones found in England. The first is PRO SALVTE DESIDIENI AELIANI, on the stone raised at Littlechesters, Northumberland, anno 258 (Monumenta Historica Britannica, Folio, Vol. 1, London 1848, p. CIX, No. 27). The second is the stone near Tarraby, Cumberland (id. p. CXI, No. 43 *a*), undated, SVB CVRA AELIANI, without any prænomen.

bably in the North of England, where the shock between Roman and Barbarian was so sharp and lasted so long; roughly speaking, from the 2nd century to the 5th. Nor is this a solitary piece: 8 other Bronze Bosses, all of the same Roman type, were found in the same moss. As being of such importance to the whole subject, I engrave this umbo full size [1].



Dr. Edward Charlton [2] has described a piece which is a singularly interesting counterpart to the above, its Latin inscription being also dotted-in, not carved. It is the name-bearing Umbo, of yellow Bronze, of a Roman Shield found about 1827 near Matfen in Northumbria. "The diameter of the whole", says the learned Doctor, "is $8\frac{7}{10}$ inches; that of the boss is $4\frac{7}{10}$ inches. The prominence of the boss is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the thickness of the metal is greatest in the projecting part, and materially thinner at the edge. The breadth of the flat rim is almost exactly two inches. The rim ap-

[1] It is given 1-4th of the size on Plate 8, No. 11 *r* in Mr. Engelhardt's book on Thorsbjerg.

[2] In Archæologia Æliana, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 8vo, August 1857, pp. 49, 50.

pears to have been turned in a lathe, and is formed into three divisions by circular double lines about half an inch apart. In one of these spaces the inscription is found. Four holes are seen in the rim, through which square nails have evidently been driven to attach it to the wood of the shield. ..... The boss or umbo in this instance is certainly of unusual size, but, if we mistake not, it is exceeded by that figured at p. 457 of Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, and described there as having been found about the year 1800 near Garstang in Lancashire, on the line of the Roman road to Lancaster. Here the diameter of the umbo is more by an inch and a quarter than that of the present specimen, and the margin is not so broad, so that the whole diameter is somewhat less. Four holes, as here, are visible in the flat rim, for attaching the umbo to the wood of the shield. The Garstang umbo, which is now in the British Museum, is covered over with figures of great interest, and engraved with considerable skill. On the boss is a fine sitting figure of Mars, surmounted by a wreath of laurel, and on the rim are two spirited nude figures, an eagle with its claw upon a globe, and other curious emblems. The specimen before us exhibits no signs of art-workmanship, except that in the central band of the rim there is a short inscription rudely struck with a pointed instrument. As far as we are able to decipher the letters, they give the word DON. I P IOVINTI."

Dr. Charlton translates this (as if DONUM IULII PUBLII IOVINTI):

The GIFT of JULIUS PUBLIUS IOVINTUS.

He adds: — "Whoever the owner may have been, the shield was probably lost by some Roman soldier in a skirmish to the north of the Wall, from which great barrier the spot where it was found is distant only about two miles. The wood and leather have rotted away long since; the imperishable bronze has handed down to us, in all probability, the name of another defender of the Wall".

Later, in the Archæological Journal, we have a valuable paper — only too short — by Mr. Franks on this same Boss, which he figures. He says: — "The boss has no ornaments excepting a few engraved circles; on the rim are the traces of an inscription executed in punctured dots. From the present condition of the surface, it is difficult to ascertain the exact form of the letters, for the "pot lid" was hung up in the farmer's kitchen, where it received a weekly scouring, and owing to this, or to previous corrosion, the metal is covered with minute holes, which are easily confounded with the punctures of the letters. Indeed I feel some doubts whether the artist has not included in the woodcut some of these accidental holes. The inscription has been read DON SP IOVINTI; on examining the original, I felt nearly certain that the termination is QVINTI, and that the whole inscription might possibly read ORUSPI QVINTI, the first character being the centurial mark, and the sense being either "the centuria of Ruspius Quintus", or "of the centurion Ruspius Quintus"" [1].

Many umboes have been found in England, but only one bearing runes; and this, as far as I know, now no longer exists. About 160 years ago it was in the hands of an English antiquary. This SILVER BOSS came to light in 1694 at Sutton in the Ile of Ely, Cambridgeshire. It is figured (the size of the original) and described, pp. 186-88, in a letter dated 1704, appended by the learned Hickes to Andrew Fountaine's "Numismata Anglo-Saxonica & Anglo-Danica", Oxford 1705, the closing treatise in the first volume of Hickes' famous Thesaurus. In answer to my letter of enquiry, our accomplisht Mr. Franks, of the British Museum, has informed me that the said Silver Umbo is now entirely unknown, altogether lost to science. I therefore think it my duty to re-engrave it here, printing it in silver, otherwise exactly copied from Hickes' copper-plate. I do this the more willingly as it is almost unknown, the great Thesaurus being so rare and costly; as it is the only Runic Shield hitherto found in England; as it is in several respects more than usually interesting; and as the translation offered by Hickes — the only one I have seen — who lookt upon the Old-English carving as a magical formula and the Shield as a magical Shield, is a great failure. I need not say that I engrave *full size*. The inscription, as we see, is on the reverse, as usual.

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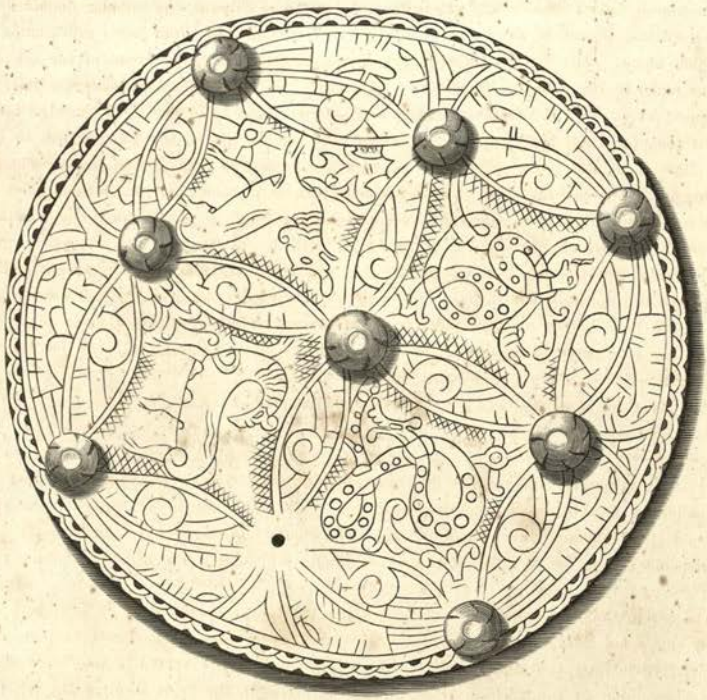
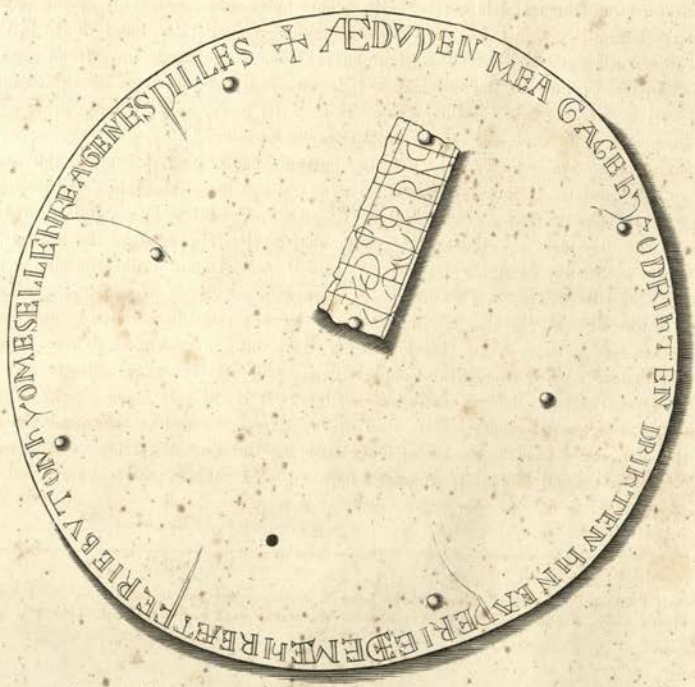
[1] A. W. Franks. On Bosses of Roman Shields found in Northumberland and Lancashire. — As I have only seen an overprint of this essay, I cannot say in which number of the Archæological Journal it occurs. But it is in one of the later volumes.




ÆDVPEN MEA GAGE
CODRIHTEN DRIHTEN HIN EADERIE DEMEHREAT
PRIEBVTON YOMESELLEN REAGENES PILLES

I give below the whole letter[1], translating here only those lines which describe the piece and how it was found:

"While your treatise, wisest Sir, on the Saxon and Dano-Saxon Coins was yet in the press, the Reverend and most learned John Taylor, Vicar of Harlow in Essex and Canon of Peterburgh Cathedral, sent me a silver Shield [or rather, Shield-boss] of the size engraved on the opposite page. It was turned up from the earth 10 years ago by a peasant, as he was ploughing a field near Sutton, a town in the Ile of Ely. This piece, which bears on its inner or concave side a Dano-Saxon inscription, was cunningly hidden in a thin sheet of lead, together with 5 heavy and costly golden rings, 100 silver coins struck in the reign of William the Conqueror, and an uninscribed silver chain."

If we now examine this precious antiquity in the light of modern science, we shall see that its style and workmanship apparently date from the 10th century, that the carving round the inner rim is in Old-English, and that it also bears a fragment with Scandinavian runes.

The English inscription, properly divided, is as follows:

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[1] "Clarissimo Viro
ANDREÆ FOUNTAINE
Equiti Aurato
GEORGIUS HICKESIUS
S. P. D.

"Dum sub græco esset de Numismatibus Saxonicis & Dano-Saxonicis dissertatio Tua, *vir doctissime*, ad me misit Clypeum argenteum ejusdem peripheriæ, quam in icone illius ex adverso vides, Reverendus & pereruditus *Johan. Taylor* Ecclesiæ paroch. de *Harlow* in Com. *Essex*. Vicarius, & Ecclesiæ Cathedr. *Petroburgensis* Canonicus. Repertus erat ante x annos à Colono quodam, qui illum forte cum terra vertebat, dum aratro proscinderet agrum quendam qui juxta *Sutton* jacet, *Insulæ*, quam vocant, *Eliensis* oppidum. In lamina plumbi, cum quinque magni ponderis & pretii aureis annulis, centum Nummis argenteis, *Wilhelmo Conquestore* regnante percussis, catinoque argenteo, cui nihil inscriptum erat, ipse qui in ora superficiei concavæ inscriptionem Dano-Saxonicam præ se ferebat, affabre erat coagmentatus. Hunc igitur, qui inter Antiquitates Saxonicas locum sibi vendicare videbatur, ne in opere nostro sculptum collocare gravarer, monebant quidam *φιλαρχαῖοι*, præsertim in litteris ad me datis vir præclarus *Johannes Covell* Collegio Christi apud *Cantabrigienses* præfectus. Res etiam ipsa monebat, ut à quo consumendo tempus omnium edax forte temperasset, id publici juris faciendo, posteris & æternitati donarem. Quamobrem, cum de loco illi destinando mecum cogitarem, nullus alius antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis duobus in libris magis idoneus visus est, quam is, qui Numismata Tua continuò sequeretur, tum quod à re nummaria non prorsus alienum cum foret, cum Tuis id connecti Te non moleste laturum crederem; tum etiam maxime, quod in fine Numismatum à Te explicatorum locum opportunum nactus esse viderer, in quo gratum ac beneficiorum memorem animum in Te meum oblato hoc munusculo declararem; qui cum magni laboris, majoris sumptus, & maximi quidem ingenii ac doctrinæ libello Tuo opus meum ornare, ac amplificare voluisti. Accipe igitur, pro summa humanitate Tua *Tabellam* hanc, quam perinde officii in Te mei, ac antiquorum temporum Monumentum in duabus faciebus exhibeo; quarum ambæ prototypum clypeum ad magicum usum esse fabrefactum suadent. Id ut credam faciunt. Primo, *Gyri Runici* qui in superficie convexa cernuntur, quamvis *Runarum* expertes. Secundo, *Runæ* sive potius *Runarum* jugationes, ut opinor, *Magicæ*, quas cœlatas in fragmento ansæ argenteæ illi clavis umbellatis fixæ (qua quis prehensum tenebat Clypeum) superficies Concava ostendit. Tertio, ipsa Inscriptio, quani Incantamenti genus esse constat; quo quisquis Clypeum in prœlio portabat, à metu Mortis securus factus, se invulnerabilem esse putabat. Sic autem à signo Crucis distinctis verbis Inscriptio legenda est.

"+ ÆDVFEN MEA GAGEHY O DRIHTEN DRIHTEN HINE A FÆRIE RE ME HIRÉ ÆT FERIE BVTON HVOM SELLE HIRE AGENES FILLES.

.....

"Ut vero magis & incantatoribus, iisve qui se tales fingunt, suum arcani sermonis genus semper est, quo in superstitiosorum animis fidem & reverentiam crcent: sic ista, quæ suppositis punctis notavi, ex Magico isto et occulto verborum genere esse censeo, utpote quæ nihil, quod scio, significant; aut si quid forte significent, illorum sensum me prorsus latere fateor. Reliquia autem Inscriptionis pars, sic, ni fallor, Latinè interpretari fas est:

"O DOMINE DOMINE! ILLVM SEMPER DEFENDE QVI ME SECVM CIRCVMGESTAVERIT; ILLI VOTA SVA CONCEDE.

"Hæc precationis formula adeo consecratos & quasi munitos Clypeos, *ἀποτροπαίους*, esse factos ignari credulique cujusvis ordinis homines existimabant. Adeo ut qui id genus ullum contra plagas quasi Amuletum in prœlio gestaret, securus à metu Vulnerum pugnabat.

"Supra dixi Clypeum hic exhibitum in agro quodam *Insulæ Eliensis* esse inventum. Quæ palustris Regio, eaque maxima, cum olim esset, loci ingenio freti Proceres quidam Angli contra Gulielmum Conquestorem arma illic movebant. Hinc vero simile esse puto illum cum Gaza quæ cum eo applumbata erat reperta, Magnatis alicujus fuisse peculium, qui cum aliis Normannici jugi impatientibus in paludosa terra ista Natura adeo munita à Normannis novis Dominis se suosque cum armis tutari voluit. Hæc, ad Te raptim, verbis tantum non extemporalibus scripsi, *celeberrime Fountaini*. Quæ oratum candidum Lectorem velim usque adeo ut accipiat, donec aut Tu, Tuusve *Willisius* avo *Thoma* nepos dignissimus, aut alius aliquis rei Antiquariæ scientia vobis par, rei tam spissa Nocte obvolutæ uberiorem Lucem accersat. Vale. Dabam pridie Kalend. Octobris. A. D. M. DCC. IV."

+ ÆDVWEN ME AG. AGE HYO DRIHTEN. DRIHTEN HINE AWERIE ÐE ME HIRE ÆTFERIE, BVTON HYO ME SELLE HIRE AGENES WILLES.

ÆDUWEN ME OWNS.

OWN SHE the-DRIHTEN (= may she possess the Lord, may the Lord bless and keep her alway!).

DRIHTEN (the Lord) HIM AWARIE (accurse) THE (who) ME from-HER may-AT-FARE (shall take, carry off). BUT (unless) SHE ME should-SELL (should give, unless she gives me to him) of-HER OWN WILL (of her own free will, voluntarily, of her own accord).

(= I belong to Æduwen, whom Christ take into His holy keeping! — God curse him who beareth me from my owner, unless she should deliver me to him of her own free will!)

The Runic inscription in the centre I cannot read. Apparently the one half has been broken away. The rest seems to be in stave-runes, several runes on the same stave, a shorthand we can seldom decipher when carried to excess, as here.

There is something romantic in this English risting, for it shows that its owner was a Lady, a Shield-may, some Princess or other highborn dame accustomed to fight at the head of her troops, as we so often hear of in old English and Scandinavian history. The shield would seem to have been made for her. She may have fallen in battle, and her silver weapon then came into the hands of one of the Scandinavian marauders in the 10th century who ravaged England about the time of King Alfred. This new owner fastened a slip, bearing Scandinavian runes, on to the inner side. In King William's time, say towards the close of the 11th century, the boss was regarded as so much precious metal, and the whole hoard of gold and silver, wrapt up in lead, was buried (in what was then a wild Moss) till better days, probably by an Englishman who had fought against the Normans and — lost. But those better days never came, and it remained in the earth till the year of Christ 1694!

The name of this Shield-may is very rare. It would probably be spelt EADWEN in the usual Old South English. I only remember to have met with it once elsewhere. It was borne by (AEDWEN) the mother of S. Godric, the Hermit-saint born in East-Anglia but who lived and died at Finchale in Durham. He was born at the beginning of the 11th century. (See "Reginaldus De Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici", Surtees Society, 8vo, London 1847, p. 22.)

Then there is another interesting point in this inscription. It contains *the formula of imprecation*, the old heathen curse which past over into the documents of the Christian early and middle age. The words here used are:

CHRIST HIM CURSE WHO BEARETH ME AWAY!

Let us now compare this with the similar legal prohibitions and powerful adjurations on Heathen Classical stones and on Heathen Runic stones[1], and we shall see how long-lived these traditions are.

Without going to other lands, Eastern as well as Western, the English Charters, as we all know, contain hundreds of parallel forms, most of them in Latin. But I will cite a couple in the mother-tung. Thus in Kemble, Vol. 2, p. 107:

AND LOKE HWA ÞESES AWANDE. HABBE HE GODES CURS. ET SAINTE MARIEN AND ALLE GODES HALEGES AC ON ECNESSE. AMEN.

AND LOOK, WHO THIS should-AWEND, HAVE HE GOD'S CURSE, AND SAINT MARY'S, AND ALL GOD'S HALLOWS' (and that of all God's Saints) EKE, FOR-EVER. AMEN!

And at p. 183, Vol. 6:

GOD HINE ÁWEORGE ÐE ÐIS ÁWÆNDE.

GOD HIM AWARIE (curse) WHO THIS should-AWEND (overturn, set at nought)!

We may also refer to the rimed formula so often found in the same volume among the manumissions:

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[1] See GLAVENDRUP in the Appendix, and the remarks on this head in the section RUNIC REMAINS AND RUNIC WRITING, pp. 89, 90.

CHRIST HINE ÁBLENDE
DE DIS GEWRIT ÁWENDE.

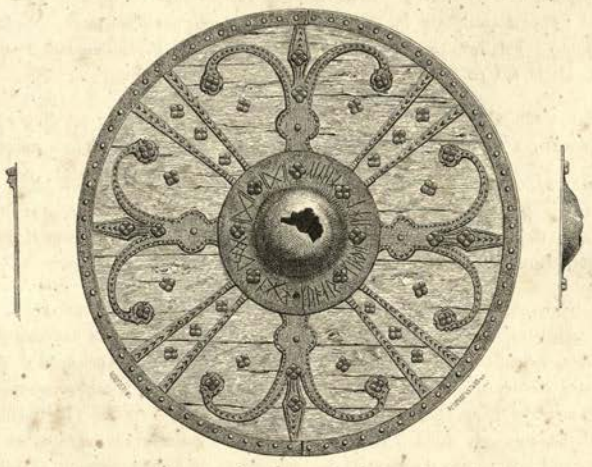
CHRIST HIM A-BLEND (blind, deaden)
WHO THIS WRIT (document) shall-WEND!

As a precious parallel to the above pieces, I add a figure showing

THE WOODEN RUNIC SHIELD

FOUND AT RIKÉ, NEDENES AMT, NORWAY.

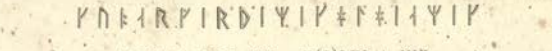
Given 1-fifth of the full size; Runes separately 1-half. Now in the Christiania Museum, No. 954. Drawn in 1865 by Candidate JONAS RASCH; on wood by Lieut. A. P. MADSEN, Cheapinghaven; engraved by J. F. ROSENSTAND.



This elegant Targe is of thin and light wood, probably the Linden, decorated and strengthened with tasteful wrought-iron fastenings. It was brought to the Christiania Museum in 1840, or shortly after, and had belonged to the farmstead at Riké, where it had been hung up on the door of a "Stabur" (booth or outhouse). It seems to be from the 12th century. The nails, bands and Boss are of Iron. On the right side of the woodcut is given a section of the Boss, showing its relative height; on the left side is a similar section of the ornamental Cramps, which run as radii from the umbo to the rand. This "gamel lave" was first mentioned by Nicolaysen, in his "Norske Fornlevninger", II, Christiania 1863, 8vo, p. 259. As far as I know, it is unique. Several Shields from the Bronze Age have been found in Scandinavia, and a couple from the Iron Age (these latter apparently from the Early Christian period); but — with the single exception of the Shield-Boss dug up at Thorsbjerg — the Riké Shield is the only one *bearing Runes* (and these last *Scandinavian*) yet discovered. The Rune-

less one figured in Worsaae's "Nordiske Oldsager", 2nd ed. No. 571, is somewhat less than the Riké specimen, to which it bears a general resemblance in form and workmanship. is also of wood and iron, and is apparently of about the same date. It is now in the Cheapinghaven Museum, but is supposed to have come from Norway.

The staves on this Riké Shield are still all safe and sound:



KUNNAR GIRDI MIK. H(I)LHI A MIK.

KUNNAR GARED (made) ME. H(I)LHI (= HILGI, HELGE) OWNS ME.

The ᚼ for NN (ᚾᚾ) is an interesting example of this not common bind-rune. Lector Ol. Rygh, whom I have to thank for procuring me the drawing, reads the second name H(E)LHI; but I prefer H(I)LHI, taking the I to be contained in the following stave. But either reading is admissible. The ᚦ in GIRDI shows that letter with broad bow. — All the following marks are doubtless only fillings-in, ornamental strokes, not runes.

The formula OWNS ME is found on many runic pieces. Other Scandinavian-runic examples are given in the Appendix, and elsewhere. Remarkable is the instance on the upper cross-fastening of a "Stabur" door at Lower Rauland in the Parish of Rauland, Upper Thelemark, Norway. (See Nicolaysen, l. c. p. 239.) This was examined by Lector Rygh in 1863, and to him I am indebted for a careful transcript. It is cut on the ironwork, in one long line, as follows:

HAKI BEANAR SUN A MIK; SUÆN OS(FRI)DAR SUN SLǪ MIK; OSOFAR RÆST MIK AUK LÆISTE; ODESNDHEN NESTA EPTIR OLAFS FOKU, A SETA ARE RIKES F(O)S FI(R)DULHS H(e)RA MAHNUSAR NORIHS KONOHS.

HAKI BEAN'S SON (= BJARNARSUN) OWNS ME; SUÆN OS(FRI)D'S SON SLEW (hammered out, made) ME; OSOFAR (= ASULFR) RAISED ME EKE (and) LOCKED (fitted with lock, &c.); WEDNESDAY NEXT AFTER Saint-OLAF'S WAKE (Eve), ON (in) the-SIXTH YEAR of-the-RIKE (reign) of-OUR WORTHILY (worshipful) HERRA (Lord) MAGNUS, NORWAY'S KING.

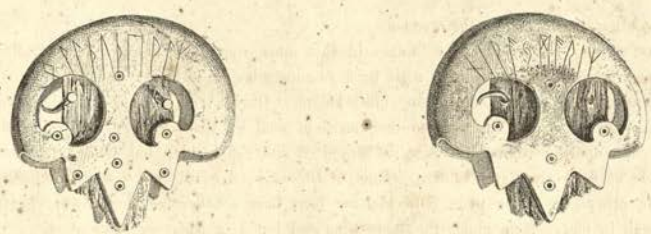
As Mr. Rygh observes in his letter to me, dated Christiania 7 Sept. 1865, and which with his permission I translate: — "This inscription is very striking, both for its dialectic pecularities (such as OSOF, with the L fallen away, — OSULF is still pronounced OSOV in Thelemark), and as being the oldest exactly dated Norse runic carving hitherto discovered. If, as Nicolaysen supposes, and as is undoubtedly the case, the King Magnus here mentioned is Magnus Eriksson (1319-1374), the date of this ironwork will be July 31, 1325. In Magnus Hokonson's time (1263-1280), to judge from the Norse parchments still left to us, the formula for dating was of a very different character."

In this last carving SUÆN and RÆST are given ᛋᚢᚫᚾ and ᚱᛦᛋᛏ, with the common ᛋ for ᛌ; and yet we have ᚨᛌᚢᛚᚠ, with the ᛌ. Observe also the slurring of the R in BEANAR, the singular pronunciation of the NS (as SN) in ODESNDHEN (= ODENSDAHEN), and the F for U or V or W in the words FOKU, FOS and FIRDULHS. In KONOHS we have a nasal H for the sound NK.

THORSBJERG MOSS, SOUTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200-250.

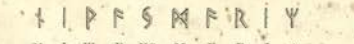
From the Original, deposited in the Museum, Flensborg. Full size. — Lent by me to Prof. THORSEN *for publication in his Danske Runemindesmærker, Vol. 1, where they stand at p. 331. — Drawn and Chemityped by J. M.* PETERSEN.



This Bronze Brace, or chape or clasp or ferule, has belonged to a Sword-sheath of wood, to which it was added to preserve its lower end from wear. It was found by Mr. Engelhardt at his second diggings in the Moss, in 1860. As seen in the engraving, which is from an exact sketch taken by J. Magnus Petersen shortly after its discovery, it still exhibits the two *bronze nails* (for fastening the clasp to the wooden sheath), which have since fallen away. The remaining fragments of wood are tender, and show the same tendency to disappear.

The inscription is on each side, and must be redd from above, looking at it with the bottom of the imaginary Sword and Scabbard held up in the air and the Handle in our hand. As on all such metallic surfaces, there are several slight dents or scratches, which have *nothing to do* with the distinctly carved letters. Such is the horizontal mark at the top of the M, the streak between the O and the W, the long weak score across the upper part of the DU, and so on.

Each side of the brace bears 10 runes and no more. The slight flaw and scratch after the ᛟ are nothing; nor was there room for a letter here. The characters are as follows:



N, I, W, Æ, NG, M, Æ, R, I, A

O, W, L, D, U, Þ, E, W, Æ, A

I take the 7th stave in the 2nd line to be E. It is sometimes found with this form on the monuments. There is a tiny hole in the centre of the top stroke, as if the graving-tool had gone thro the thin bronze, and this may have contributed to its resembling a straight line here. If not E, it can only be U.

The runes are quite plain, even elegant, but it is difficult to give an unchallenged meaning to them. We cannot absolutely say whether the two lines were carved at the same time, or the one long after the other, nor which is to be taken first, nor whether they run the one into the other. Any translation must therefore be offered with great caution and diffidence and tremor, and merely as an attempt.

I take the two lines to be contemporaneous, not to be separated from each other, and the one beginning with NIW to stand first. The words may be variously divided. I prefer the following arrangement:

NIWÆNG MÆRI A,
OWL ÞUÞEWÆA.

NIWÆNG the-MERE (clear, illustrious, famous) OWNS-this, CAPTAIN of-the-THEDES (clans or peoples).
(= Niwæng the Illustrious, Lord of the Nations, owns this.)

Should this be the meaning, it must have been a *Presentation-Sword*, for no hero would *call himself* THE GREAT, THE DISTINGUISHT.

It is not likely that we should take NIWÆNGMÆRI as one word, a mansname. — If we should venture on MÆRIA as a Proper name in the dative, we shall then get:

NIWÆNG to-MÆRI, CAPTAIN of-the-PEOPLES.

For other remarks, see the WORD-ROLL.

Most of the 45 Sword-chapes found in this moss were of bronze, a few of silver, none of iron; they were originally fastened with nails or a running edge on to the wooden sheath. Their form and ornamentation are various, some being quite round. Only a couple of the wooden Scabbards had no brace. As far as we can judge from the marks of wear on these ferules, the Old-Danish warrior — like his contemporary Roman — bore his brand at his right side, but its length was far greater than the blade used by the Latin soldier. Some of these Sword-guards are scallopt or ornamented with circles, while others are quite plain. In fact we have here another instance of very great variety of form and detail in pieces from about the same time and found in the very same spot.

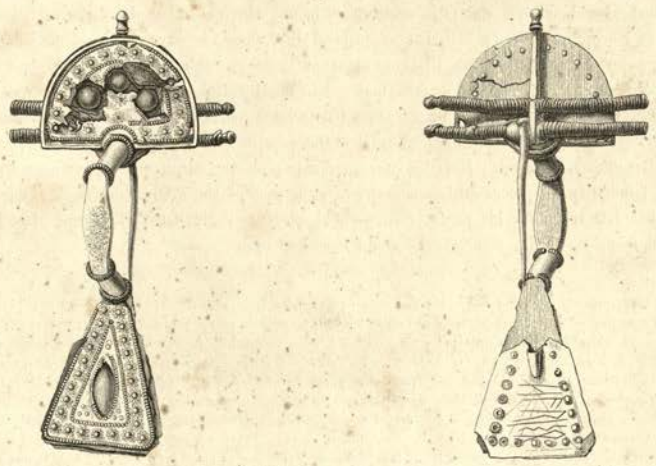
Years after the above was written, Prof. F. Dietrich, in his treatise "Syntaktische Funde" in Haupt's Zeitschrift, 1866, pp. 124-38, has just given (p. 125) a translation of this piece. As a specimen of his readings and versions I add it here:

"NI VANGUDA RIMO VILDU ÞUVAM.
NICHT BEHAGTE RUHE DEN BURSCHEN DER WILDE"
† REPOSE PLEASED NOT THE BOYS OF THE WILDERNESS.

HIMLINGÖIE, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 250-300.

Full size. From the Original, No. 3506 in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven. — Drawn by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN. Engraved on wood by HENNEBERG and ROSENSTAND.



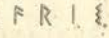
Himlingöie is the name of a Hamlet in Bjeverskov Herred, under Vallö, Præstö Amt. Close hereto may still be seen the remains, each year less considerable, of "Baunshöi Bakke", a large flattish natural bank of gravel, and nearby are several of the usual round grave-mounds[1]. Little noticed before 1820, after that time Baunshoy Bank was found to consist of excellent gravel, a splendid thing for mending the roads. So since then the country people have been accustomed to fetch thence loads of gravel, and in so doing they dug out proofs that this bank had been used as a burial-ground during the Early Iron Age. The bodies were interred unburned, and with them many objects of great real as

[1] See Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1836-37, pp. 343-46; — V. Böye, Oplysende Fortegnelse, Kjöbenh. 1859, 8vo, p. 48; — C. Engelhardt, Nydam Mosefund, Kjöbenh. 1865, 4to, p. 50.

well as antiquarian value[1]. I fix the date of this find at about 250-300; later than the beginning of the 4th century it cannot be. In this opinion I am supported by Mr. Herbst.

Among them was the beautiful parcel-gilt Fibula here engraved, found in 1835. The style of this elegant fastening at once shows its great antiquity. It is of mixt metal, apparently a kind of bronze, overlaid with thin plates of silver, riveted with silver nails. All except the nail-heads has been originally gilt. The 3 round beads above and the oblong below, set into the metal-work on the front, are of blue fluor-spar or some such material. A central ornament has fallen away from the middle bar.

A metal surface is always liable to accidental scratches, which must never be taken for carved staves. Otherwise many mistakes will be made. The actual runes cut on the back of this piece are quite plain:



HÆRIS O.

HÆRIS OWNS (is the owner of this brooch).

This HÆRIS (= HARIS), with the nominative s-mark, which afterwards fell away, still left, is a mansname so rare and precious as to be here found for the first time. But some few examples exist in which it has been preserved as the final syllable of a *compound* name.

Here as so often on these oldest pieces we are struck by the elegance and bold dashiness of the letters. They are not only well formed and well cut, but they speak of a time and a hand familiar with runic carving as a thing of everyday life. Thus there is no sign of an incoming and infant art, or of anything gradually "developing" itself to something it was not before. Still less have we any signs of "ideographs" and "symbol-figures", as some late authors have imagined. The alphabet is everywhere full-fledged and mature, and is in each man's hand. But this flings back the introduction of letters in these Northern lands to a period centuries higher than any of the objects on which they have hitherto been found. We see also that on most of these movables the staves had been risted after the article itself was made, — that is, the maker had not intentionally left any exact spot for a runic carving. This was therefore the whim of some particular owner. In others, however, the inscription has been arranged for at the very first, as is also the case on the runic Standing Stones, and still more so on the Bracteates, on which last the runes are a part of the die itself. Thus here again we have variety and familiarity — pieces with runes cut in as a part of the original design, — objects on which the maker has left space for his name, &c., — and pieces on which a casual owner has inscribed his name, or some other words, wherever he could best find room.

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[1] In 1829, near the center of the mound and close to a skeleton lying with its skull to the south and its feet to the north, was found a Finger-ring of gold, each of its 8 decorated spirals bearing a serpent's head. (Engraved in Worsaae's Nordiske Oldsager, 2nd ed., No. 382). — Next, a little under the surface, a Glass Goblet with foot, the whole bearing raised ornamental lines. (Engraved in Ann. f. Nord. Oldk., 1844-45, Tab. 12, Fig. 109, and in Worsaae's Nord. Olds. No. 317.) — Afterwards turned up a costly Glass Drinking-horn, also with raised line-decorations. (Copied in Ann. f. Nord. Oldk., 1844-45, Fig. 111, and in Worsaae, No. 320.) — Thereafter a Bowl or Cup of glass, its foot formed by a raised ring. — Next two Silver Goblets of "barbarian" work, each with a highly characteristic and interesting border of figures, stampt up from behind on a thin hoop or lamina of gold, which has then been fastened on to the cup, just below the rim, with silver nails. They are both in the same style, and strikingly resemble in general features the figures on the golden Horns from Gallehus. (The one is given in Worsaae, No. 314; the other in Ann. f. Nord. Oldk., 1844-45; Fig. 101, but still better and with the figures separately full size, in Ann. f. Nord. Oldk., 1862, p. 24; which last I have repeated in my notice of the Golden Horns [Gallehus, Denmark] further on.) — Also a Cullender of bronze, placed above a bronze Saucepan, and these again in a turned clay pot with ear, covered inside with thin bronze (see the figure in Ann. f. Nord. Oldk., 1844-45, No. 100), and a bronze vessel with a spout, (engraved in Ann. f. Nord. Oldk., 1844-45, Fig. 102, and in Worsaae, No. 304). — On the southern side was dug out a bronze Pail, with figures below the rim, Roman work, (given in Ann. f. Nord. Oldk., 1844-45, Fig. 99, and in Worsaae, No. 302), and another bronze Pail differently made, with a handle. A massive golden Ring was also found, but was melted down before it could be examined. — In 1831 was obtained a Brooch of bronze, very similar in shape to Worsaae's No. 395; also 6 Beads of transparent glass, 1 large one of light-blue glass, 52 smaller of glass, 62 of clay and 4 of amber. — In 1833 came a fragment of a bone Comb, fastened together with bronze tacks. — In 1834, pieces of a large brooch, like the one found in 1831, a bronze Pin, a small bronze Brooch, a whole Comb of bone, a spiral Finger-ring of gold. — In 1835, another spiral Finger-ring, the rune-bearing Fibula of my text (previously, but not exactly, engraved in Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1837, Pl. 7, Fig 10 a and b, and in Worsaae, No. 381 a and b), 7 Blue Beads of glass mosaic, 24 of glass and 2 of amber, some bits of a bone Comb and another bronze Strainer.

NYDAM MOSS, SOUTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 250-300.

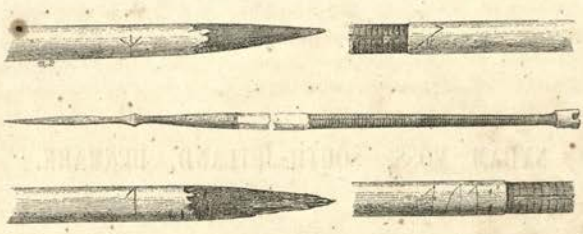
Among the Danish Mosses in which Early-Iron antiquarian remains have been found, that of Nydam occupies a distinguisht place. It lies north-west of East-Sottrup School in Sundeved, in a dale about 2700 feet long with a medium breadth of 400 feet. It was once part of a bay of Als-sound, and in those old days was navigable. Valuable pieces have been taken out from time to time, but most of the things thus found have been destroyed or have disappeared.

At last systematic diggings were made by Adjunct Engelhardt, at the expense of the Royal Danish Government for South-Jutland, in the summers of 1859, 1862 and 1863, during which King Frederick VII was twice present. A space of about 10.000 square-feet was thus examined. An interesting account of the whole has been publisht by Mr. Engelhardt in his splendidly illustrated work: — "Nydam Mosefund, 1859-1863. Af Conr. Engelhardt. Med 15 Kobberstukne Plader og endeel Afbildninger i Texten." Kjobenhavn 1865. 4to. pp. VI, 66.

The total result of these costly diggings was an invaluable and unique contribution to the history of our Northern Ancestors. There were exhumed, among other things: — a Galley or Pinnace, of oak, for 28 oars, 75 feet long by 10 feet 6 inches at broadest, flat-bottomed, sharp at each end, with several ship-fittings still on board; a second Galley, of fir-timber, about the same size, armed with a ram or spur at each end low down; remains of a third Boat; Brooches of bronze; Clasps of silver; Buttons; Beads of glass, amber, mosaic; Ornaments; small wooden Boxes; Tweezers; Ear-picks; Combs of bone; many Shield-boards; Rands of bronze; 70 iron Shield-bosses and others of bronze, with one of iron covered with silver ornamented with gold; 106 iron Swords, of which 93 were damascened in various patterns, on some a maker's mark and Latin letters stampt in, the hafts of wood or bone or bronze; Sheaths of wood, with metal fittings; pieces belonging to Sword-belts; Clasps of iron and bronze; several hundred Spear-shafts of wood; 552 iron Spear-heads; some with ornamental ristings or pieces of gold let in; iron Awls; 36 wooden Bows; several hundred wooden Arrows; Arrow-heads of iron and bone; a wooden Quiver, and the metal fittings of another; many oval Hones; iron Bits, of which 3 were still in the mouth of skeleton Horse-heads; iron and bronze and silver pieces belonging to Horse-harness; the iron blade of a Sithe; clay Pots; Pots and Bowls of wood; a wooden Trough and Bucket; Bast netting; 76 iron Knives with wooden handles; 37 iron Axes; a wooden Club; 34 Roman silver Coins, struck between the years 69-217 after Christ; and parts of the skeletons of Horses and of a Cow.

Most, perhaps all, of these things would seem to have been originally in the Boats, which had been scuttled and sunk, probably to avoid capture by a pursuing foe. They were found at a depth of from 4 to 7 feet, and lay in great disorder, tho many were in regular bundles. Violent storms may have scattered them far and wide. Many things were incomplete or new. Most were injured or cut or gasht or wilfully broken up. Thus the same characteristics as we find in all the other antiquarian Mosses.

One class of these pieces bore Runic Bo-marks and letters. These are the Arrows. See Engelhardt's Plate No. 13. The following are the most interesting, and are here given from a Cast of the block in Thorsen's "De danske Runemindesmærker", Vol. 1, p. 358, drawn from the originals, full size, and Chemityped by J. M. Petersen:



All these ristings were doubtless marks of ownership. Of these Arrows, of which fragments are given above, one has a plain ᛉ (ᛦ); another has a kind of Bind-rune; a third a reverst L (ᚳ); a fourth a whole word in reverst runes, probably a Mans-name. Turned round, they are:

ᛚᚢᛅ·

LUÆ.

It may be the nominative or in the genitive. But it is also quite as likely that we ought to divide it as

LU Æ.

LU OWNS (this arrow).

If a contraction, which is not probable, it is perhaps the beginning of a name.

But there were various other carvings on some of the Arrows found at Nydam. Thus on one is a D or M (ᛗ); on another a T with the arms low down (ᛏ), like one of the forms for AN; on another a G-figure (ᚷ). There are several capricious marks or ties: dots; notches (2 or 3 or 4, &c.); half zigzags; whole zigzags; double zigzags; a half-moon; and so on. Thus each warrior could at once recognize and claim his own weapon.

As we see, the men who made and handled the articles in the Nydam Moss also familiarly used the Olden Runes found here and elsewhere in the North.

Arrows have been found in other Danish Bogs, some of them with Bo-marks. But so many of these pieces have been destroyed unexamined that some may have had runes. As to all these Moss-finds we must remember, that where one article has been rescued one hundred have been broken or burned, or have otherwise gradually perisht at the hands of the turfmakers.

VI MOSS, ALLESÖ, FYN, DENMARK.

?* DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-350.

Full size. From the Original in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Drawn by J. M PETERSEN. On wood by HENNEBERG and ROSENSTAND.

The Vi Moss, between Allesö and Næsbyhoved-Broby Parish, in Odense Amt (County), Fyn, is another of those ancient petty lakes — made by time into mosses — which have gained themselves a name as depositaries for precious antiquarian remains from the Early Iron Age. The principal excavations in this marish are so recent, that time has not yet been given for the proper telling and ordering and description of the articles exhumed. But Archivary C. F. Herbst, who first commenced scientific diggings in the Vi Turf-field, has favored me with information as to some of the chief facts connected with this now famous spot.

As early as the year 1848 the Museum began to receive a few "antiquities", found by the peasants who dug turf in the "Vi-Mose". These pieces were of the usual character, iron swords, clasps, ornaments, &c., things with which we are now familiar from the other Danish Bogs. But they were at that period very imperfectly understood, and were regarded as far later in date than they really are. They excited, however, the strongest interest among antiquarians, and at last Archivary Herbst succeeded, partly at his own expense, in carrying out a plan he had long advocated for regular excavations in a field so full of promise. This took place in the summer of 1859, from the 11th to the 27th of July, in 10 separate spots, so that not only was a noble harvest of olden remains at once obtained but the moss was, as it were, mapt out for future investigations. In these labors Mr. Herbst was assisted by Prof. J. Steenstrup. But want of funds compelled them to stop, and Mr. Thomsen never could be persuaded to allow the task so happily begun to be brought to a close.

For the next 5 years, therefore, nothing was done. The plundering of the Moss by the ignorant turf-cutters unavoidably went on, and the Museum obtained only a small part of what was actually found. Still the total number every year was considerable. This was owing to the noble zeal and enthusiasm of Pastor Meldal, the Parish Priest of Allesö. At a great sacrifice of time and labor he year after year watcht over the diggings, rescued what he could, sent the pieces thus collected to Cheapinghaven and obtained proper remuneration to the peasants. In 1865 occurred the lamented death of Councilor Thomsen, and this led to many changes. Among them was a plan for properly and scientifically examining what was left of the Vi Moss. Prof. Worsaae happily scraped together the necessary official funds and entrusted the labor to Adjunct Engelhardt, who, as opportunity offered, was holpen in his arduous work by Archivary Herbst, Adjunct Faber of Odense, and Candidate Vil. Boye. The ex-

pense was considerable, and the time required greater than had been expected. This final examination commenced on the 20th of July 1865, and ended on the 18th of August.

Altogether, from first to last, the number of articles found in this moss cannot be far short of 3000. Among them may be mentioned more than 800 Lance-heads of Iron; a couple of hundred Iron Shield-bosses, while there was only one such of Bronze; about 17 double-edged Iron Swords and 14 one-edged crooked Iron Swords — the so-called Scrama-saxes or Cimeters —, besides fragments of others; 19 Spurs of various shapes; a multitude of fittings and trappings, partly ornamented with overlaid gold and silver; an extraordinary number of bone Combs; many of the men used in playing Draughts or some such sort of game, and many pieces of the Boards or Tables on which these playing-pieces had stood. Peculiar to this great find were the many Sword-scabbard heels and Sword-scabbard clasps of Ivory, (which material has never been found in the other Danish mosses), the surprising number and variety of Wooden articles (Cups, Bowls, Dishes, Trays, &c.) many of them excellent in shape and make, and the Wooden Tools which here met the eye.

And mingled with all this wealth and variety of chiefly if not entirely "Barbarian" manufactures, were also several things of undoubtedly Roman origin. Thus there was a silver coin of Faustina Junior (A. D. 175); a brass crest or ornament of a helmet, boldly and sharply finisht, representing a Griffin's head (engraved in Worsaae's Nordiske Oldsager, 2nd ed. No. 336, a and b); and several large Bronze Buttons for Sword-belts, on which have been laid plates of gold stampt with figures of Jupiter's Eagle between *insignia militaria*.

But with regard to the piece now before us, evidently the Clasp of a Sword-sheath; it was found by a turf-cutter and forwarded to the Museum in 1853. Mr. Herbst at once observed that it bore Runes, and since that time this antiquity became a kind of lion in the Danish Collection. Mr. Worsaae engraved it, 2-thirds of the size, in his Nordiske Oldsager, where it stands (2nd ed., Kjöbenhavn 1859) p. 80, No. 331. It is of silver ornamented with gold, but a thick hard crust, a kind of rust, hides a part of the inscription, and what is visible would seem to be meaningless. Still whether a mere idle scratch or a real significative carving, the marks upon it are clearly runic.

What invested this piece with so much interest was, that it was the first article found in any Danish Moss *bearing runes*, — for Abildgaard's memoranda on what had been discovered in the Kragehul Moss were at this time almost unknown and were considered incredible.

But this runic Scabbard-clasp is also remarkable as a stepping-stone or landmark in Archæological study. For in his short but valuable paper on the Varpelev Find[1] Mr. Herbst informs us that it was this piece which led him to establish the Early Iron Age, and to throw it back in Scandinavia generally — at least in Denmark — to about the 2nd century after Christ, if not earlier. This Early Iron Age — whatever its exact limits — is now universally admitted, and may be considered as the key to the history of those races whose arms and civilization have last and mightiest left their stamp on all the Northern lands!

All the great features connected with this hoard were the same as in the other Danish mosses. Some things were comparatively new, others old, some even mended and patcht and clouted. Many showed signs of little use. The vast majority were jagged and broken in the fury of savage fight, cut and gasht with sword or lance, dinted or pierced with arrows. Many had been wilfully smasht or bent or jammed into each other any how, clearly as only so much old lumber. Some things had been laid down whole, others were only bits and fragments when committed to the water. Many of the articles were deposited carefully wrapt up, or in whole bundles; for instance at one spot was found a heap of 38 iron spear-heads and other things folded up in linen stuff. Many more were found singly or by twoes and threes. Some were near together, others were disperst far and wide from the central layer. The wrappings and holdfasts had rotted away, and centuries of storms had scattered and intermixt all that had not become fixt in the mud. The quantities of stakes and matting found seem to show that the whole deposit had been paled round, that it might easily be taken up again when a chance should occur. But the tarn kept its secret. The old-laves were in a layer of turf which averaged 3 feet in thickness, and were found at all depths, from 1 to 4 feet below the greensward. Not one of the wooden Shields was perfect, and the Bows were very scarce, but one turned up nearly 6 feet long.

[1] "Varpelev Fundet, beskrevet af C. F. Herbst", in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1861", Kjöbenhavn 1865, 8vo, pp. 305-22.

Besides the great number of weapons, including pieces of admirable ring-mail, and all sorts of things intended for ornament and the workshop, some articles were found connected with agriculture. Everything, as far as could be seen, was of the same general character. There was no sign of gradation in the manufacture, or of some things being scores of years — still less centuries — older than the rest. And all was apparently laid down at once, not at successive periods or by successive generations.

Thus in this as in all the other mosses there is not the least shadow of "a Holy Lake", and of these antiquities having been "offered to the Gods" by being sunk in the water[1]. There is nowhere the last hint or tradition of any such custom in Scandinavia. Holy (offer) Wells and Holy (offer) Churches are well known in all the Scando-Gothic lands; but that is something very different. And such Holy Places (originally devoted to Heathen Powers) continue sacred. Only they obtain new names; FRIGG'S WELL becomes ST. MARY'S WELL, and BALDOR'S FANE may become THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN. But not even bigoted and cruel legislation has been able as yet quite to destroy the sacred character of the olden popular Offer-Wells and Offer-Churches, still as formerly more or less frequented and enricht by the peasantry and seafolk of the Northern kingdoms. Hence had such a Lake been an Offer-Lake, *it would have been so still.* At all events the diggers would have found proofs that it had been so for many hundreds of years, down into the Christian age. But there is no shadow of evidence to this effect. On the contrary all things show that the objects were deposited, not offered. And then the character of the things found absolutely forbids their having been "offered to the Gods": — broken Glass, old Iron, hammered-up Bronze, smasht and twisted arms and ornaments and tools, — these have never been the things selected as a costly sacrifice to the Heavenly Rulers; but they always have been and still are the things collected by a chapman, a "dealer", a chafferer in "marine stores", a gatherer of old clothes and old metal and old or new whole or broken refuse and rubbish (which always has its value when it reaches a proper market) swept together at a low price from the battle-field the farmyard and the workshop. Several such "stocks in trade" have been found in the Northern countries. Accident has revealed to us what has evidently been the collected booty or trading stock and capital of — here a maker or seller of stone-articles; — there a maker or seller of bronze-articles; — here a maker or seller of iron-articles; — there of a dealer in old gold or silver or both; and so on. And there is nothing at all unlikely in our lighting upon the accumulated war-spoil and old iron and old tools of a Chieftain or of a Dealer in the Early Iron Age. There must have been some particular reason for these hoards having been hidden in *water*; probably it was simply because there was *no room* on *land*. From the bulky nature of a large collection (some thousands) of objects thus brought together, they would require a very large space indeed to hide them well. But this could scarcely be obtained at all on land, especially when it was to be done at a few hours' or days' notice. Great indeed must be the pit or trench that would have to be dug, to receive so immense a hoard. With only a hand or two to do it, it would take weeks. Then it would be "hard to hele"; and, even if tolerably maskt, it would be still harder to stow away "somewhere" the immense pile of earth taken out. In fact cave-hiding could scarcely be done at all, particularly in a flat and populous country. It is very different with the usual "finds" so often met with under boulders, stones, behind a rock or tree, stuck into a sandhill, buried in a bank, and so on. These "finds" are usually gold or silver or jewels or trinkets or coins, or some precious weapon, things of intrinsic value that take up little room, and that can be hidden anywhere and at any time. The largest of these finds could mostly be put into one's hat. But, literally speaking, each one of these Moss-hoards has been large enough to fill a large room. Now where could such a heap be so quickly and easily put out of sight — at a moment's notice — with reasonable hopes of soon removing it again, as in a nice bit of low-water shore in a frith or bay or lake near the

[1] Some of the animal-bones found in the Nydam Moss would seem to have come there accidentally, or to have been thrown overboard. The Horse heads and limb-extremities would seem to have been sunk into the water at the same time as the other articles. Perhaps most of them bore ornaments which had not yet been taken off for want of time. Certain it is that several of the Horses-heads had iron bits and other things still attacht to them. But almost all these bones showed signs of having lain on a battle-field for several days, and of having been gnawn by wolves, before they were gathered up by the vagabond spoil-collectors or camp-followers. See Prof. Steenstrup's ingenious and needle-sharp remarks hereon in Engelhardt's Nydam Mosefund, pp. 37-42. His woodcuts show the swordcuts and the hole made by an arrow. In all this I can see no proof of any offer-feast or offer-lake. But the fact is, we know nothing of a thousand details connected with these things. What appears to us simple may have had some symbolical or religious signification, and some things to us mysterious and wonderful may have been mere everyday occurrences — just as a butcher cuts and hangs up his meat in a certain way.

sea? Certainly no where else. And hence a snug place in the water has been so often selected for this purpose. In the Nydam Moss the two Gallies which were laden with the same kind of spoil and lumber were evidently pursued by a foe or robber, were hurriedly scuttled close in shore, and were never recovered [1]. Otherwise we have the same features in all these moss-finds, and they all speak of a period when the "spoil and lumber" of both Barbarian and Roman were strangely intermingled. The Roman could not have been far off. None of the hitherto found "antiquarian mosses" seems to me later than the departure of the Imperial armies from Britain [2]. — See (on the Kirkliston stone) p. 72.

When conversing on this subject with State-Councilor A. Regenburg, late Director of the Royal Danish Ministry for South-Jutland, — a gentleman not less known for his wide historical and antiquarian studies and profound acquirements than for the urbanity and kindness and generosity with which, both in and out of office, he has always protected and encouraged every branch of Northern Science and Literature —, he mentioned to me a striking parallel from our own days. At my request, he drew up this piquant historical anecdote in writing, and has allowed me to translate it here:

"In August 1807, when the English Army attackt Sealand, the Militia were called out to resist them. Many of these troops were equipt in Sorö, which has its own Lord-lieutenant. But these raw levies, ill disciplined and poorly clothed and armed, had to measure swords with hardy English veterans, led by England's finest officers, at Kjöge. As might be expected, they gave way. They were completely disperst. But a great number of those who had been fitted out in Sorö hurried thither, and gave up or threw down their equipments at the Lord-lieutenant's residence, the old Cloister or Academy. All these articles, together with the remaining stores of military effects, Uniforms, leather accoutrements and arms, of which a large portion consisted of Pikes and of Sithes made into Lances, were brought together by the Lord-lieutenant, and — at the approach of a strong body of Hanoverian Dragoons under the command of General Linsingen — were sunk pell-mell in Sorö "Sö" (Lake). He hoped that the enemy would never find them there, and that he would be able to recover them when the foe retired. In his first supposition the Lord-lieutenant was correct, but not in his second. The Hanoverians could never come upon the traces of what was hidden so well, but after two months they withdrew and the turn came to the Danes. They sought and sought, but all to no purpose. In their hurry they had not markt the spot with sufficient exactness. The whole hoard was lost, and remains so at this moment. It doubtless sank beneath the mud which covers the bottom of the "Sö", and may perhaps lie there for 1500 years longer, when the whole Lake will have become a Moss or trembling Meadow. Some honest peasant, cutting turfs or making a ditch, may then light upon these things. In that case they will be found in about the same state as the "finds" in the Vi Moss, the Thorsbjerg Moss and the other Danish Bogs. Weapons and equipments and all sorts of "sundries" will be near each other, singly or in bundles, in the most delightful confusion. But such a singular "miscellaneous collection", some of the articles bearing manufacturers' marks from the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, or the Royal Initials of King Christian VII, or the Danish Arms, or other Stamps, may prove as great a puzzle for the grave "old-lorists" of that remote time as the Danish Moss-finds have been to the savans of our own generation."

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[1] In the middle of the 12th century the Wends and other Slavic pirates had not forgotten the same tactics — how to drag a ship ashore, scuttle it and decamp. King Waldemar the Great thus warns his men:

"Discedentes quoque præmonuit, ne hujus generis piratas, callidius quam fortius confligere solitos, repente lacesserent, & quibus id consvetudinis sit, ut hostili classe superveniente, navigiis suis in littus subductis, de industria citato cursu latebram petant, hostibusque liberum instandi locum tribuant. Sed mox ut eorum navigia ardenti remigum studio passim littoribus applicata conspexerint, improviso recursu latebris erumpentes, eadem brachiis per foros injectis apprehensa subducant, subductaque nautis partim lapidum, partim telorum nimbo obrutis ferro perfodiant, ac crebris foraminibus absumant."

But ere they departed he admonisht his Guard-ships not carelessly to attack the pirates. These vagabonds, said he, fight cunningly, not bravely. It is their custom, when a hostile fleet approaches, to draw their barks on land, quickly seek some covert, and leave all open for the on-rushing foe. But straightway, when their enemy have rowed forward with might and main, and tumultuously landed, they suddenly break from their hiding and pounce upon them, thrust their arms thro the openings and haul the ships ashore, bore holes in them with sharp iron and scuttle and sink them, while they miserably destroy the crews with a cloud of stones and darts.

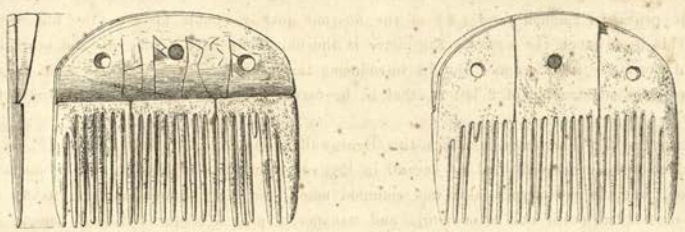
Saxo Grammaticus. Historia Danica. Ed. Stephanius. Sorø 1644, folio. Book 14, page 329.

[2] Of course all this does not prove that in these old days a local tribe may not now and then have held some great Religious Festival, at or after which they may have thrown a mass of things — as an Offering — into a burning pile (as a gift to some Fire- or Sun-God), or some stream or bay or lake (as a gift to some Water-God). We know so little of the customs of the earliest ages and clans in the North, that no one can deny the possibility of such an occasional ceremony. All I object to is — the theory of "Holy Lakes" among Northmen, and the supposition that *all* or *most* of our early Moss-finds can be explained by any such hypothesis.

VI MOSS, ALLESÖ, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-350.

Full size. From the Original in the Old-Northern Museum, Chéapinghaven. Drawn by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN; on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.



Among the other objects found in 1865 in the Vi Moss were some dozens of Bone Combs, of the usual type in this period, single-tootht, more or less roundtopt, and the pieces fastened with bone nubs. Some have no ornament, are quite plain, like the one before us. Others have simple decorations, usually a few small circles or lines or zigzags or hatch-work. Some had fallen to pieces or were otherwise broken. Some were whole. A few could be perfected by bringing the various bits together. All were stained more or less deeply by the moss-water.

The BONE COMB before us is quite whole. At least it has only lost one of its teeth and two out of the three bone nubs. It is rather small. What makes it so valuable to us is the circumstance, that ere it was sunk in the Moss its immediate or former owner had scratcht his name upon it, and his native letters were our Old-Northern Runes. Fortunately these have taken little damage, and can be redd as surely as they could 1500 years ago. They consist of only five staves:

ᚺᚨᚱᛃᚨ

H, Æ, R, NG, Æ.

As so often, it is possible to conceive this as one word, taking the last vowel as a very old nominative-ending. But it is better not to suppose things violent or less probable. HÆRINGÆ for HÆRING would be old indeed! I therefore (giving the NG-mark here the value of ING, the vowel omitted for shortness) divide:

HÆRING Æ.

HÆRING ǪWNS (this Comb).

Thus we here again have the so common formula of ownership.

I have said that NG here stands for ING. Scandinavian-runic monuments abound in similar contractions. Old-Northern would do so too, if we had only more of them. This is the first instance with regard to this particular rune, and this piece was discovered while this work was going thro the press. Other examples may occur on Old-Northern runic Coins, but, as I have said elsewhere, these have never been collected and I have an imperfect knowledge of them. One such instance however I can give. Whether it be engraved in the 2nd edition of Ruding's "Annals of the Coinage of Britain" I cannot decide[1], for no copy exists (as far as I know) in the Danish Capital, where I am now writing. It is not in the first edition. But it is given in the valuable and well-known tract "Numismata Anglo-Saxonica & Anglo-Danica breviter illustrata ab Andrea Fountaine", Oxoniæ 1705, fol., appended to the second volume of Hickes' Thesaurus. On Tab. III, under Beornwulf, No. 1, we have one of the usual Pennies of the time

whose Obverse is inscribed BEORNVVLF REX, while the Reverse has the name of the Moneyer (MONNING) written

MONNᛝ

where the provincial English *form* (ᛝ) of the NG-rune plainly stands for ING, the full *name* of this stave. This is so much the surer as the above is the only rune here used. All the other letters are Roman of the Early Middle age. But by introducing this still well-known English rune the die-cutter saved the space and trouble of 2 letters, that is, he carved *one* stave (ᛝ) instead of *three* (ᛁᚾᚷ, I and N and G).

In his text Fountaine identifies this Beornwulf as the King of Mercia from 821 to 823. As to the "Monetarius", not only had we several in England called MAN or MON, MANNA or MONNA (with one N or two), but the patronymic also was common among our English mintmasters, MANNIC or MONNIC, MANNING or MONNING (with one N or two): and MANNING is still a frequent English name. Thus it is quite certain that the MONN(I)NG of Beornwulf's Coin answers to the HÆR(I)NG of the Vi-Moss Comb.

[1] As said above, this piece is not in the first edition of Ruding's Annals of the Coinage of Britain, the only one I have seen. But since those lines were written Sir Frederik Madden has kindly informed me that it is also not in the 2nd, nor in the collection of the British Museum, nor in any other known cabinet. It is supposed, he adds, that the valuable Fountaine Coin-hoard was sold or dispersed; it cannot now be traced. But there is no ground for doubting the entire accuracy of Sir A. Fountaine's engravings. Single runes, or a rune or two, are found intermixt with Roman letters not only on coins but on all sorts of things in all the Northern lands during the transition period of the early middle age when the runic staves were gradually giving way before the daily more and more potent and universal Roman alphabet. On Coins struck during this period in England, these runes were of course (the Provincial English) Old-Northern, in Scandinavia as naturally (the Provincial) Scandinavian; for in Scandia Coins were not minted so soon as during the Old-Northern runic age.

VI MOSS, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-350.

Full size. From the Original, now in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Engraved by J. F. ROSENSTAND from drawings on wood by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN.

Among the many hundreds of interesting objects recovered from the Vi Moss, perhaps the various articles of wood are the most characteristic. They include not only warlike pieces, such as Shields, Lance-shafts, &c., and Farming implements, a Boat, &c., but a variety of Dishes, Basins, Bowls, small Boxes, and so on, and several Tools and Ornaments. Their general feature is good workmanship and elegance of form, and it is evident that they are of native "barbarian" origin. They exhibit no signs of Roman art, either direct or indirect. Most precious of them all, as far as this work is concerned, is

THE LOKER OR PLANE BEARING OLD-NORTHERN RUNES,

of ash wood, nearly complete, and undoubtedly the oldest Plane existing in the world. It was found during the diggings of 1865.

This remarkable specimen of one of the tools used in a Danish Carpenter's shop about 1500 years ago was placed in the lake without its cutting-irons, of which it has had 2, as we can see by the holes bored thro it to fasten them when required for use. These knives had been taken out previous to the sinking of the Plane; otherwise the iron, even if it had been all consumed (which is so unlikely as to be almost impossible), would have left traces of rust, and would have dyed the wood. But there are no signs either of iron or of iron-stain. It has, however, suffered from friction and decay. It has been broken in two in the middle and in another place, which may or may not have been done ere it was thrown into the lake, probably the latter; and it must have lost about the space of an inch or two at the central part. One of the ends also, that inscribed with runes, is about a couple of inches shorter than the other, apparently by rubbing or striking against something sharp when softened in the water[1].

When Mr. Steffensen was chemically "cooking" and handling the various things found in the Moss, in order as far as possible to restore and harden and protect them, an art in which he possesses great skill and experience, he carefully examined every piece — watching and hoping for *runes*, — which could not be seen till everything had been well washt from the dirt and slime of the Moss.

[1] As this Plane has been so much broken and has suffered so much from friction, we cannot know whether it has originally had an ornamental curve upwards at each end, as is the case with the smaller (Arrow-shaft) Plane found in this same Moss, and described farther on.

To his great delight he found written characters first on the one piece of this then unknown object. Some time after the other bits turned up from their wrappers of wet grass, also bearing runes. On putting them together, they formed a nearly perfect Plane!

I immediately hurried to the Museum, where these operations were going on, anxious to take every possible precaution lest a single one of the precious letters should fade or crumble away when exposed to the air. We none of us knew what the effect of the "boiling" would be on the tender fibres of the wood, tho, by analogy, we hoped the best. So Archivary Herbst and I determined to make independent and exact copies of the inscriptions while the fragments were still lying in the water, thro which the runes were seen with remarkable sharpness. We set to work, and each produced his drawings. These we then compared with each other and with the original, and thus obtained a third and faultless transcript. We were now safe, however the chemical manipulation might turn out. When the piece was slightly dried, I made a second facsimile, and this showed that the former one was correct. Then came the "cooking". It succeeded admirably. The runes were even plainer than before. So I made a third drawing, which agreed with the others. With this before him, Mr. Petersen drew the whole beautifully on wood, preserving as far as possible all the stains and dints and fibre-marks and grainings, and the whole was engraved under every possible control. I doubt whether frail human hands will ever produce a better copy.

Fortunately the letters are generally sharply cut and tolerably well preserved. Here and there a stave or two has been injured by friction, or by the falling away of small particles of the softened wood, and now and then the moss-stains have affected and obscured the appearance of a particular letter. But generally speaking the whole is abundantly legible.

Let us now look at the ristings. Besides here and there a scratch or two from contact with some sharp instrument in the "Carpenter's Box", and the remains of three or four letters on the left side, we see at once that there are 3 regular scribbles, such as journeymen still make on their tools at this moment, and that these 3 inscriptions are in 3 different "hands". Each has its own "style", and there may have been years between them, or the one may have been made by a workman from one folkland, the others by people from another. We will take them consecutively, beginning with

THE RUNES ON THE SIDE.

On the left fragment, as we have said, are a couple of defective staves, so indistinct that we will pass them over.

On the right fragment is a long carving, nearly every letter sharply legible.

First we have a plain T and I and Þ (the bow grasping the whole staff) and A, and S (many-joint type) followed by divisional dots. Thus: TIÞAS.

Then a fine H and L, what seems to be E, then U and N, and apparently a G, followed by dots of division. We might suspect that the last letter was O (ᛟ), but repeated examination convinces me that it was a G (ᚷ), the top being confused and confounded by a damage and a stain. Thus: HLEUNG.

Then a B, of the usual shape, followed by a doubtful letter. The first leg looks like an N (ᚾ) on the paper, but the apparent central cross-stroke is, as far as I can see on the wood itself, partly a scathe and a stain and partly runs into the damage on the other side, where this piece has been broken. The second leg is also divided by the fracture. Between them, at the top, are faint marks characteristic of the E. Then come separating points. The word, I have no doubt, is ÞE.

Lastly, we have 5 quite plain staves, RIIGU.

Putting all these together we get:

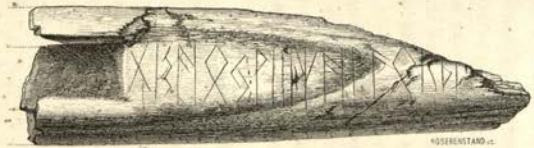
ᛏᛁᚦᛅᛋ : ᚼᛚᛖᚢᚾᚷ : ᚦᛖ : ᚱᛁᛁᚷᚢ

TIÞAS HLEUNG ÞÈ RIIGU.

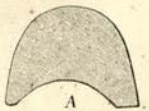
Each group is evidently a word for itself, and I translate:

TITHAS HLEUNG (= HLE-SON) THE BEEK (stiff, stout, strong, burly).

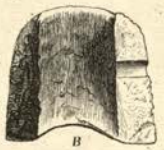
TOP.



SECTION AT *A*.



SECTION AT *B*.



SIDE.

The runes are before us, the meaning apparently clear and undeniable. I cannot help the results. They show us one of the many dialects of our Old-Northern mother-tung in a shape far older than any parchment record. To find the full nominative-ending AS, we must go back to the Lithuanian and the Sanskrit. To come to the N. I. TIÐ, our O. E. TID, we must go thro an unknown (save here) stage of TIÐAS, then an unknown stage of TIÐ'S, then an unknown stage of TIÐR, and at last we reach the comparatively *modern* (by the grammarians called ancient and correct and orthodox) TIÐ and TID, now TID in all the Scandian talks, TIDE in all the English.

HLEUNG, one of the usual patronymics in UNG, ING, ÆNG, &c., calls for no remark.

ÞE, *the*, is exactly as in Old-English, and is placed before the adjective.

RIIGU, adjective, singular, masculine, definite after ÞE, has the definite-ending U; thus older than the Norse-Icelandic I, and than the still older Old-English A, and than the still older Mæso-Gothic O, and Old-Saxon O and A, and Old-High-German O.

Whether Master TITH was the first or the last owner of this Plane, — that is, what was the relative order in which its owners scribbled their names with a sharp knife or awl, — we of course cannot tell.

It might be objected that RIIGU cannot be so, for that we cannot have II, two vowels of the same kind together, in fact that "the *oldest* runes never show two letters of the same kind together", as do the later monuments so frequently. But all this is a mistake. The Old-Northern pieces here brought together show *many* instances of doubled letters. We have:

Bewcastle: GESSUS, KUNNBURUG, SETTON, SINNA, DISSA.
Bracteate No. 2: GELIICS, HIIOC, TOLECUU.
,, ,, 6: SESSYCNÆ.
,, ,, 9: EYTTAN.
,, ,, 17: ÆÞÞLEO, COLLÞ.
,, ,, 19: GÆYÆALLU.
,, ,, 23: EÞILLO, USSU.
,, ,, 24: ÆNN, BÆBLIIL.
,, ,, 25: ÆNWLL.
,, ,, 55: ÆNN.
,, ,, 56: UFFTÆIC.
Dewsbury (not in runes; but from the 8th century): GIBIÐÐAÐ.
Falstone: SETTAE, SŒTTŒ.
Hartlepool: HILÐÐIGUÐ.
Lindholm: ETT.
Northumbrian Casket: NETHII.
Nydam Moss (not in runes; but from the 3rd century): RICCIM.
Reidstad: UNNBO.
Ruthwell: ÆÞÞILÆ, ALMEYOTTIG, RIICNÆ.
Sölvesborg: RIUSII.
Stentoften: HELIHEÐÐUÆ.
West-Thorp: IIT.

Here are no fewer than 34 examples. Even should some be doubtful, a great number will remain. Hence the RIIGU of the Vi Moss Plane need not surprise us.

Having thus examined the legible risting on the side, 18 staves, [in one of the words (HLEUNG) NG being exprest by two separate letters (ᚾᚷ) instead of by one character (ᛝ), or some variety of the same], let us now turn to

THE RUNES ON THE TOP.

And first on the left piece; 6 plain letters: T, Æ, L, I, NG, then apparently dots of separation, and then O. On the right side of the last stave the knife of the carver has slipt, so that the upper line is prolonged a good deal downwards. We have, then:

ᛏ ᚨ ᛚ ᛁ ᛊ (? :) ᛟ

TÆLING O

TÆLING (= TEL-SON) OWNS (possesses-me).

(= This tool belongs to Tel-son.)

Here as often elsewhere it is impossible absolutely to decide whether the O should be taken as a separate word, the usual 3rd pers. sing. present of the verb AGAN, to OWE, OWN, possess, — or as a mere ending of the mansname. The former is the more natural, especially if, as I believe, there are really faint marks still left of the dividing dots. But in either case the meaning will be the same. To the above 18 letters we now add 6, thus 24.

Lastly the long and elegant inscription on the right fragment. Even those quite unacquainted with runes can see that it is written by a master hand. The staves are at once so bold and so graceful that it is really a pleasure to look at them. But to understand them we must remember that the carving is incomplete. About *2 inches* of the Plane are mouldered away. Letters would scarcely be carved up to the very end, as they would have been exposed to instant wear and damage. Probably about *one word* is gone.

First comes G, then I, then S (the many-jointed pattern), then L (with some scratches near it, and a mark under the arm-stroke — this mark being a mere dint and no part of the letter), then I, then O, then NG, and then 5 or more separating dots; = GISLIONG.

Next W, then I, then L (a morsel of the wood fallen out at the tip, but the side-arm plain tho short), then I, then a separating bar; = WILI.

Then A and H. Whether there are divisional dots after, I cannot make out, the stains are here so strong. I believe there are. At all events I take this as one word, — AH.

Then L and Æ and O and R (not quite perfect at the top, for here begins the damage), then B (the upper half gone, for the same reason), then a letter which must apparently have been ᚨ (Æ), (but the top is quite gone), then a divisional bar. Thus LÆORB(Æ).

The missing word, the required noun in the accusative singular after the verb AH, we will supply for the present with the ancient Old-Northern word for *Plane*, LOCER.

ᚷᛁᛊᛚᛁᛟᛊ ᛁ ᚹᛁᛚᛁ ᛁ ᛘᚺ (? ⁝) ᛚᚨᛟᚱᛒ(ᚨ) ᛚ locer.

GISLIONG WILI AH LÆORB(Æ) locer.

GISLIONG (= GISLI-SON) WILI OWNS this-SITHE-SHAFT (loker).

(= This Sithe-shaft Plane belongs to Wili Gisli-son.)

To the above 24 we now add 19 runes, thus 43 plain letters.

We will not enter into a dispute whether the word LOCER (if there) would have appeared in a still older shape, with a vowel-ending, for instance as LOCERU or LOCRU, LOCERO or LOCRO, LOCERA or LOCRA, &c. We will take it merely as LOCER, *in the accusative sing.*

Nor can we decide whether the last Æ in LÆORBÆ is a mere connecting vowel, or whether it may have been a mark of the genitive plural. It is a question of very little moment, and the meaning remains the same. It is simpler to take it as the connecting vowel used in so many compound words.

But this at once introduces us to the LE or *SITHE* and its ORB (or ORF) its *SHAFT* or *HAFT*, — the *SITHE-HANDLES* to make which this Plane was used.

A glance at the bottom or cuttingpart of this Loker, as exhibited by Sections A and B, shows us at once that it was a Hollow Plane, that its irons were so arranged and rounded as to produce a convex surface, a half-circular moulding, and that a rod of wood when regularly cut and smoothed all over by this instrument would become quite round — as a Sithe-shaft must be.

In our times, as agriculture is modified and the surface of the land is altered by drainage, and as new methods require new instruments — the one more "Patent" and "Improved" than the other —, the Sithe-pole is often no longer quite straight and round, and the Sithe itself is continually encroaching on the Sickle. Formerly the Sithe was used almost exclusively for grass, the Sickle almost exclusively for grain, &c., apart from its employment (in various adapted shapes) in gardens and vineyards. So also the shaft of the Sithe can be longer or shorter. In rocky and hilly places, where

stones and tufts hinder the sweep of the blade, the pole is unusually short (in Norway called the *Stutt-orv*); but in more level districts a long shaft is used (in Norway called the *Lang-orv*). So there are variations in the length of the iron blade and its position to the shaft, especially where reeds and sedge have to be cut.

That the original Scando-Gothic Sithe-handle was round and straight is undoubted. It is so at this moment in all the Northern and Saxon and German lands "in all back settlements", wherever primitive customs have continued. And I have no doubt it could be abundantly proved out of works of art from the ancient times. But at this moment, in the hurry of composition and far from English libraries, I cannot lay my hand upon them. No Sithe occurs in the Illuminations to Cædmon or on the Bayeux Tapestry. In a Ms. of Florence of Worcester, in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, are drawings illustrative of the Dream of Henry I of England (1100-1135), and executed shortly after. One of them [1] shows the king sleeping; behind him stand three husbandmen, one carrying a Sithe, another a Pitchfork, the third a Shovel. The Sithe has a perfectly straight handle.

In my own bookhoard is a small vellum tome containing, in Latin, the Psalms of David and various Prayers and Litanies, &c., evidently written in England in the 13th century. It is beautifully penned and illuminated. At the beginning is the Calendar, decorated as so often with a small picture — on a golden ground — for each month. That for July shows a husbandman mowing with a Sithe. The long handle is quite straight; the blade is small. On the next page, for August, we have a reaper with a Sickle. The grain stands thick, with full ears. The haft of the Sickle is hidden by the hand. The large blade is very crooked, a real Reaping-*hook*.

The illuminations in the Saxon "Land- und Lehnrecht" [2], probably executed in the last half of the 13th century or a little later, give no example of mowing. There are many of Reaping, always with the Sickle; the blade is much bent, the haft large and straight.

But a shaft or pole for a Sithe and a shaft or pole for a Lance are thus exactly the same, differing only in length. Both are round and straight, and the Plane used to fashion the one would be used to fashion the other.

But how old is the Sithe in the Northern lands?

As far as we know, there was no Sithe in Europe in the earliest times. The Sithe and Sickle were one, only variations of the same simple farming tool, distinguisht by their handle and the use to which they were put, rather than by the shape and size of the blade. In other words the same instrument, more or less modified, was used for mowing grass by hand, reaping corn, and trimming vines and trees.

Going back to the Stone Age, no example of what we call a Sithe has of course ever been found, and the couple of "Sickles" spoken of are doubtless a misunderstanding [3]. From the brittleness of the material, it is scarcely possible that flint or stone could have been used for any such purpose.

From the Bronze Age we have no Sithe; Bronze could scarcely have given either the edge or the weight required for this instrument; but now appears the Sickle. "Sickles [of Bronze] are more numerous [than Fish-hooks]; at Copenhagen there are twenty-five, at Dublin eleven; in the Lake-village at Morges eleven have been found, at Nidau eighteen; they are generally about six inches in length, flat on one side, and raised on the other; they were always intended to be held in the right hand." [4] In the single collection of Col. Schwab, from the Swiss Pileworks, there are no fewer than 45 bronze Sickles. One of those in the Danish Museum is drawn by Worsaae, Nordiske Oldsager No. 159 [5]. The chief difference in bronze sickles is in their greater or less curve.

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[1] F. W. Fairholt. Costume in England. London 1846, p. 77.

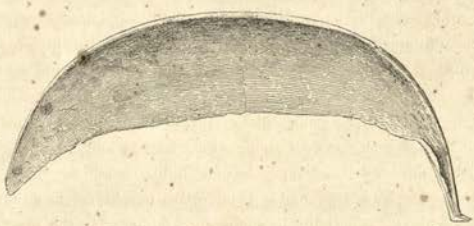
[2] Teutsche Denkmäler. Herausgegeben und erklärt von Batt, v. Babo, Eitenbenz, Mone und Weber. Enthält die Bilder zum Sächsischen Land- und Lehnrecht. Folio. Heidelberg 1820.

[3] The piece figured in Worsaae's Nordiske Oldsager, 2nd ed. No. 51, he guesses must have been a dagger or knife. It is about 9 inches long and bends slightly outwards, and would thus have snapt in sunder if applied with the least pressure. It would rather seem to have been a Staff of Command, or other piece of state and ceremony. — A similar piece (as it was described to me) was lately found in Skåne; but the man who carried it accidentally fell and broke it into many pieces. In his vexation and stupidity, instead of carefully collecting the bits he let them lie, and thus an interesting lave was lost to science.

[4] John Lubbock. Pre-historic Times. 8vo, London 1865, p. 19.

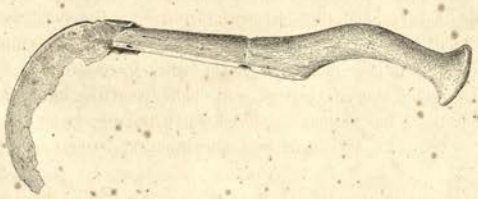
[5] In Sweden up to 1853 only about half a dozen Bronze Sickles were known. But in that year 6 others, of which 5 were whole and 1 only a fragment, were found in an urn from the Bronze Age together with many other bronze tools, weapons and orna-

With Iron came in a much higher civilization and great agricultural progress. Still we are not sure that a distinction was everywhere at once made between the Sickle and the Sithe. But probably the Iron Sithe was very soon invented or introduced[1], perhaps long before the time of Christ. All that we know with certainty as to the Scandian lands is, that such a difference did exist in Denmark as early as the 3rd century after Christ, for an Iron Sithe-blade was dug out of the Nydam Moss, South-Jutland (Engelhardt, p. 33, Plate 15, No. 17). But with Iron we have a Sickle or Shearer much larger and longer than met us in the Bronze Age, so that we might at first be doubtful whether to call it a Sickle or a Sithe. The same blade is called by the one author a Sithe, by another a Sickle. And no wonder; for the Shearing-blade is straighter and longer than answers to our modern Sickle, smaller than answers to our modern Sithe. Both our Sithe-blade and our Reaping-hook are larger than those of the oldest times. The Sithe-blades found in the Swiss Lake-villages have been spoken of by Keller and Desor. That dug out of the Nydam Moss is now 13½ Danish inches long, but is a good deal eaten away and must have been somewhat longer. The few found in Norway and England are not very different in size. This summer (1865) the excavations in the Vi Moss, Fyn, which also gave us our Runic Plane, brought to light an Iron Sithe-blade quite perfect and in fair preservation. As a valuable illustration of our argument, I give it here 1-third the size of the original. It is of *wrought* iron. The marks of the hammer are still visible.



But the Sithe, little used by the Romans, was largely employed by the Keltic and Scando-Gothic peoples. Hence its appearance in this Moss is another proof of the generally "barbarian" character of its contents.

As we have said, the Shearer or Sickle is well known in the Early Iron Age, as well as in the Later. Worsaae, Nordiske Oldsager No. 490, engraves one from the Later Iron Age. But such a Sickle from the Early Iron Age was found in the first diggings in this same Vi Moss, and fortunately the piece was complete, its wooden handle yet remaining. I therefore add it here, also 1-third of the full size:



Here we have another and unexpected proof that the pieces in this Moss are nearly all "barbarian", not Roman. For observe the handle. It has a peculiar bend or swing half way up, such as I do not re-

ments. They were from 4½ to 5 inches long. This was in South-Sweden (Fredshög, Reng Pastorat, Skytt Härad, Skåne). See N. G. Bruzelius, Svenska Fornlemningar, 1ste häftet, Skåne. med 3 plancher, 8vo, Lund 1853, p. 44 and fol.

[1] The Irish and Gaelic CORRAN is a *Sickle*; but the Gaelic word for *Sithe* is FALADAIR, or IARUNN FALADAIR, *an Iron Mower*.

member to have seen elsewhere. This has therefore been a local shape. Otherwise the Scando-Gothic Sickle-haft is straight, as well as the Roman the Grecian and the Egyptian. Yet here is a distinctive local "barbarian" form. And that this is no mere unique and accidental instance is proved by the fact, that in this same Moss was found another (not quite perfect) wooden Sickle-handle *exactly the same in shape*. It may be seen in the Old-Northern Museum.

Many examples of the Sithe and the Sickle from the Early Iron Age — especially with the wooden haft still remaining — we cannot expect. As they were neither weapons nor ornaments, they are only occasionally found in the graves of this period.

At least as far back, then, as the Early Iron Age, with which alone we are here concerned, Denmark has had the Iron Sithe, and this implement must have been largely employed. For then as now Denmark was a cattle-breeding land; and Cattle require and presuppose sweeps of excellent pasture. And, the Sithe once known, the rich Danish grass-lands — wherever the cattle were kept thro the long but not severe winters — would not be mown with the Bill-hook but the Sithe. The Sithe would therefore be in constant use. But no Sithe could be handled without its pole or shaft or sneath or sned, or however else we may name its handle, whose shape would slightly vary from time to time and in accordance with local need, but which was undoubtedly almost everywhere, both among the Oriental, Classical and Scando-Gothic peoples, *straight and round and long*, the appended grips, when employed, being larger or smaller and more or less curved according to local want and custom. So common and necessary would the Sithe be, that where little corn was grown the Sickle would be unknown. So in Iceland at this moment, which has fine short grass but scarcely any grain, there is no Sickle.

Let us then recapitulate. In both the North and South of Europe we have great difficulty in distinguishing between the old Sithe and the old Sickle. In Latin *falx* and *secula* are used almost indiscriminately, tho usually the *Bill-hook, Cutting-hook, Sickle*, would seem to be intended. So in Middle-Latin we cannot always see whether the usual *falx* means Sithe or Sickle. Thus in an English Will of the year 1403, from the Registry at York[1], among other farming effects we have: "Item j falx, xijd. Item iiij falces, iiijd." Here one "falx" is valued at one Shilling, while 4 "falces" are appraised at only 4 Pence, only 1 Penny each! Was the one a good *Sithe*, and were the others worn-out *Sickles*? — But the Sithe continually spread, especially in landscapes famous for the meadow and the cow. But the Sithe would require not only the Smith for the blade, but also the Carpenter for the long handle. This handle was round and straight, exactly like the handle of the Lance or Spear.

Hence it is not sure or even likely that *all* the long and round and straight poles found in the Danish Mosses from the Early Iron Age have *always* been *Lance-shafts*. It is likely enough that some of them may have been *Sithe-shafts*. In the Vi Moss alone *hundreds* of large and small pieces of these round wooden shafts have been discovered, exactly fitted for the Sithe as well as for the Lance. Hundreds of Iron Lance-heads have been dug from the same locality, and doubtless the numerous wooden poles mostly belonged to these. But an Iron Sithe has also turned up in the same hiding-place, and scores more may have been dug out of the same moss from time to time by the peasants cutting turf. Some of these many shafts may have been, doubtless were, made for these Sithes.

The Sithe-handle maker would thus drive a great trade. He would not only have to manufacture the thousands of poles required for the Sithes daily more and more employed by the farmers, but *with the same tools* he would fashion the thousands of Lance-shafts required by the warlike population. The *Sithe-shaft Plane* would thus, in a large workshop, necessarily have its own name and place, and we therefore see that there was nothing mysterious or extraordinary in one of the owners of this piece, — Master WILI GISLI-SON — cutting in bold and beautiful letters: — *Wili Gisliong owns this Sithe-shaft Plane.*

At all events it is evident that this is not a common Smoothing Plane. Its cutting-section is *concave*. It was therefore intended for making round or half-round poles. This is generally called in England the *Hollow Smooth Plane*, but a common technical term in our workshops is also the FORK-STAFF PLANE, thus identical in meaning with the LÆ-ORR of the runes. For this old term has come down

[1] The Will and Inventory of John de Scarle, sometime Lord Chancellor of England. "Testamenta Eboracensia", Vol. 3, 8vo, Durham, (Surtees Society, Vol. 45), p. 25.

from times when it was used so much for making the Staffs or Handles of so many of the tools required by the farmer — his Dung-forks, Hayfork, Pitch-fork, and so on.

As we have seen, the SITHE-HANDLE is here called the LE-ORB. An English reader will be perhaps struck or offended by this expression, for it is not in his dialect. But he must not therefore at once reject it or call it forced. The North has many provinces, and words unknown in the one live on in another. The ancient noun, masculine, LEE or LE or LIE, tho not yet as far as I know found in England (nor in Germany), is a genuine Old-Northern root. The oldest Norse-Icel. form is LÆR, the commoner is LJÁR; Norse LIA, Norse talks LIÁR, LÓ, JÁ; Old-Swed. LE, LEE, Swed. LIA, LIE, Swedish talks LE, LIA, LJÁ, LJO, LEJ, LEJE, LÖJ, LÖ, LJÖ (Rietz, Ordbok); Danish LE, LE; Frisic LEE, LÊE. But it runs also into the Saxon shires, LÉE, LEHE.

The English and Germans have lost this word, if they ever had it, and use another equally old, in England shortened into SITHE, in Germany (Obg. SEGENSA, SEGANSA, SEGHE) shortened into SENSE in the Old-Saxony (Holstein &c.) SEISE, and dialectically assuming a variety of strikingly different forms. It is the Netherlandish ZEISSE. But this word has been and still is used all over Scandinavia, tho more as a local or particular term. It is the N. I. SIGÐR, m., SIGD, f., Norse SIGR, m.; Swedish dialects SIGD, SEGD, SEJD; Frisic SEGED, SEGD, SEEY, SEID, SIED; — always of a kind of Sickle for reaping Corn. Yet in Gotland SIGDA means a Sithe; and in Mon, Denmark, where the word (SEISE) is used of the *iron blade only*, this is called a SEISE if fixt on a "Meie-rede" (Mowing-tool), but a LEE if taken off and put on a "Ho-lee" (Hay-sithe). So in Sealand, Denmark, the iron blade and its shaft is a LEE-DRAG if used for mowing, but a MEIE-REDE if employed for reaping corn. — So much for the caprice of dialects, and the fixing of "nationality" by the mere absence or presence of a particular word!

SICKLE, in its various dialectic forms, would seem to be of Latin origin (SECULA). The primitive Mæso-Gothic name was GILTHA, for which in many parts of Scandinavia has from the oldest times prevailed the word SKARA. Our SHEAR or SHARE is common enough instead of *to mow* or *reap*, but not as a noun instead of a *Sickle*. It would seem to have been avoided in order not to be confounded with the SHARE of a Plough.

In like manner the whole compound, the neuter noun LE-ORB, now LE-ORE, = SITHE-HANDLE, is universal in Scandinavia. Thus in N. I. LE-ORB, LE-ORF, Norse LJÁSS-ORV; Swedish LI-ORF, Swed. talks LIA-ORV, LIÁ-URV, LI-WORV, LÅ-WORR, LI-ORV, LI-WARV, LI-ÄRV (Rietz, Ordbok). In Denmark the word seems to be dead. The ORF is there now called DRAG or SKAFT.

As to LOKER, masc., the Old-Northern term for *Plane*, it has nearly disappeared from the whole North, and I believe has never been found in the Saxon or German lands. In England it only subsists here and there as a provincial word, and has been driven out by the Latin-sprung PLANE. In Scandinavia, even in Iceland, it has been replaced by the Saxon HÖVEL, HOVEL, German HOBEL, (Danish HOVEL, HØVL, Swedish HÖFVEL, HYFVEL, Norse HEVEL, HYVEL, Icelandic HEFILL). But the Old-Norse-Icelandic had LOCAR, LOKAR, and this LOKAR is still very commonly used in Iceland, as well as the verb LOKRA, *to plane*[1].

But in our Northern Counties this word long held its ground in the written language. Thus in "The Inventory of John Cadeby, Mason", from the Registry at York, date about 1440[2], we have among the effects appraised: "Item: LOCOUR cum diversis instrumentis ferreis ad artem defuncti pertinentibus viij d". And again: "Item: LOCOUR cum gravyng irens". Here the LOCOUR can only mean a PLANE.

But this is not the only Plane found in the Vi Moss. Another, smaller, was dug up on the same occasion in 1865. It is of elegant shape but has no runes. It shows that this tool was no exception, but a well-known instrument in the Old-Northern workshops. It has had one cutting-iron, not two, and an examination of the under part (see the Section) shows that it was for making ARROW-SHAFTS, of which numbers have been found in the Moss, and other such articles. As a charming illustration I add it here.

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[1] Our lexicographers have fallen into the error of saying that our Old-English word SCAFA or SCABA or SCEAFA signified a Plane. This is not so. The O. E. SCAFA (Obg. SCABA, H. G. SCHABE, Netherlandish SCHAEVE, N. I. SKAFA, Swedish SKAVA, SKAVE, Norse SKAVEL, SKAVE-JERN, Danish SKAVE-JERN) is our present English SHAVE, an implement well described in Webster's Dictionary, last edition, London 1865: — "A tool with a long blade and a handle at each end, for shaving wood, as hoops, &c., by being drawn toward the workman; a drawing-knife". Yet in Holland, if the dictionaries are correct, a PLANE is called a SCHAAF, while a SHAVE is a SCHAAF-IJZER, and a SMALL SHAVER or Chipping-Axe is a SCHAAFJE.

[2] Testamenta Eboracensia, Vol. 3, 8vo, Durham, (Surtees Society, Vol. 45), p. 99.

RUNELESS ARROW-SHAFT PLANE.

OF ASH. FROM THE VI MOSS, FYN.

2-thirds of the full size. Engraved by J. F. ROSENSTAND, from drawings by J. MAGNUS-PETERSEN. The Original is now in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven.

TOP AND SIDE.

SECTION.

BOTTOM.

And as we saw in the case of the Sickle, that the Vi Moss Sickle-handle has a very different shape from that of Roman examples, so also as regards the Plane. The Vi Moss Planes by no means resemble the Roman, as far as we know. I am only aware of one example on Roman monuments — the Plane carved on a Roman marble Tomb now preserved at Rastadt, which I here engrave[1]:

Thus, as far as these examples go, we must here again confess that the Vi Moss pieces are not Roman, or copied from Roman models.

As VI (the VI of olden times) means *Temple*, a Heathen Fane doubtless once stood somewhere on the shores of this Lake, which thus naturally obtained the name of the TEMPLE LAKE. In later ages this of course became the modern VI MOSS.

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[1] From "Anthony Rich. Dictionnaire des Antiquités Romaines et Grecques, accompagnée de 2,000 gravures d'après l'antique, representant tous les objets de divers usages d'art et d'industrie." Traduit de l'Anglais sous la direction de M. Chenel. Paris 1859. 8vo. p. 543.

KRAGEHUL MOSS, FYN, DENMARK.

2 DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

From the Original now in the Old-Northern Museum, Christianshaven. Full size. Drawn and Chromotyped by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN.

The first notice known to me of this Moss and its antiquities is the short memorandum in the Ms. Journal of the Danish Artist Abildgaard, where he describes the valuable remains taken out in 1750. See the concluding remarks under LINDHOLM, Sweden. All then found is *lost*.

In 1830 some curious pieces from this Turf-ground happily reacht the Danish Museum. They are described by V. Boye, "Bidrag til Kundskab om den ældre Jernalder i Danmark", Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1860, 8vo, Kjobenhavn, pp. 50-57, and Plates 1, 2.

In 1864 Adjunct Engelhardt made some preliminary cuttings in the little that was left of this ancient Pool — now a Moss —, and obtained some valuable remains. But in the spring of 1865 he regularly dug out all that remained, thus adding a new Case to the treasures of the Danish Museum. This gentleman has obligingly furnisht me with an outline of the results of what has been thus saved from 1750 to 1865. His statement shows that the things had been thrown or laid down in the same disorder and often in the same damaged state as elsewhere in these watery hiding-places. The Moss-hole at Kragehul is about 500 paces north-west of Flemlose, in Odense Amt, and (as at Thorsbjerg and Vi) was surrounded by high ground, so that a channel had to be cut ere the water could be drained away. The tarn was from 6 to 7 feet deep, with a clayey and sandy soil on whose surface were many small white snail-shells. The antiquities were at the bottom, or in the lowest layer of turf. Lances, stuck deep down in the earth, markt the limits of the hoard.

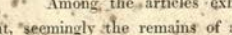
The known pieces found here since 1750 are: — a silver Finger-ring of three twists; 14 Beads, of green glass, porcelain, burnt clay, amber and variegated; small ornaments; fragments of round and

square Combs, made of several pieces; 4 bronze Tweezers; many Boards belonging to Shields, some of them with bronze fittings or ornaments or rands; some iron Shield-bosses; 15 Swords of iron, double-edged and damascened in various patterns; sometimes two furrows running along the blade, the hafts of silver or bronze, one pommel roughly workt with heads of animals, the swords ranging from 32 to 35 inches in length; Sheaths of wood, now and then cut in relief, sometimes covered with leather, with various metal fittings, occasionally adorned with Niello, and now and then of silver; many Spear-shafts, some bearing Dragon-like or Serpentine or Corded ornaments risted in the wood not far from the spear-head; 70 iron Spear-heads of various shapes, some not before met with; wooden Bows and Arrows; 12 Arrow-heads of iron; 10 of bone; a bronze horse-ornament; a Waggon of two wheels; bronze Camp-kettles; wooden Cups; clay Bowls; 5 Balances; large iron Axes; Knives with a broad back; handles of wood or bronze; an iron Shears; wood-hafted Awls; some animal Bones; pointed Pales and Sticks; and some other pieces[1].

Among the articles exhumed by Mr. Engelhardt in June 1865 was the above wooden fragment, seemingly the remains of a Knife-handle or else of a small Box or Amulet, of Ash, bearing Old-Northern Runes. The one broad side shows where something has been inserted or fixt; whether the opening has been covered with a slide or the whole has had some ornamental carving, we cannot tell. The opposite broad side has had a decoration cut in relief, whose style strikingly reminds us of the animal figures on the Golden Bracteates: only the hind part of the fantastic horse or dragon is left.

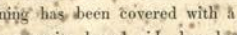
The Runes are all *reverst* and read from right to left, are sharply cut, remarkably elegant (with double strokes), and show that great rarity a divisional mark (before the word BERE).

All that is left on the one narrow side is (turned round, so as to stand in their natural shape):



. . . . . NÆU

and on the other:



. . . . UMÆ BERE

Of course we cannot pretend to translate these fragmentary letters. The last word may be the 3rd pers. sing. pres. subj., or perhaps the infinitive, of the verb BERA(N), and may mean *may-BEAR* or *to-BEAR*.

But, tho only a broken bit, this piece is of great importance, as adding yet another to the list of those olden Danish Mosses in which have been found articles *carved with Old-Northern Runes*.

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[1] We may soon hope for a regular description of the Kragehul pieces, with Illustrations, by Adjunct Engelhardt, in the same style and size as his elegant works on the Thorsbjerg and Nydam Mosses. A sum has been voted him for this purpose by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians.

KRAGEHUL MOSS, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

The BONE SNAKE or FISH, a fellow to that found in the Bog at Lindholm in Skåne, Sweden, and COVERED WITH OLD-NORTHERN RUNES, is *lost*. It was dug out of this same Kragehul (Crow-hole) Moss, in the year 1750, and its careless or wilful destruction is indeed deplorable!

See under LINDHOLM, Sweden.

KRAGEHUL MOSS, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

The small WOODEN LID found at the same time and place as the preceding, and COVERED WITH OLD-NORTHERN RUNES, is *lost*. This piece would seem, from the imperfect description, to have been still more rune-rich and remarkable than the above Bone (? Amulet). But all our regrets are unavailing, and I hasten to turn from so sad a theme.

See under LINDHOLM, Sweden.

GALLEHUS, NORTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

Both A and B re-engraved from THOMSEN'S *Atlas, Plates XIII, XIV and XV. — For A. THOMSEN chiefly followed* WORM'S *"Cornu Aureum", 1641, fol., repeated in his "Monumenta Danica", 1643, fol.; for B.* J. R. PAULLI'S *"Tilforladelig Tegning paa det 1734 udi Jydland fundene Guld-Horn", 1735, fol. — My copy of B was lent by me to Prof.* THORSEN *for publication in his "Danske Runemindesmærker", where it stands Vol. 1, p. 327. — Cut in wood by* HENNEBERG *and* ROSENSTAND.

The longer Golden Horn, here A, was found in the earth by a poor girl, near Gallehus, July 29th 1639. It was 2 feet 9 inches long, and was quite complete, with 13 broad rings. It weighed 6 Pounds 13 Ounces Danish.

The second and shorter, here B, was found in a field, at or near the same spot, April 21st 1734. The name of the field was "Rosegård" (Rose-garth)[1], north of Gallehus, Møgel-Tønder, about 5 Danish miles from the North-Jutland border. But this place and a considerable district around have always belonged to North-Jutland. They are an enclave, attached to the Diocese of Ribe. Geographically the spot belongs to South-Jutland; but politically and juridically and legally and administratively it has always been, and still is, North-Jutlandish. In the Catalogue of the old "Kunstkammer", the Royal Danish Museum of the old period, these Horns were therefore entered as North-Jutlandish. The exact length of this Rune-bearing Horn has not been stated; but according to the beautiful silver-gilt facsimiles of the Horns, made by command of King Frederick VII from the old Drawings, and presented by him to the Old-Northern Museum, it was about 20 inches long, about 18 and a half from point to point, measured diagonally at the inner band. The the lower part was broken off and lost, it still weighed 7 Pounds and 11 Ounces Danish, more than 8 Pounds English. It was taken from the soil by a poor peasant[2].

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[1] Prof. THORSEN remarks hereon, p. 330: — "This very remarkable appellation, still known on the spot, used sometimes as a place-name, — sometimes (as in Cheapingbaven, spelt "Rosengard") from the early middle age, sometimes from an undetermined early period, — points back to some kind of garden or flower-grounds here, and doubtless this was of old a pleasaunce of the Burg or Castle Møgeltønder, which became the chief seat of the Countship of Schackenborg. "Møgel" [Mickle, Great] announces size or dignity as to something else. So we have Møgel-Ø [Mickle-ey, Big-island] and Lille-Ø [Little-ey] in Jul Lake, near Himmelbjerg. In Sealand, this takes the form of "Magle" and "Lille", as in Sten-magle and Sten-lille. It is certain that the Castle of Tønder was called "Lille Tønder" at least down to the 16th century, in contrast to the present village Møgeltønder. In 1288 the Castle of Møgeltønder is named "Castrum ecclesiæ et episcopi Ripensis", but we do not know when this transfer took place; probably in the first Christian period, and Møgeltønder must previously have been a place of importance either in a secular or more probably in a religious sense. Without drawing any conclusions as to the piece now before us, I may yet mention here that, according to legends current both in Sundeved and Angel, HOLGER DANSKE rests in a hill at Møgel-Tønder, till the time comes when he shall start out on a career of victory."

[2] "In the year 1734, on the 21st of April, it came to pass in South-Jutland, on the manorial ground of Count Schackenborg, that a poor Houseman [Cottier] in Gallehuus (which a hundred years ago was called Rosengaard) went out to dig clay. The

As far as we know, these pieces were in fact double-horns, an inner smooth unbroken tube of semidor, the gold and silver in nearly equal proportions; and an outer case, of gold the very finest ever known, consisting of broad decorated bands or hoops. On both some of the figures have been separately cast, and then soldered on, of which we have so many instances on other "barbarian" articles from the oldest time. On the Runic Horn, as we are expressly told by Paulli (p. 4) the two figures bearing a round Shield in the one hand and a Sword in the other, in the band immediately under the line of runes, had the outstanding belly-pieces *not* soldered on but fastened right thro with clincht golden nails. He adds that the spaces thus formed were large enough to serve as eyes or rings, "thro which to pass a small cord or chain, by which the Horn could be hung up".

A whole literature, continually increasing, has grown up about these remarkable objects, and into this extensive field I cannot enter. For all this, and an enumeration of the various translations which have been proposed, I refer especially to Henneberg's "Hvad er Edda?", 4to, Alborg 1812; P. E. Müller, "Antikvarisk Undersögelse över de ved Gallehuus fundne Guldhorn", 4to, Kjöbenhavn 1806; Finn Magnusen's "Runamo", p. 390 and fol.; P. A. Munch, in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", 1847, p. 327 and fol.; and articles by L. C. Werlauff and C. C. Rafn, in the same Magazine for 1853 and 1855.

Neither of these Cornucopiæ, or Offer-vessels, or Drinking[1] or Proclamation-Horns, or Horns of Ceremony, or whatever they may have been, now exists. Modern research is therefore at bay. They were both stolen from the old Danish Museum ("Kunstkammer") on the 4th of May 1802, and the thief quickly melted them down to escape detection.[2] So we are now reduced to the old copies. Still it is satisfactory to know that these substantially agree, and without any doubt are on the whole faithful representations.

It might have been supposed that the authorities would at least have secured themselves against the irreparable loss of such extraordinary rarities *by multiplying copies of them*. But even this was not done. It is true that the aged Guardian of the Kunstkammer, L. Spengler, let an artist (Hr. Gianelli) take 2 casts, the one for the Museum of Cardinal Borgia in Rome, the other for Dr. Rumohr in Dresden; but the former was lost on its way, the vessel being shipwreckt on the coast of Corsica, while the latter was never heard of afterwards. And *the mould* was destroyed by these Wise Men of Gotham, "as we have the original". Thereafter the Horns were almost forgotten, till their miserable destruction aroused the interest and indignation of all Europe.

As to the Inscription on the smaller Horn, Thorsen observes, in his Danske Runemindesmærker, Vol. 1, p. 348: — "H. Gramer's "Erklärung" of the last found Horn, which was publisht in 1737, has the advantage of most of its compeers in this, that he well knew both the object on which

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spot where this man, JERK LASSEN or [more formally pronounced] ERICK LAURITSSEN (for so was he named) went to work was in Mogletonder Parish, 4 [Danish] miles south-east of Ribe, half a [Danish] mile north-east of Tondern, and one [Danish] mile from the Western Ocean. His home was little more than a score paces to the place, for the distance between his house and the old spot where the former Horn was found is only about 25 paces, and from this again to the ground where he had to dig is three and a half paces to the south-east. There, as he says, he had not dug deeper down than 6 inches when his spade grated on the Horn, and the glance of the gold which began to glitter in his eyes, encouraged him to see what it might be. On further examination he found the Horn lying on its side, the thick end to the north and the small end to the south. He took it home just as it was, full of earth and filthy with clay, and gave it to his daughter to wash it clean. When this was done he could not make out whether it was of gold or brass. Now this same day he had an errand to Tondern, and so he took a piece of the metal with him (perhaps the piece afterwards wanting at the small end), and let his son (who is there as apprentice to a Ropemaker) ask a goldsmith what kind of metal it might be. But when he heard it was fine gold, he delivered the Horn to his Lord the Count of Schack, who afterwards has most humbly offered it to His Royal Majesty [of Denmark, King Christian VI], whereupon His Royal Majesty has been graciously pleased to cause a reward in ready money [200 Danish dollars] to be paid to the peasant." — *Johann Richard Paulli*, "Tilforladelig Tegning paa det Anno 1734 udi Jydland fundene Guld-Horn. Paa ny oplagt i det Danske Sprog og forneeret med et lidet Tillæg." Kjobenhavn [July 29], 1735. Folio, p. 1.

The actual money-value — as mere metal — of the two horns is said to have been 1,870 Ducats or 3,740 Species.

[1] Being open at both ends they could not have been Drinking-horns, unless the lower end was plugged on those high-days when they were used in some great temple or local ceremony.

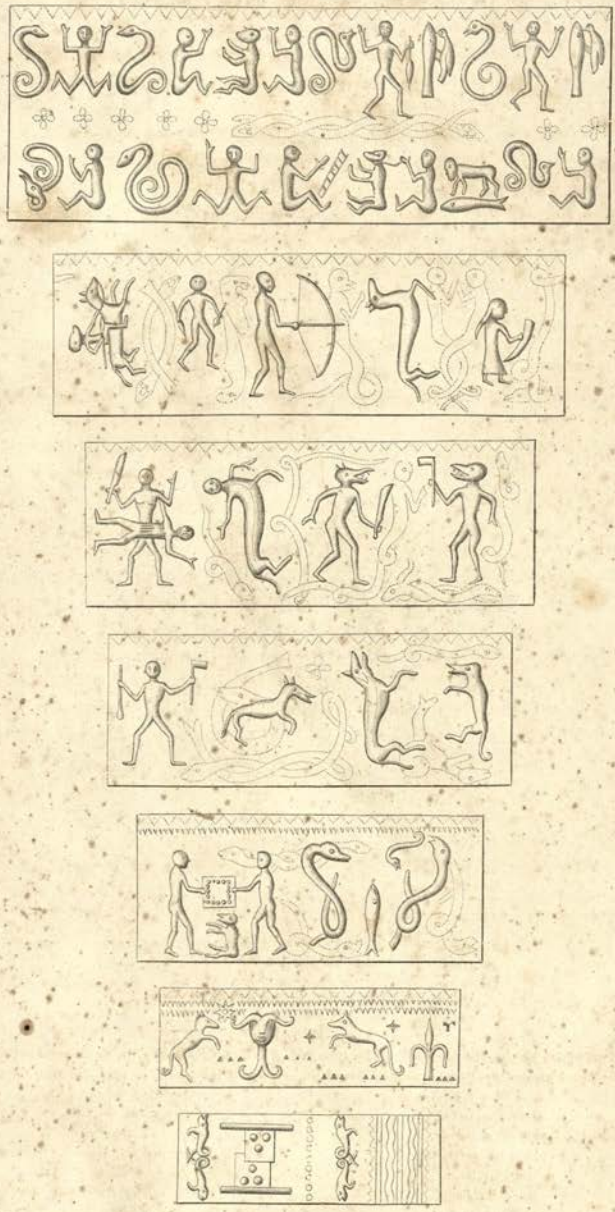
[2] I refrain from further details on this melancholy subject, and damn the name of the Wretch with oblivion. The unhappy criminal was discovered a year after, and punisht according to law. See hereon: "Erindringer om Guldhornstyveriet den 4de Mai 1802. Ved E. C. Werlauff. Trykt som Manuscript. Kjobenhavn 1858." 8vo.

he wrote and the place where it was found. He also gives the inscription — which exactly agrees with the transcript of J. R. Paulli. In the copy which I possess, a former owner — J. Ellung of Hjerting,

A. — FOUND 1639.

who died in 1820 — a man of great knowledge and who had large antiquarian collections, has written: "This inscription is correct. I copied it in the Kunstkammer in 1799."

This testimony is of great value, and there is no doubt that we may depend on the runes, however we may wish that we had Casts of the Horns themselves! But we must be content with what we



have. Especially must we be thankful for the Runic Horn, so rich and rare, so barbarically magnificent, altogether unique, a splendid and mystic relic from the fresh youth in Europe of our Northern peoples:

A noble olden Offer-horn of gold,
Of gold enchast; most rare this gammel Horn!
. . . . . .
'Tis fair as holy! — Runes of eld it beareth,
Carv'd round its edge[1].

B. — FOUND 1734.

"Et herligt gammelt Offerhorn af Guld,
Af drevet Guld; et sjeldent gammelt Horn!
. . . . . .
Saa skjont, som helligt. — Der er skrevet Runer
Om Hornets Rand."

Adam Oehlenschläger. Hakon Jarl. Act 4. Sc. 1.

The Runic Horn handed by Grimhild to Gudrun (Elder Edda, ed. Munch, Guðrunarkviða, II, v. 22) was, to judge from its artistic decoration (should the last 4 obscure lines be kennings of decoration and not of the runes), of *later date* than the Gallehus Offer-gold:

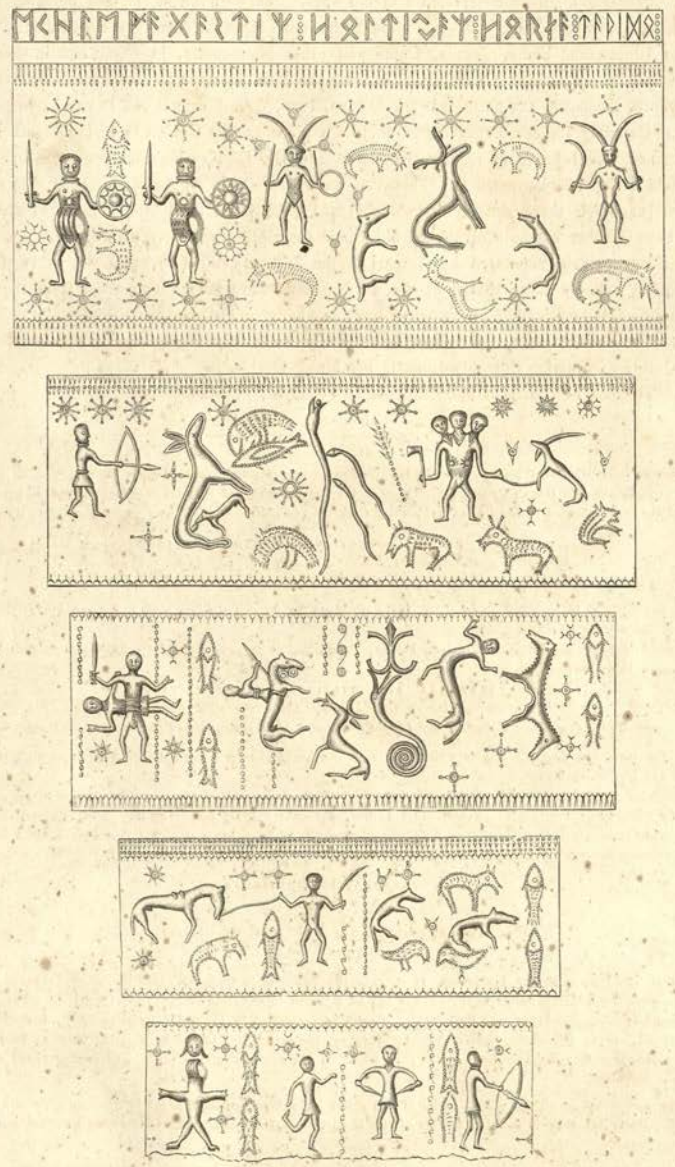
Váru í horni	*Red-dyed runics*
hverskyns stafir	*were risted on the horn,*
ristnir ok roðnir,	*manifold and mystic,*
ráða ek ne máttak;	*I möte not rede them;*
lyngfiskr langr	*the Ling-fish long*
lands Haddingja,	*of the land of Hadding,*
ax óskorit,	*corn-ears not cut,*
innlegið dýra.	*and of creatures the bowels.*

If we take lines 5 and 6 to mean repetitions of the Worm or Serpent ornament, line 7 repetitions of the band of crested straight lines, and line 8 repetitions of the Cable-twist (the well-known "Rope-twist" as of the intertwined guts of "deer") — we shall have a style of carving which will perhaps fix Grimhild's Horn at about the 7th or 8th century.

The first man who gave anything like a reasonable reading of the letters on the Runic Horn, was the excellent Danish Scholar Bredsdorff, who in 1838[1] proposed as follows:

EK, HLEVA, GASTIM HOLTINGOM HORNO TAVIDO.

I, HLEVA, for-the-GUESTS WOODLANDISH these-HORNS MADE.



[1] "Über die Inschrift auf dem letzt gefundenen Goldenen Horne, von J. H. Bredsdorff", pp. 159-64, in "Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1836-37", 8vo, Copenhague 1838.

Since then, many new efforts have been made, but no improvement worth speaking of has resulted[1].

But, as I take it, there are many objections to this translation.

1. On *all* these old monuments ᛉ is always ᛅ, never ᛘ (for which it stands only in the later runics), still less any other consonant.

2. People seldom or never said I in old days. They spoke in the 3rd person. WOLF WROTE THIS, not I, WOLF, WROTE THIS. In fact this pithy epic style belonged to the times. Out of the THOUSANDS of Blocks and Slabs, Jewels, Coins and other Monuments, in *Runic* and in *Roman* letters down to the middle age, which I have seen, bearing the formula MADE ME, ME FECIT, FIERI FECIT, GARED, LET MAKE, WROTE, WROUGHT, LET RAISE, RAISED, CARVED, CAST, &c., I cannot call to mind *even one* beginning with this *I*. Certainly its occurrence on so ancient a piece as this Golden Horn is altogether incredible.

3. LEV would be more regular than LEVA. In Dr. G. Krysing's copy of the runes, made in 1734, there is a tiny angular mark (ᚲ)[2] between the ᚢ and the ᛅ (my w and æ); if this really stood on the Horn (of which there can be little doubt)[3], I take it to have been a mark of division. We shall then have another example of a very old Runic Inscription regularly divided by stops, for the 5 words are then properly separated by 5 marks, the first a bend (ᚲ), and the other 4 dots (⁝). It seems a most unlikely thing that 3 of the words should have been thus parted from the rest, while the 4th should not! — Dividing marks *often* differ in shape in *the same* inscription.

4. The dative GASTIM, for GASTUM or GASTOM, sounds very strange in our Old-Northern dialects, the Mæso-Gothic excepted. But this Horn is *not* Mæso-Gothic.

5. The use of the *noun* HOLTINGOM as an adjective, is indefensible.

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[1] Since my translation was written, 3 really *new* versions of this carving have been made public.

The first is by the late Hr. C. C. Rafn, Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, and is given on the last page (p. 10) of the text appended to the "Atlas for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", from which I have copied the Horns themselves. It is:

"ECHLEV OG OSTIR HULTINGOR HURNO TVO VIGÞU.
Les Hultingues (les Holsteinois) Echlev et Astyr consacrerent ces deux cornes."
= *The Hultings (Holsteiners) Echlev and Astyr consecrated these two Horns.*

Here Mr. Rafn has made ᛉ to be R, ᚹ to be V, ᚨ to be O, ᛟ to be U, and the last word to be TVO VIGÞU, the V and the G being *added* and the D made into Þ!

" *The second* is by Pastor Briem of Gunsler, Falster, Denmark. It is communicated (p. 343-46) in "Dansk Maanedsskrift", Vol. 7, Kjobenhavn 1858, 8vo:

"E CHLEV AKA STIR HYLTINGAR HYRNU TA-VIDU.
"*Den evigherlige-høieste Gud helligede Heltefyrster dette Bægerhorn.*"
= *To-the-aye splendid God-steerer (Highest Divinity) Hero-princes this-Drinking-horn dedicated.*

As to the runic and linguistic way in which this result is brought about, I say nothing. But it at all events gets rid of the *Holsteiners* and of the *two* horns.

The third has appeared while this sheet is printing (April 1866), and has been given by Prof. Sophus Bugge, of Christiania, in "Tidsskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik", Vol. 6, Part 4, 8vo, Kjobenhavn 1866, pp. 317, 318. This scholar makes ᚨ to be A, like so many other runologists; then, nearly as Rafn, he assumes ᛉ to be either R or that soft S from which R in the Scandian tungs has so commonly sprung. Accordingly he divides and reads:

EK HLEVAGASTIR HOLTINGAR
HORNA TAVIDO.
I, LÉGEST from-HOLT (or Son of Holte)
these-HORNS MADE.

Thus Prof. B. begins with the 1st person, I; — gets two half-lines in stave-rime, and accordingly prints the 3 H's in a larger type; — gives the maker a double name; — and has no objection to O as the ending of the 1st person past tense in the verb. I cannot see that this reading is better than Bredsdorff's. Should a new power be so capriciously given to ᛉ, I should prefer the S. On so very old a piece as this confessedly is, we should expect the nominatives to end in S rather than R. But as I entirely object to the sound-value thus suddenly found for ᛉ, of which no other monumental example is known or hinted at, I need not dwell upon these renderings.

[2] This mark is not in all the printed copies of this plate; it was very properly *added* by Thomsen after many of them had been struck off. There are thus in fact *two editions* of this inscription in Thomsen's work, some copies with and some without the division-mark in question.

[3] It is not likely that he should have *invented* it, while such a minute and "meaningless" decoration may easily have been omitted or overlookt by Paulli, who expressly tells us that he did not split hairs in his drawing; Krysing has also a tiny mark on the T in TÆWIDO, but it was probably a mere scratch or dint. All the old copies are "substantially" alike. See C. C. Rafn, Annaler for Nord. Oldkynd. for 1855, p. 369.

6. It is to me inconceivable that any man should at one and the same time give *two* such excessively costly keepsakes, and should only write on the *one*, as if the second were a mere appendix to the first. To show his meaning, he did not even say *these two horns*. And then he would surely have paid his "guests" the compliment of *naming* them. It would have cost him nothing, and its absence strips the present of half its value. In short, whether as a memorial of the giver or out of respect to the receiver, *each* Horn would have been inscribed or *neither*, and the name of the friend would not have been unwritten on each. Perhaps the curious animal-figures on the larger Horn are also a kind of inscription, but in mystical or mythical or fantastical symbols which may never find their Œdipus.

7. These two Horns are very similar in style, and belong to the same school. Both show the same bizarre shapes, and the same pictures of field-sports or temple-worship. But amidst all this there is a difference, and they would seem not to have been made by the same goldsmith or at the same time. The Rune-bearer is said to have been ruder in drawing and execution than the other, and by a less able workman. And this difference would doubtless have been greater if the originals had remained. Modern copies and modern engraving have reduced the lines in both to the same level. Any inequality in finish and manipulation has disappeared. Still, they have no appearance of being quite contemporaneous. I would especially point out that the Rune-bearer *has not the well-known Worm-twist*, while on the other Horn this ornament is profusely employed, — not indeed in the fully developt form of later times, but still in a decided manner. The intertwining arabesques have everywhere a tendency to the regular Snake-knot, and would seem to point to a transition period, say the 5th year-hundred. In this way the Rune-bearer may possibly be *a century older* than the other. But of course all this is very dubious. They may have been made nearly at the same time, but by different men or for different purposes.

8. If only the Rune-bearer had been found, HORNO (my HORNÆ) would have been translated THIS-HORN. As two were discovered, it is now rendered THESE-TWO-HORNS. Should two more turn up, we should have THESE-FOUR-HORNS. But we have no idea how many Horns and other valuables may have belonged to the Heathen Temple at Gallehus[1]. And I show elsewhere (see the WORD-ROLL) that HORN was *masculine* in all the South-west-Scandian dialects and in others nearby, and that the Æ in HORNÆ is the old singular accusative-mark. Consequently HORNÆ means literally and grammatically *THIS-HORN*. If two or three or more Horns had been intended, *the number* would have been added.

9. I also object to the trivial, petty, nature of the reading proposed by the learned Bredsdorff and so long current. The decorations on both Horns point to woodland scenes or human sacrifices, perhaps distinctly to both, and of all this the translation says nothing. And to give some *unnamed Guests* two such peculiar and precious vessels, is something unheard-of. In the *very best* case, this *to the Guests Woodlandish* is really "wooden" and absurd; — *to the Guests the Holsteiners*[2], as some would take it, is both ridiculous in itself and linguistically illegal and impossible.

And in all such cases we should go by analogy and comparison. Ancient treasures of this kind, Christian included, which bear inscriptions — have *the formula of Offering*. So when the 8 *ex voto* Crowns of gold were found near Toledo in 1858, what were the carvings? Two of these memorials from the times of the Gothic Kings of Spain in the 7th century bore letters. To the lower border of the largest of these hang 23 letters of glass-work, which read:

RECCESVINTHVS. REX. OFFERET.

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[1] Somewhere about 1830 it was rumored in Denmark, apparently on good authority (Thomsen himself, the Chief of the Museum, repeated it as a fact), that A THIRD GOLDEN HORN had just been found at Mögeltönder, not far from the site of the two others. But it experienced a worse fate than even its foregangers, for it was destroyed without examination. The ignorant or stupid or mad or malignant finder, who surely must have known what is known to all, that at least *more than the full value* would have been paid to him by the Museum, carried it secretly to Hamburgh, sold it there as old gold, and saw it melted down. — But a bit either of this or else of A FOURTH GOLDEN HORN was ploughed up at Mögeltönder at the close of the last century. It was a piece of massive gold, something like the bent finger of a grown man, the one end rather concave, the other end apparently cut off by the ploughshare. It bore no ornament, and weighed 4 ounces. These details are related by the Rev. H. C. Sonne, Priest of Mögeltönder, in Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed for 1855, p. 352, and were told him by a 70-years old man who — as a boy — held the plough for his father when they found this precious fragment.

[2] In the interesting notice of this Horn by Prof. K. Müllenhoff, in "14ter Bericht der Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen Gesellschaft", 8vo, Kiel 1849, pp. 16-31, the learned author admits that this HOLSTEINERS is absurd, and reminds us that we do not know the oldest name of this land, the HOLTSATI being first mentioned by Adam of Bremen in the 11th century.

To the most interesting of the other Crowns hangs a jeweled Cross, and on this is beaten-in the sentence:

+ IN DEI NOMINE OFFERET SONNICA SANCTE MARIE IN SORBACES.

We have only one other *Runic* example. A great temple-treasure was found in Buzeu, Wallachia, the olden Gothic Dacia. One of the most precious pieces (to which we shall come) was a large massive Golden Neck- or Arm-ring, bearing Old-Northern staves. Now what is the reading? It is:

SACRED TO THE TEMPLE OF THE GOTHS!

Thus in all such pieces there is no question on such costly Temple-gifts of the mere

I, JOHN SMITH, MADE THIS.

There is everywhere a short but decided formula of dedication and offering to the Deity or Saint honored by the giver. So it must surely have been with the excessively rich and valuable Horn found at Gallehus.

The staves being so clear, bold and large, and the material being so costly — which would compel the most stupid to be doubly careful; (but such valuable pieces *are not* put into the hands of the rawest and most foolish workmen, except theoretically, when a German critic is going to announce that some of the letters are "mis-cut") — there is not the least difficulty. The last word has been carved a little narrower and simpler, either for ornament or *to save room*[1], but little space being left. Such variations are common in all our monuments, both Runic and Roman.

If we now allow ᛉ to be A, here as elsewhere, we shall see how all our troubles will disappear, and how there emerges, of itself, a simple suitable meaning, in harmony with the enormous intrinsic value of the precious metal on which it is inscribed and with the peculiar figures by which the Horn is decorated. The only other letter that calls for remark is the ᚾ. That it is here an elegant variation for ᚾ (N), as on so many of the oldest monuments, both Old-Northern runic and Scandinavian runic, is self-evident, and it has been so understood by all the later critics. Taking the staves, then, as they stand self-divided in Krysing's copy, and giving them the powers which they *always* have on *all* these oldest memorials, we get a carving at once short and solemn — and as fine as it is fitting —:

ECHLEW
ÆGÆSTIA HOLTINGÆA
HORNÆ TÆWIDO.

ECHLEW

for-the-AWEST (most-awful, most-dread, supreme, most-mighty) HOLT-INGI (Holt-king, Wood-prince, Woodland-god) this-HORN TAWED (made).

(= To the ever-to-be-feared Forest-God, Echlew offered this Horn!)

YNGI or YNGVI was the especial epithet of the Danish FRO, the Old-English FREA, the Norse-Icelandic FREY, — the Woodland and Harvest-God; and this FREY is therefore perhaps the Deity to whom and to whose Temple this Offer-Horn was given by ECHLEW, a name which also occurs (ECGLAF) in the Old-English Epical Legend *Beowulf*, but which has hitherto, I believe, not been found in Scandinavia. We have it again in the Old-Germ. EGGILEIB.

Four or five Danish miles north and north-east of Gallehus was in olden times, as asserted by tradition and as proved by still remaining smaller woods and striking local names, an immense and famous Forest, FARRIS SKOW, stretching over broad lands from the Western Ocean to the Little Belt, with a separate "Herred" (Hundred, Jurisdiction) called FROS HERRED. There is scarcely a doubt that this FROS is the gen. sing. of FRO or FREY, and that a great temple to this God once stood in FROS HERRED. It is possible that an affiliated or smaller house to the same Deity once existed in or near Gallehus, or that the Golden Horns found there may originally have been plunder from the fane dedicated to FREY higher up in Jutland. The great woods (HOLTS) will sufficiently explain the HOLT-INGÆA of the

[1] This last is the opinion of Paulli, "Tilforladelig Tegning", p. 3.

text. Gallehus was in Ellumsyssel, and nearby was the famous Barwithsyssel (= Bearing-wood-syssel or Shire) Barviðr, Sylva frugifera, chiefly filled with the Beech and Oak.

The peculiar expression TAWIDO (= MADE or LET MAKE or HAD MADE or CAUSED TO BE MADE) would seem distinctly to mean that this Horn was *made* for the Temple, not that it was bought or plundered in another land or place and then simply *given*. It was *made for a purpose*. Therefore the decorations would seem to be neither meaningless nor outlandish.

For further comments on the words, see the WORD-ROLL.

My friend the distinguisht Palæontologist Prof. J. J. S. Steenstrup is of opinion (see Thorsen, "De danske Runemindesmærker", p. 346) that two races may have been represented on *the Runeless* Horn, possibly on the other also; one of them being the almost neckless "Longheads", Makrokephali, which might perhaps bring the one Horn or both *from the Crimea* (the Chersonesus Taurica). I am afraid that all such reasonings are more than doubtful, when we remember the barbarous style of the workmanship, the general fantasticness of the human and animal shapes, and how little we can depend on the old drawings for such excessively minute details as length of head or shortness of neck. In fact all the oldest copies show small variations in the shape of the figures and decorations [1], and we cannot say, that any one of them is in this respect absolutely correct. Still the hint is ingenious and suggestive. That the half-classical nature of a couple of the figures (such as the Centaur) should make the Horns of foreign make, is also a most hazardous view. Our Northern Museums show many specimens of "Barbaric" work, evidently largely inspired by Classical and other outland motives, with which the native Early Iron Age was familiar. In the Danish Mosses alone several such Barbarico-Classical pieces have been found, dating from the very same period.

Should Prof. Steenstrup after all be right, and should even the *Runic* Horn have been brought in to Denmark by some chapman or settler from the Crimea, I cannot but think that the inscription — which is in the same Scandian dialect as so many other things which have certainly *not* been imported from the Crimea — was carved by the maker of the Horn, and doubtless in some one of the Scando-Gothic (Dacie, ? Danish) clans then abiding in the Crimea, on their way farther south and west.

Many interpretations have been given of *the figures* on these horns. Gisli Brynjulfson thinks that some of them, particularly the armed man bearing (or, as he takes it, pierced with) a human body, refer to Heimdal, the Warder of the Gods.

Valuable Horns, Rings, Diadems, Crowns, Jewels, &c., have been made for or given to Temples and Churches in all lands, from the oldest times down to our own days. We have examples of precious Horns offered on the High Altar of Cathedrals, &c., in our own country, down to the late middle age. Thus, in 934 King Æthelstan, on his march against Constantine King of Scotland, to propitiate the favor of his Patron, St. Cuthbert, presented very many costly gifts at his shrine in Cuncacestre (Chester-le-street). Among these were TWO HORNS OF GOLD and SILVER, &c. A few years afterwards his brother, King Edmund, presented in the same way and place TWO GOLDEN ARMRINGS and other valuables [2]. So King Cnut the Great gave his GOLDEN CROWN to Winchester Cathedral. Again, "Anno 1175, Dufgal, son of Summerled, and Stephen his Chaplain, and Adam of Stanford, received the Fraternity of the Church [of Durham] at the feet of St. Cuthbert on the vigil of St. Bartholomew, and the said Dufgal offered there TWO GOLD RINGS to St. Cuthbert, and promised that he would every year during his life give to the Convent a mark of silver, either in *pence* or an equivalent" [3]. So in Christian Ireland. In 1004 Brian Boru, the first sovran of that country who was not of the royal stock of the North, "made a royal progress through Ireland, and having arrived at Armagh, remained in that town for a week. While there, he presented a GOLDEN RING of twenty ounces as an offering on the high altar of the Church" [4].

See also THE BUZEU RING [5].

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[1] See C. C. Rafn's article hereon in Annaler for Nord. Oldkynd. for 1855, p. 354-60.

[2] See Wanley's Catalogue (Sup. to Hickes) p. 238, and the Rev. J. Raine's St. Cuthbert, Durham 1828, p. 50-53.

[3] Raine, l. c. p. 151.

[4] Henry O'Neill. "The Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland". 8vo, London and Dublin, 1863, p. 59.

[5] Should the golden object mentioned by Prof. Daniel Wilson (Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, 2nd ed., 8vo, London 1863, Vol. 1, p. 405) really have been a Horn, it will have belonged to the same class as these pieces found at Gallehus. He says: — "In 1839, a tenant engaged in levelling and improving a field on the estate of Craigengelt, near Stirling, opened a large circular cairn,

Several Inscribed Horns are still left in the Northern lands; but they are all of a comparatively late date. The most remarkable among them is the Bone Horn whose oldest resting-place was a Seat at Skönaback in Bleking, South-Sweden. It has since been given to the Museum in Lund. It bears more than 300 Runes, forming several rimed verses in praise of domestic happiness after the wars. Such verses might well have been said or sung at the evening repast in the Knightly Hall. This piece, which cannot be older than the 15th century, is engraved and described in Sjöborg's Samlingar. Vol. 2. p. 189, Fig. 47. It had previously been figured at p. 33-35 of Dr. Sven Bring's Dissertation (Respond. P. Mützell) "De Listria, Lister-Härad", 4to, Londini Gothorum, 1748.

Much might be added on both the workmanship and the meaning of *the Figures* engraved on these Golden Horns. I will only remark that several pieces from about the same time, found in the Northern lands, have representations strikingly similar in their general character. I would particularly point out a couple of the ornaments taken from the Thorsbjerg Moss [1], as well as the two Silver Goblets dug out at Himlingöie.

These last, as I have said in my description of the Himlingöie Brooch, have just below the rim a thin ribbon of gold, fastened on to the cup with silver nails. The figures on both are almost the same, and have been stampt up from behind. In "Antiquarisk Tidsskrift" for 1861-63, Kjobenhavn 1864, 8vo, p. 29, is an admirable view of the one of these Goblets, which I here repeat, with the permission of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.

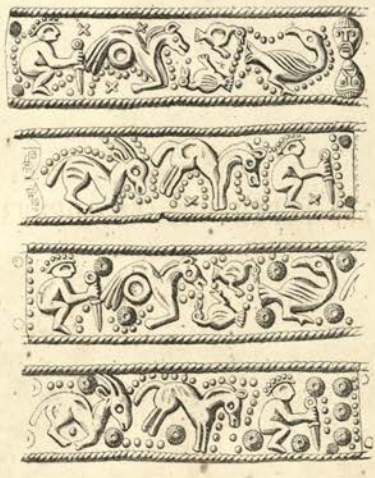
First the Silver Drinking-Cup is given on a small scale:

Then we have the Foot, full size:

which bore the popular name of "The Ghost's Knowe". It measured exactly 300 feet in circumference, and nearly fifty feet in height, and around its base twelve large stones were disposed at regular intervals. Underneath this cairn a megalithic chamber was found, the upright stones of which are about five feet high, and within it lay a skeleton, imbedded in matter which emitted a strong resinous odour, but the bones rapidly crumbled to dust on exposure to the air. The gentleman on whose estate this remarkable cairn stood [John Dick, Esq. of Craigengelt], and to whom I am chiefly indebted for this description, had given strict orders to send for him if a cist or coffin was discovered; but while operations were delayed in expectation of his arrival, one of the labourers plundered the hoard and fled. Many valuable articles are reported to have been found; among which was *a golden horn or cup*, weighing fourteen ounces, and *ornamented with chased or embossed figures*. This interesting relic was purchased from one of the labourers by a gentleman in Stirling, and is believed to be still in existence, though I have failed, after repeated applications, to obtain access to it. The exact nature or value of the whole contents of this cairn is not likely ever to be ascertained. The only articles secured by the proprietor, and now in his possession, are a highly polished stone axe or hammer, eight inches long, rounded at one end, and tapering at the other; a knife or dagger of the same material, eighteen inches long, which was broken by one of the stones falling on it when opening the cist; and a small gold finger-ring, chased and apparently jewelled, though the settings have fallen out."

[1] See Engelhardt's Thorsbjerg Mosefund, Plates 6, 7, 11.

And lastly, also full size, the Golden Band, with its various figures as they run round the Goblet:



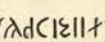
Now remembering that *the Horns themselves*, if we had them, would doubtless show very much the same baldness and roughness of work as the Goblets; and also considering that the strange "bilds" on the Horns were apparently made with a distinct view to Godly Legends or dim Temple-lore; it is clear that the "barbarian" style of both Horns, Cups and Ornament is undeniable, that their general execution is very similar, and that these pieces from Gallehus, Himlingöie, Thorsbjerg and elsewhere are not very far apart as regards both land and date. Everything tends to prove them of Scandinavian origin; in about the middle of the Early Iron Age, sometimes earlier, sometimes a little later. — A "barbarian" piece of the same style and workmanship — and probably of about the same date, the Early Iron Age — has been found in England, the decorated Oaken Pail dug up near Marlborough in Wiltshire. It is thus described by Sir Richard Colt in his "The Ancient History of Wiltshire", Vol. 2. London 1821, Folio, (North-Wiltshire p. 34, 35): — "But I must not omit to mention a very curious relic of antiquity, which by the zeal of the Rev. Mr. Francis, of Milden hall, was rescued from destruction. It is so unlike any other article we have hitherto discovered, that I have thought it worthy of an engraving. Fortunately, Mr. Francis had an exact drawing made of it, before it fell to pieces, otherwise I should not have been able to give a satisfactory delineation of it, PLATE VI. It was discovered in a meadow adjoining Marlborough, called St. Margaret's mead; which is situate just beyond the first mile stone on the road leading to London. According to the original drawing presented to me by Mr. Francis, and drawn upon a scale of three inches to one, the vessel must have been two feet in breadth, and twenty-one inches in height. It was formed of substantial oak wood, ribbed with iron hoops, had two handles of the same, and a hollow bar of iron was placed across the mouth of the vessel, and affixed to the square upright pieces projecting from the circle. It was plated with thin brass, and ornamented with embossed representations of grotesque human heads and animals. The deposit of human burned bones which it contained, proves it to have been originally destined to sepulchral purposes, but I am at a loss even to conjecture the period to which it ought to be attributed." — We must remember that thin ruined gold might easily be mistaken for "brass". The beautiful engraving, which gives both sides of the Pail, shows that it had three embost bands or hoops (? of thin brass or *gold*) going all round, the bizarre heads (or masks) and animals at once reminding us of the Himlingöie Cups. Two similar quaint heads are also affixt to the wooden uprights thro which went the iron bar. By the plate we see that these embost slips were fastened on with small nails, besides which there are many ornamental dots or points.

VEILE, NORTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

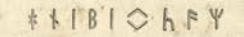
? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

From P. SYV'S *Ms. Collections, in* P. F. SUHM'S *"Samlinger til den Danske Historie", 4to, Vol. 1, Part 2, Kjöbenhavn 1779, p. 117.*

ᛘᚣᛅᛈᛁᛋᛁᛁᚾᚼ:



Nothing but the bare inscription, as above, is given. I take the B to be ignorantly split in two by the copyist, the two parts of the B and the R not being always closely united. The NG I think is badly copied. The Runes are retrograde (wend-staves), and read from right to left. Given in their usual order, as corrected above, they would be:



ᚼᚾᛁᛒᛁ◇ᚢᚨᛘ

The ✱ is here $\frac{\text{æ}}{\text{H}}$, and I would divide:

$\frac{\text{æ}}{\text{H}}$NI BINGCÆ A.
ÆNI BINGKSON OWNS (this-grave).

As nothing is now known of this stone, and as the old copies are so seldom to be implicitly depended upon, I lay no stress on this monument. But it *may* be substantially correct, and I see no reason to exclude it altogether. It can surely break no bones to mention it.

If BINGCÆA be one word, in the dative, we must then translate: *ÆNI to-BINGCÆ (raised this stone).*

But, however redd, it is clear that this risting — if the above transcript be only tolerably trustworthy — contains 3 Old-Northern letters, the NG, the C and the A. That this last must be A is selfevident, not only because it occurs together with the NG and C, but also because the last word (whether a name in the dative or a verb) *could* not have ended in M.

VOLDTOFTE, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

Drawn and Chemityped by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN from the original block, now in the Private Garden of Jægerspris Palace, Sealand, Denmark.

This granite block was found more than a score years ago. Its size is moderate, about 5 feet 4 inches high, 3 feet broad, and of varying but not considerable thickness. At the wish of the late King, Frederick VII, it was sent to his then Palace of Jægerspris, and the Museum authorities have not yet removed it thence. But this had better be done at once, for the Runic Stones at Jægerspris are National property, while the Palace itself — by special gift of the late King — has past into private hands. Death and a thousand accidents may cause other changes, and a future owner may not be so careful of these National Monuments as the present.

The drawings and rubbing preserved in the Archives of the Old-Northern Museum were not sufficient for my purpose. So I had it drawn under my own inspection on my visit to Jægerspris in July 1864, and a careful examination of the stone shows that it still can be redd, notwithstanding the injuries it has received. Thus the remains of the F are plainly visible, the S is nearly perfect, and the top of the T is well markt just in the break. The last stave is distinctly S.

All the letters in this carving are common to both the older alphabets, save only one, the A, here upside-down[1] as on the Stentoften stone, and thus ᚼ instead of the usual ᛉ in the Old-Northern staverow. But this is sufficient to show that the whole inscription belongs to the older period. That ᚼ should here stand for Y or Œ is incredible. Another proof of very high antiquity is the final S, in lieu of the later R-mark for the nominative. That the word here *is* in the nominative cannot be doubted. The single name of the deceast *in the genitive* is altogether unheard-of. I therefore regard this monument as Old-Northern, and not later than the 7th century, which also harmonizes with its very simple character.

The scoring is merely the name of the dead man who rested in the Barrow over which this pillar originally stood:

RUULFASTS.

For remarks on this name, hitherto unique, see the WORD-ROW.

Should all this be so, — as this short inscription is *only* in "Old-Northern" runes, — it is *one instance* of a block so carved *found in Denmark*. But we cannot triumphantly proclaim it as such, till we can find other instances on pieces confessedly Old-Northern of this peculiar ᚼ for ᛉ *as* A. At all events we must here make our choice. This ᚼ *can* have only the following values: 1) $\frac{R}{A}$; 2) R;

[1] So the Scandinavian-runic M (ᛘ) is found, by an elegant caprice, plainly carved upside-down (ᛗ) in the Alphabet on the Maeshowe stone No. 5. See Alphabet No. 6½, p. 101.

3) ᛟ; 4) ᛉ; 5) (as upside down for ᛘ, as we so often find runic — and even Roman — letters carved) ᚨ. We must therefore read: ᚱᚢᚢᛚᚠᛋᛏᛋ, or ᚱᚢᚢᛚᚠᚱᛋᛏᛋ, or ᚱᚢᚢᛚᚠᛟᛋᛏᛋ, or ᚱᚢᚢᛚᚠᛉᛋᛏᛋ, or ᚱᚢᚢᛚᚠᚨᛋᛏᛋ.

There is surely no difficulty in choosing, especially when we remember that the name itself is one of those rarities *a triple compound*, here occurring in a shortened form. Unabridged it would be HRUÐ-WULF-FASTS (= GLORY-WOLF-FAST), in Old-English HRODWULFFAST, in Old-German HRODULFFAST; but the name has never yet been found either in England or Germany, and here meets us in Scandinavia for the first time. Now calling to mind the *fast* firm strong character of the A in FAST, we shall see how unlikely or impossible it is that it should so early *in this word* have sunk into either O or Y.

VORDINGBORG, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

Drawn and Chemityped by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN *from the Runic Block, now in the Round Tower, Cheapinghaven.*

The now sunk in comparative insignificance, Vordingborg has been a famous place from very early days. Its Borg or Castle was built by Valdemar the Great in the 12th century, to protect the coast from the wild Wends. Near it have stood heathen grave-mounds, time after time leveled and destroyed. The stone before us came from some such barrow.

But its history is lost in obscurity. We can only trace it back to the middle of the 17th century. I translate the following account given by Prof. Nyerup[1]:

"The career of the stone is shortly thus. Once, when the famous Chancelor Christian Fris of Kragerup, the great protector of Northern studies, traveled to Falster thro Vordingborg, he happened to perceive this block. It was then a foot-stone under the Excise Office. Without delay he got it taken out and removed to the Palace-yard, and afterwards commissioned the Rune-master Olaf Worm to visit and decipher it. Worm went accordingly, and had the runes accurately copied, as they stand in his Monumenta Danica, p. 120. But, as he complains, their explication was most arduous. Since Worm's time no Œdipus has succeeded in reading the riddle.

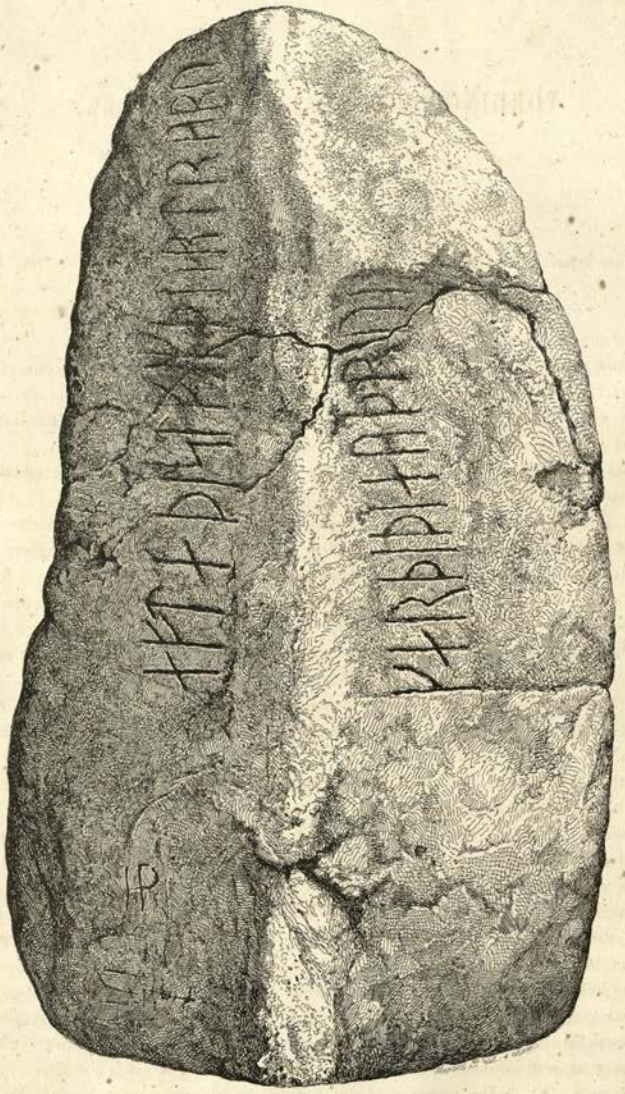
"Together with several other runic monuments, this stone, in accordance with the proposal of Worm and the command of the King, Frederick III, was transported to the Churchyard of Trinity Church."

But the Danish Topographical collector Mr. A. Petersen has kindly communicated to me yet another and hitherto unknown old woodcut, one of the many illustrations prepared for the never publisht "Atlas Danicus" of Peder Resen, of which only some fragments were printed. As the original manuscript and copper plates and wooden blocks were destroyed by the fire which ravaged the University Library in 1728, and only imperfect copies remain, it is impossible to fix the date of this most rare woodcut. That of the copper-plates (of which impressions yet remain) is generally assumed as 1677, and the woodcut is doubtless within a year or two of the same time. What is interesting with respect to this Resenian copy of the Vordingborg stone is, that it is quite independent of Worm's, from which it differs in many particulars. Generally speaking, its draughtsman has deciphered few letters, but has given these more correctly. As this Resenian impression is unique and hitherto unknown, no Runologist has previously been able to make use of it. Like Worm's, it has little runic value, but I may as well observe that the FA in the word FADUR is given by Worm ᚠᚱ; by Resen, still nearer the truth, ᚠᚠ. The engraver of the latter signs his name BM, as a monogram.

The Vordingborg block was one of the 3 runic stones which escaped the fire, and the barbarisms of Sören Mathiesen the Sexton. It was afterwards deposited in the Round Tower, where it now remains.

[1] "Det af Kong Valdemar opbygte Vordingborg Slots ærværdige Ruiner", in Antiqvariske Annaler, Kjøbenhavn 1812, 8vo, Vol. 1, p. 4.

We cannot wonder that this precious memorial could not be redd, for Worm's woodcut is not only very rude but also very incorrect, and defies runic skill. What led me to handle it was, that I found two letters (a Bind-rune) on its lower surface, staves altogether omitted by Worm, and which were Old-Northern. These characters were ᚺ and ᚹ (h and w). Thus it at once belonged to me,



and I determined to use every effort to obtain — at least a truthful facsimile. Repeated visits, for months together, under all lights, further revealed to me yet another Old-Northern rune, the ᛅ (a) in FADUR. Thus I was encouraged to take every precaution and to spare no pains. — Accordingly, with the permission of the Museum Authorities, and aware of the great value of *a Mould* in cases like these,

I first got the stone well washt from its accumulated dirt, and then procured both a Rubbing and also a Mould in clay. These again showed distinctly the ᛉ in FAÞUR. I now employed an Artist to take a Cast, in Plaster of Paris, of the whole carved surface. I was thus in possession of the necessary materials: 1) my own sketch of the runes, the result of many examinations, and which was entirely confirmed by what came afterwards; 2) a Rubbing; 3) a Mould; 4) a Cast.

The result was a triumph. The stone was deciphered.

In June 1864 my engraver, Mr. J. Magnus Petersen, with all the above materials before him, spent some days in obtaining a perfect drawing of this venerable granite sarsen, with all its splits and roughnesses, for terribly has it suffered from the "tooth of time" and the as rough fingers of men. His representation is a masterpiece, both antiquarian and technical, and I thank him for so fine a specimen of his skill in Chemitype.

Without the aid of the Mould and Cast, nothing satisfactory *to others* could have been accomplisht, for the stone — like all in the Round Tower — is in an execreable light, or rather in no light, half smothered in its dim niche; and it is only at certain times that we can at all follow the worn and broken letters.

This block is 4-sided, but is let in so far back that only two, those inscribed, can be got at. Its total height is about 4 feet 5 inches, its total breadth (both the runic sides) about 3 feet 1 inch. The staves are from 3½ to 4 inches high, the bind-rune only 2½ inches. The carving reads from below upward, first the left line and then the right. In spite of some of the letters being so much damaged, and the injuries sustained by the granite generally, all the staves can be clearly made out with a little patience. They run:

Still lower down, are two runelike marks, apparently a *reverst* ᚢᛁ (UI), which may or may not have a meaning. As they are so near the bottom and were probably invisible to the spectator, being eventually hidden by the stones or earth upholding the block, they may only have been capricious or preliminary practise-ristings. But the HW are also scored so low down that they could not have been seen, if the stone were firmly planted in the ground. This is therefore perhaps one of those blocks which stood altogether above ground, small footstones being placed close to its base, — or else it was *inside* the how —, supported chiefly by its own weight.

ᛉ being here clearly A, ᚫ is as clearly Æ, as in other cases when ᚫ is used for Æ and some other sign for A. Rare and valuable is the ᚯ for Ū; in fact it is an Old-Northern form.

I cannot see any difficulty in the inscription, which I read and divide as follows:

ÆFT ÆÞISL, FAÞUR,
TRŪÞU KÆRÞI ÞLÆU ÞRUI.
HW. [= H(airwulfr) W(rait).]

AFTER ÆÞISL, his-FATHER,
TRŪÞU GARED (made) THIS THRUCH (stone-kist).
H (= any word beginning with H, for instance HAIRWULFR) W(rote) (= these runes).

The ÆFT stands, as on the Flemlöse stone, for the common AFT; and, Æ being here dialectic for A, ÆÞISL is the usual mans-name AÞISL. — TRŪÞU is a mans-name here for the first time found in Scandinavia, but answering to the Swedish DROBBE in DROBBENÄS, (a Homestead in Wärend, South-Sweden [1]), and to the Old-German TRUBO. — KÆRÞI sometimes stands on other stones for KARÞI. — ÞLÆU is the per-antique ac. sing. fem. of ÞE, and agrees with the ac. sing. fem. ÞRUI, occurring here for the first time in its simple form. We have it once again, as a compound, in the shortened shape STEN-ÞR, on the Rösås stone, Njudingen, which see in the Appendix. But we have both ÞRÓ and STEIN-ÞRÓ in Icelandic writings. — The ᚫ, the Æ, the H, the W and the ᚯ thus belong to the Old-Northern alphabet. That the block is heathen is self-evident.

[1] G. O. Hyltén-Cavallius. "Wärend och Wirdarne". Part 1, 8vo, Stockholm 1863, p. 81.

HELNÆS, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

From the original block, now in the Old-Northern Museum, Chëapinghaven. Drawn and Chemityped by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN.

That part of this stone which bears the runic carving was first engraved, on a very small scale, by the late C. C. Rafn, then Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, in "Antiquarisk Tidsskrift", 1858-60, Kjobenhavn, p. 181, from whose text (pp. 179-80) I translate the following information:

"This stone was found on the 18th of March, 1860, on the land of the yeoman Lars Madsen, on the right side of the road from the north to Helnæs By [village or small town], about midway on the peninsula as it here runs from north to south, but much nearer the coast at Helnæs-bay than the outer coast at the Little Belt. It was about 100 paces S. W. from a stone-set grave-chamber of far older date, in a barrow now overgrown with small wood, — and 300 paces N. of the now so-called Sjo or Sö, which was formerly a bay connected with the sea and probably, as tradition asserts, was once a harbor, but has now become a lake, a dyke having been thrown up here in 1789.

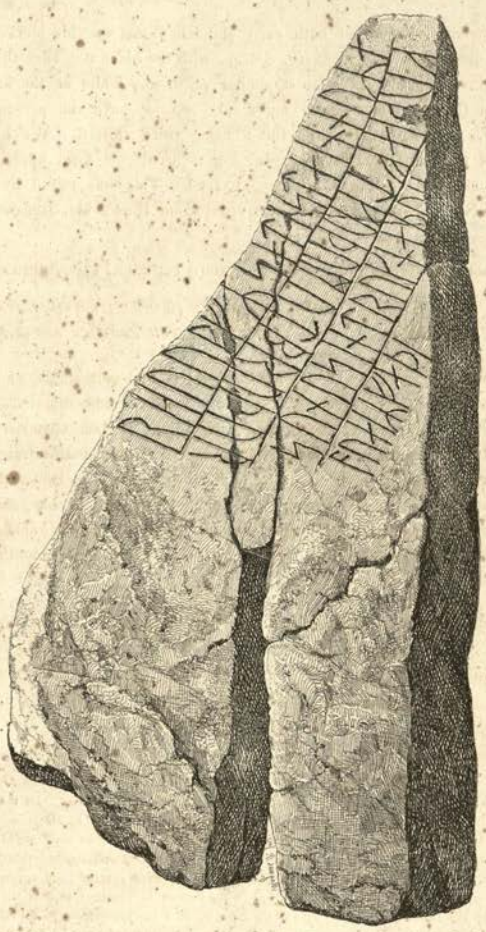
"The stone was not so deep under the earth but that one could plough up to it. The runes were uppermost, but were hidden by the soil. There were traces in the ground of former diggings here, the mould being turned over and mixt. The megalith shows clearly that it has been cloven not many years since, but when this took place and what has become of the large piece thus sliced off — no one can tell. When the block was now taken up, the work-people clove it into 3 pieces, the two largest of which were used as gate-posts, and the third had the same destination. A couple of small pieces with runes were also broken off.

"The top was loose in the earth, and was apparently knockt away at the earlier cleaving; this fragment was now in a stone fence. Some time after the finding and cleaving of the block, Hr. Runge [the schoolmaster in Helnæs] got to hear of it, and hastened to announce the find. He also collected all the fragments, so that nothing was lost save the piece broken out some years back. Properly put together, they are now taken care of in the yard of the School."

All this came to the ears of his late Majesty King Frederick VII, and in September 1860 he visited the grave-chamber and the stone, got a rubbing and a drawing made, and afterwards sent in the Runic monument to the Old-Northern Museum, where it now is, raised up and held fast by clamps. Its length is about 6 feet 10 inches, its greatest thickness about 2 feet. It must have been originally nearly twice as broad, the piece cloven away having been mostly uninscribed. The runes average from 4 to 5 inches in height. There is no mark of division between the words.

Since then the stone has been drawn in its whole size by Prof. P. G. Thorsen, in his "Danske Runemindesmærker", Vol. 1, p. 335; but the block had not then arrived in the capital, and I now re-engrave it, same size as in Thorsen's chemitype, still more accurately, from the stone itself.

This precious monument has the 3 long lines carved furrow-wise, and shows the Old-Northern H (H) twice, the O. N. ᛗ (M) once, and doubtless has ᚨ as the O. N. Æ not as the Scandian O. In this case had O occurred on the stone, it would have been the O. N. Ǫ. Thus this stone is overgang. The whole inscription is fortunately complete, save that 5 or 6 runes have been struck off at the top of the 3rd line. And even these we can restore with approximate certainty. For after the H, whose



lower half has perisht, *must* have followed AN, thus HAN = *HE*, and then came UTI = *ABROAD*, or some other short word of a like kind. Thus we read:

ᚱ H ᚢ ᚢ ᛚ ᚠ ᛦ ᛋ ᛅ ᛏ ᛁ ᛋ ᛏ ᛅ ᛁ ᚾ ᚾ ᚢ ᛦ ᛅ
ᚴ ᚢ ᚦ ᛁ ᛅ ᚠ ᛏ ᚴ ᚢ ᚦ ᚢ ᛗ ᚢ ᛏ ᛒ ᚱ ᚢ ᚦ ᚢ ᚱ
ᛋ ᚢ ᚾ ᚢ ᛋ ᛁ ᚾ ᛏ ᚱ ᚢ ᚴ ᚾ ᛅ ᚦ (ᚢ H . . . . .)
ᚨ ᚢ ᛅ ᛁ ᛦ ᚨ ᛅ ᚦ ᛁ

RHUULFR SATI STAIN, NURA KUDI, AFT KUÞUMUT, BRUÞUR-SUNU SIN. TRUKNAÞU (Han ? uti).
ÆUAIR FAÞI.

RHUULFR SET this-STONE, of-the-NUR-men (or, of the Nur district) the-GUTHI (Temple-chief and Civil Magistrate) AFTER KUTHUMUT (= GUÞMUND), BROTHER-SON SIN (his). DROWNED (was-drowned) (HE ? out, [abroad]).
ÆUAIR FAYED (sculptured, carved, wrote, this stone and these runes).

There is a striking mixture of both early and late forms on this block. Thus we have SATI and FAÞI, 3 s. p., with the I, but also TRUKNAÞU, 3 s. p., with the older U. Then there is STAIN, ac. s. m., without the older final vowel, and SIN, also a similar ac. s. m., while at the same time the antique vowel is preserved in the word SUNU, also ac. s. m. So we have the per-antique U in KUÞUMUT[1] (= KUÞMUNT, GUÞMUND), properly KUNÞUMUNT, the N being twice slurred. We have a similar lafe of hoary eld in the A of the word KUÞABIARNAO, gen. sing., (usual gen. form KUÞBIARNAR or KUNÞIARNAR), and in the I of KUÞILIUFR, m. s., Härnacka, stone, Upland. This was raised by two brothers. It is No. 621 in Liljegren. No. 251 in Bautil. As corrected from Bure's Ms. Runahäfd No. 503, its text runs as follows:

UIÞEBEARN, ARFI KUÞABIARNAO, RITI (IL) UFTIR ÞARUÞAR SIN(I) URU (AUK) KIARI, KUÞILIUFR IFTIR BRUÞR SINO.

UITHEBIARN, ARFE (heir) of-KUTHABIARN, WROTE (inscribed) this-HILL (rock, stone, slab) AFTER BROTHERS SINE (his) UR EKE (and) KIAR, and-KUTHILIUF AFTER BROTHER SIN (his).

As an instance among many of the *historical* chiefs and potentates who met their death by *drowning*, and on whose grave monuments this would often be commemorated, I will only mention Halfdan the Swarthy, King of Norway, the father of King Harald Fairfax. After a winter-feast in Hadaland, he broke up with his men to return home, traversing the winter-path (straight over land and lake) on sledge. But the spring had made the ice rotten, and in crossing the Rönd, close to Rykins-vik, it gave way and he perisht, several of his kinsmen and high officers sharing his fate in their attempts to save him. The Fagrskinna[2] calls the place Rœkensvik, the Flateyjarbok[3] spells it Rinkkilsuik, and the Fragment[4] Rykinvic. This took place about 860. On his Rune-stone doubtless stood:

TRUKNAÞI HAN I RÚKINSUIK.

On existing runic monuments a formula of this kind occurs not unfrequently. Thus on the *Näsby* stone, Onsala Parish, Upland. (Lilj. 553), INKIFAST raises a noble block to his father and mother, ÞORKIL and KUNILT, adding:

ÞAU TRUKNAÞU BAÞI.
THEY DROWNED (were drowned) BOTH.

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[1] On this head I translate the valuable remarks of Prof. K. Gislason, in his essay "De oldnordiske Navneords Böining: nogle Bemærkninger", (Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik, Vol. 6, Kjöbenhavn. 1866, 8vo, p. 246): — "Here I only speak of Old-northern [= Norse-Icelandic] as a written tung in its second stage, its book-literature. In an older period this language has of course been harder, and has admitted sound-unions which afterwards became unbearable. It seems to me that we have an exemple of this in Thorsen (Runemindesmærker, 1), on the Sleavig stone [Vedelsprang, a], in the word SUTRIOU [read SUTRIKU], where (TRIGU =) triggv stands on Gothic grownd (comp. triggv þata vaurd, several times in the Letters to Timothy), and is the form from which trygg has developt itself quite simply by the vowel-change (i — y) and the rejection of v (as everywhere at the end of a word). In accordance with this view of -TRIGU, I regard the words AFT GUÞUMUT [read KUÞUMUT] BRUÞUR SUNU SIN, [on the Helnæs stone] as quite correct, and look upon SUNU as a lagger, an unchanged lafe from the time when our language was one with the Gothic; while the middle U in GUÞUMUT depends on a decay of the corresponding Gothic a in such compounds as gudalaus, gudafaurhts, guþaskaunei, in other words a decay of the sanie kind as is presupposed from the vowel-change in börn (bairns, children), in gröf (grave), in gjöf (gift), and in old compounds like gjöfmildr (gift-mild, generous); comp. Gothic airþakunds, hleþrastakeins, mötastaþs, hveilahvairbs), for gjafmildr (which answers to such Gothic compounds as gudhus, guþblostreis). A still older kind of compound than that in gjöfmildr, and which altogether agrees with that in GUÞUMUT, meets us in raðunautr, þingunautr, lögunautr, förunautr, búðunautr, which are all found in the old book-literature. I am well aware that u in all these instances has not the same relationship to the original sound, in whose stead it has come; but this difference is of no moment here."

[2] Fagrskinna, ed. Munch & Unger, Christiania 1847, p. 82.

[3] Flateyjarbok, ed. Unger, Christiania 1860, Vol. 1, p. 566.

[4] Brudstykke af en gammel norsk Kongesaga (Samlinger til det norske Folks Sprog og Historie, etc. Vol. 2, Christiania 1834, p. 274).

Add the Runic rock in *Hillesjö* Parish, Upland, also called the *Rune-berg*, (Lilj. No. 2009, as corrected by Bure, Ms. Runahäfd No. 188 and Curio No. 4), with its per-antique IN SUNTA, of the son there spoken of:

HAN* TRUKNADI IN SUNTA.

HE DROWNED (was drowned) IN the-SOUND.

So on the *Sund* stone, Helgestad Parish, Södermanland, (Lilj. 914, Bautil 825, Dybeck, 8vo. 53, b), KUFINK and HULMKAIR raise the stone to URAIB, their father:

HAN TURUKNADI I BAGI.

HE DROWNED (was drowned) IN BAGA.

Again on the fragmentary *Thorsåker* stone, Gestrikland, (Lilj. 1055):

KUIMUNTR DRUKNADI.

KUTHMUNT DROWNED (was drowned).

On the fragmentary *Tumbo* stone, Södermanland, (Lilj. 987, Bautil 761), which is now lost, we read:

(h)AN TRUKNADI I EKLANS HA(fi).

HE DROWNED (was drowned) IN ENGLAND'S HAFF (the English Ocean, the North-Sea).

And again on the Nylarsker stone, Bornholm:

TRUKNADI HAN UTI MED ALA SKIBARA.

DROWNED (was drowned) HE OUT (abroad) WITH (with) ALL his-SHIPPERS (shipmen, = with all his crew).

We have yet another spelling on the *Nöreby* stone, West-Gotland, (Lilj. 1406, Bautil 957, Ljungström 6), which is broken at the end:

IAR TURKNADI .....

AS (who) DROWNED (was drowned) .....

This stone is remarkably illustrated by the *Flemlöse* block, which see in the Appendix. Not only do they both belong to the same iland, Fyn, and the same folkland, of which Assens is the capital; but they both seem to have concerned a mighty family of local dignity, civil and religious, the WOLVES. This monument is raised in memory of his brother-son by a chief named RHUULFR (= HRUÐR-WULFR); the Flemlöse block was inscribed to the daughter of a magnate called ULFR (= WULFR). Both ULF and RHUULF had the important office and title of GUTHI, and in the same district; each was NURA GUTHI. And both stones close with the same work-phrase. The one ends with ÆUAIR FADI, the other with FUÆIR FAADO.

We may add, that equally bearing marks of great age from their olden runes and archaistic language, they both are heathen overgang-stones.

KALLERUP, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

From a cast of the block used in Prof. THORSEN'S "De danske Runemindesmærker", Vol. 1, p. 15. — Drawn and Chemityped by J. M. PETERSEN, in 1862.

This, like the last, is a transition-stone. That is, it is so ancient that it still retains some of the Old-Northern staves, while it is young enough to admit later and provincial or "Scandinavian" runes. Most of the letters, (to take them as they stand, U, R, N, B, S, T, I, D), are common to both alphabets; but the H belongs to the Old-Northern Futhorc and the ᚼ to the very oldest Scandinavian. The U in SUIDKS is Scandinavian, instead of the Old-Northern W. This word SUIDKS is valuable as showing what the influence of mere surface-position may be. It stands for SUIDIKS, the I being slurred or altogether omitted (understood) or regarded as contained in the ᚴ, this considered as a bind-rune, the stem being first taken as ᛁ and then the whole as ᚴ. The word was so written for symmetry. The carver evidently wisht the under-line to be in harmony with the upper, projecting a little at the beginning and end. But it is already a little too long, runs out too much at the end. To have carved the I would have made it still more out of proportion. The rune-rister has therefore past this I over as understood.

We have also here a notable instance of how the R may often be so near the U as only to be distinguisht by a very slight curve and its general bearing and character. The first R is cut sharp in the usual manner. But the second only slightly differs from the U which immediately precedes it.

The best account of this block is that given by Fin Magnusen, and this I here translate:

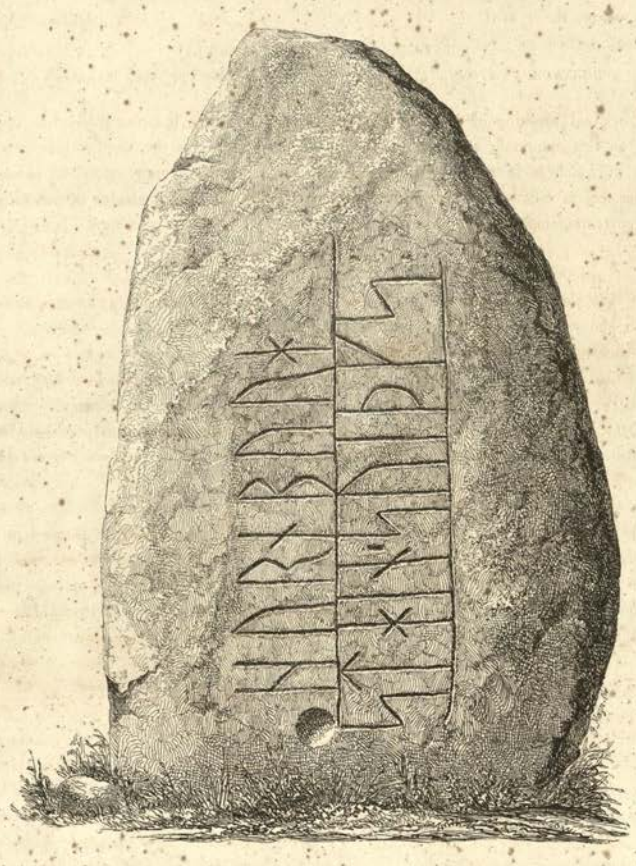
"1¼ mile [Danish] north of Snoldelev, a short [Danish] mile in the same direction from Thune or Tune (where in 1770 was found a 3-cornered Rune-stone [since destroyed, and never properly copied]), 1 [Danish] mile east of Roeskilde, close north of the road to Cheapinghaven, are the so-called Kallerup homesteads, nearly opposite the Church-village Höie Tostrup, formerly called Thorstorp, probably from Thor having been once worshipt there. One of the inhabitants of these homesteads, farmer Jens Larsen, while ploughing a field in 1828 struck on the narrow edge of a largish stone, buried in the earth. On clearing away the soil, he remarkt an inscription on the surface turned to the north. He therefore resolved not to break it up, as he had otherwise determined, and informed some learned men of his find. In company with Werlauff, Rask and Thomsen I visited the spot June the 1st in the same year, and found the block lying on the ground, near 3 large but now almost ruined stone-settings which lay close to each other in a continuous line. The neighbors said that this place used to be called the *Gjette-ting* or *Jette-ting*. This stone therefore very likely stood on one of the Ting-steds [Doom-Seats, Assize-places] of the olden time, and has since been wilfully thrown down and buried. It is 6 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches broad and 2 feet thick. On the smooth and flat side, in a simple framing and with large and handsome letters 8 to 9 inches high are engraved these words ..... *Rask* redd the risting thus:

HURNBURE
STEIN SVIÞKS

or, as written in the more regular manner, and taking as I do * to be *a*.

Hørnbora
stain svip(in)gs.

For *Hornbori* is a most ancient mansname, as borne for instance by a Dwarf or Alf (or Elf), in the Eddas. *Svipíngr* or *Svinníngr* must mean a prudent, wise or cunning (knowing) man, from the well-known adjective *svipr*, *svinnr*, in its old signification of prudent, understanding, knowing, clever, hearted[1],



doubtless of the same origin as the Anglosaxon *svip* strong, great, mighty, excellent, the Mæso-Gothic *svinths*. The word is formed in the same way as other old and better known words of the like meaning, as *spekíngr* [a Sage] from *spakr* (*speki*), *snillíngr* [a Sage, distinguisht man] from *snjallr*, *vitríngr* [a Sage] from *vitr*, &c. Such titles were formerly borne by the counsellors of the Northern princes, and by other folkchiefs and judges. This chief of the Gjette-ting has doubtless been a man of this class,

[1] "In modern Icelandic (poetry excepted) the word now means sparing, grinding, and the derivative *svíðingr* a miser. Carefulness is of course a consequence of wisdom and thoughtfulness, but it can be carried too far."

probably a brother-magistrate to the Speaker Rohald on the Salshöie, and the carving can scarcely have any other meaning than that given to it by *Rask* and *Petersen*[1]: — "The wise (or accomplisht) Hornbore's stone" (Ting-stone, Judgment-seat stone, in my opinion: see above p. 463)"[2].

Of course we shall never be able to decide whether this block be a Doom-stone or a Grave-stone, for the words admit either interpretation. Probably it was funereal.

The runes being so large and plain, the copies made public of this stone have always been correct. And all the principal writers have substantially agreed in its reading and rendering. They could not but see that ᛅ was here a vowel. They have commonly wavered between A and E. It is neither: it is Æ. The block still remains, now State-property, not far from the spot where it was first found.

The words, then, are:

HURNBURᛅ STᛅIN, SUIÞKS (= SUIÞIKS).

HURNBURI'S STONE, the-SWITHING (= the-SAGE or the-WARRIOR).

The original meaning of SWIÞ being *strong* (in *body*), which it occasionally has also in Scandinavia as well as the commoner *strong* (in *mind*), wise, prudent, and the word SWIÞIG or SWIÞING in all those dialects in which it is found signifying *strong, mighty*, the SUIÞIKR before us probably means a *Warrior* rather than a *Sage*. It being here a title of Rank, both these shades of meaning will be exprest by the corresponding modern phrase:

HIS EXCELLENCY HURNBURI'S STONE.

Save that we have here *two* lines instead of *one*, this stone strikes us at once as being wonderfully similar in general character to the readable SANDWICH stone, England.

See the SNOLDELEV stone.

The cup-like hollow below, close to the beginning of the rísting, may or may not be artificial and significative. As a symbol or decoration this bowl properly belongs to a far older class of stones, which often bear many such hollows variously placed. Generally speaking, these half-holes on runic blocks are *natural*, caused by weathering, or long dripping of rain on one spot, or by the falling out of some knot or kernel in the stone.

That this block is very old is evident from its ᚺ as H, and ᛅ as Æ. But as its ᛅ is Æ, ᚠ (the older Æ) would have been O, if used on the stone. Judging from the Helnæs pillar, this one would have given ᛘ by ᛗ. Add to this the ᚴ for K and ᛋ for S, and we see how intermixt the characters are. Thus it cannot, I think, be later than the 8th century, tho it may be earlier. It has been a handsome monument. Its discovery so few years back is another proof that old Runic memorials may yet turn up in Denmark. The only danger is — lest they should be destroyed as soon as they are found.

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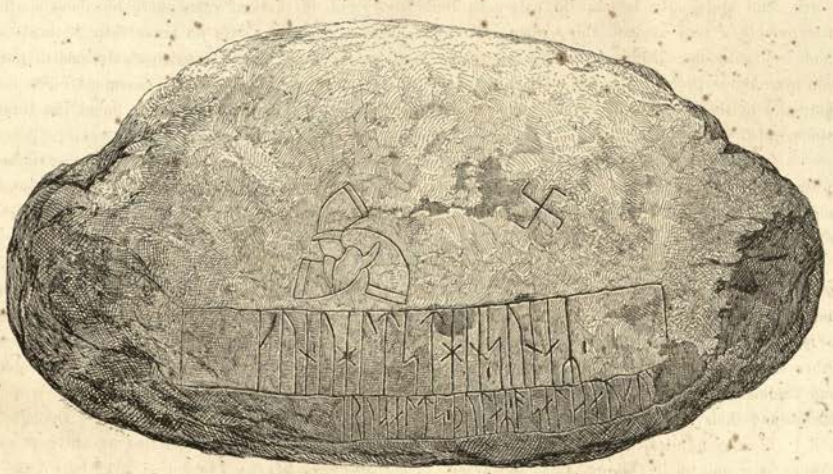
1. "Danmarks Historie i Hedenold", III. 364, 365.
2. "Runamo og Runerne", pp. 465-67.

SNOLDELEV, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

From the block itself, now in the Round Tower, Cheapinghaven. Drawn and Chemityped in April 1865 by J. M. PETERSEN.



Remarkable is this granitous graystone in many ways. It was found *within* the grave-mound to which it belonged; it bears *Old-Northern* as well as Scandinavian runes; it has inscribed upon it 2 olden Asia-sprung *heathen* symbols; and here alone, out of all our runic monuments, do we find the rare word ÞULAR [1].

Snoldelev is the name of a village in Thune Herred (Hundred), Roskilde Amt (Shire), Sealand, and its whole neighborhood has been rich in mighty barrows, stone-settings and antiquities, the whole not being very far from the famous heathen temple and palace of Leirc. Snoldelev Church stands on

[1] Among other sources, I here use the information given by Abrahamson, Skule Thorlacius and Börge Thorlacius ("Den Snoldelevske Runesteen") in Antiqvariske Annaler, 8vo, Kjobenhavn 1812, Vol. 1, pp. 278-322, with the Plate Tab. IV, Fig. 3; by F. Magnusen in Ant. Annaler, 1820, Vol. 3, pp. 204-7, and in Runamo pp. 413, 457-65; by J. H. Bredsdorff ("Om Guldhornsrunernes Oprindelse") in Brage og Idun, 8vo, Kobenhavn 1840, Vol. 3, pp. 502-16; by N. M. Petersen in his Danmarks Historie i Hedenold (1st ed., 1834-38), 8vo, 2nd ed., Kjobenhavn 1855, Vol. 3, pp. 272, 273; and by Thorsen, De Danske Runemindesmærker, Vol. 1, p. 13 foll. — But, as usual, my text is as short and simple as I can possibly make it. The works just mentioned will give further details.

a bank called Snolds-eie, and tradition says it was built out of the ruins of Snold Castle. About 1500 paces from Snolds-eie are two longish Hows, named Slæbbe's Hows. The most easterly is called Sylshow ("Sylshøj"). Some 3400 feet *south* of this is another large bank or mound, hight "Blothöj" (Blóthow, the Mound of Sacrifice), while 3400 feet *north* of Sylshow is a smaller bank or mound called Hallens-Dys, with 3 "altars" or stone-kists, one of which has an overligger, — a block nearly 40 feet in circumference — resting on 7 upright stones. Again about 3400 feet *east* of Slæbbe's Hows is Snold's Grave, and a little to the east of this is a place called "Slottet" (the Palace), on whose site was found the remains of a wall with large burnt bricks and hewn lime-stones, which are now in the under wall of the Parsonage. Between Slæbbe's How and Blót How, 1700 feet from each, is Sandehow, below which is a beck called Sie-Bæk, running from the spring Sie-Kilde. In Sandehow 4 stone graves were found anno 1802, and in 3 of these was taken up a small armring, a small knife, some bits of a shield or helm and a small stone axe. Tradition affirms that Helledys, from which Leire may be seen, is the spot where the ancient offer-ceremonies took place; Sylshow the mound where the offer-victims, human and animal, were examined and approved; Sie-Bæk the spot where they were washt; and Blóthow the place where they were consecrated for sacrifice. This seems to mean that the actual sacrifice took place in Leire, as we might expect.

"Sylshow", we are informed in Ant. Annaler, Vol. 1, p. 284, "was stript of most of its many stones as early as in 1768, it being at that time partly ploughed over. Before this the bank or mound had been set with 15 large stones, in 2 rows, from north to south; it was large and oblong, flat above, and apparently at least in part a natural bank. Still for several years there remained on the eastern side a large stone; this, when blasted to make a fence of, gave no fewer than 70 loads of stone, and was alone sufficient for many fathoms of single fencing. From its weight, only a small portion was above ground. A year after, when the place was ploughed where this enormous block had lain, and in the soil just under the hollow which this massive boulder had filled, was found the Runic Stone which we here describe."

In 1837 (Runamo p. 464) F. Magnusen, accompanied by Rafn, Thomsen and others, was present when diggings were made in various parts of this Sylshow. Only one stone-kist was found, and this was empty. Either, therefore, it had already been plundered of its contents, or only perishable objects had been deposited within it.

This Sylshow or Snoldelev stone, which lay only 1 Danish mile from the Kallerup stone, was removed to the capital and placed in one of the niches of the Round Tower in 1812. It is not large, only about 4 feet long, 2 feet 3 broad, and 21 inches deep. In the upper line the runes average 5 inches in height, only 2 in the lower. The history of its decipherment is parallel to that of many other inscribed blocks, first weak gropings, mistake on mistake, then more and more amended copies and readings, and at last the evidently correct translation. Abrahamson's and Thorlacius' attempts were feeble, and their engraving faulty. It omitted the visible parts of the last letter. But they, Bredsdorff and F. Magnusen all acknowledged that ✱ was a vowel. They selected A. At last Petersen gave the reading now universally adopted, also by myself, save that I give ✱ as Æ (ᛅ/ᚨ) not A. The best drawing hitherto publisht is that in Thorsen's Runemindesmærker, but, besides minor imperfections, the last rune in his plate is not quite correct. The fact is, that a piece has here been chipt off the stone, so that 3-fourths of the letter have perisht. But we see that it was Ψ (M), which the sense also demands, from a part of the left arm and the tip of the central line *remaining*. It could therefore only have been the rune Ψ. With this exception, and in spite of occasional small damages, every letter is plain.

There is no difficulty in reading the runes, first the upper line and then the lower:

ᚴᚢᚾᚢᛅᛚᛏᛋᛏᛅᛁᚾ ᛁ ᛋᚢᚾᛅᚱ ᛁ ᚱᚢᚺᛅᛚᛏᛋ ᛁ ᚦᚢᛚᛅᚱ ᛁ ᚠᛋᛅᛚᚺᛅᚢᚴᚢ(Ψ)

KUNUᛅLTS‿STᛅIN,
SUNAR RUHALTS,
ÞULAR O SALHAUKU(M).

KUNUÆLT'S STONE,
SON of-RUHALT,
THYLE (Speaker, Priest) ON the-SALHOWS.

As far as we can see, ÞULAR O SALHAUKUM is the title or office borne by KUNUÆLT (GUNVALD). But it is grammatically possible that those words may be in apposition with RUHALTS.

Thus in the Futhork here employed ᚾ not ᛉ has been A, ᚼ not ᚨ has been Æ, ᚨ not ᛟ has been O; the ᛟ was now disused; while ᚺ was retained for H. And we have twice ᛦ as final R, or rather $\frac{R}{S}$, a very early instance of the use of this symbol, formerly called "modern". We have also here, in the S which is written once but employed twice at the end of the first and beginning of the second word, a very early example of this runic custom.

The genitive formula, so very rare, KUNUÆLTS‿STÆIN will be observed. It answers to the HURNBURÆ STÆIN of the near-lying Kallerup stone, which has also the same Futhork.

F. Magnusen says (Runamo p. 458), that "RÓHALDR is certainly the same as RÓALDR, just as we write both ARNHALDR and ARNALDR". Petersen suggests that ROHALDR may be = ROGNVALDR, which is not impossible. Probably the name intended is that found spelt HRÓALDR, and this may have been originally HROÞOR-WALDR.

Highly interesting is the unique Runic ÞULAR, gen. sing. of ÞUL(R). This is so scarce that I believe it has not yet been found in Sweden; in Denmark only on this stone, and in N. I. writings only very rarely. This latter dialect has ÞULA, f., a speech, sentence; ÞULR, m., a Speaker, Priest, Reciter, Orator, Poet, and ÞULAR-STÓL his stool, chair or pulpit; the verb is ÞYLIA, to speak, recite, sound. Otherwise, as far as I know, this word is only met with in O. Engl., which has ÞYLE, ÞILE, m., gen. ÞYLES, pl. n. ac. ÞYLAS, a Speaker, Orator; ÞYLE-CRÆFT, oratory. F. Magnusen says that the etymology is unknown. Bosworth connects it with O. Engl. ÞELU, ÞEL, f., ÞIL, ÞILL, ÞYLA, ÞYLE, ÞILLE, a board, plank, flooring, scaffold, rostrum; ÞYLING, ÞILING, ÞILLING, a boarding, planking; ÞELL, a storey; ÞILIAN, ÞILLIAN, to board, plank. All these are represented in modern English by the word DEAL, and are connected with the N. I. ÞÖLL, ÞELLA, f., ÞOLLR, m., a pine-tree, ÞELLI, n., pine-timber, now the Scandian TALL. Many provincial forms of all these words exist in England and Scandinavia. According to this, ÞULR from ÞÖLL, ÞYLE from ÞELU, would answer to our PULPITER (Priest, Speaker, Lecturer, Reader) from PULPIT, like as CHANCELOR from CHANCEL, and other such.

In the *oldest* Old-Northern this word would have been ÞULS, gen. ÞULÆS or ÞULAS, n. ac. pl. ÞULÆS or ÞULAS. In later Scandinavian the nom. mark gradually melted from S to R or a dim vowel, or fell away altogether. In England from the earliest times it became E or dropt off. Thus we get the Scandian ÞULR, the English ÞYLE. In the gen. often and the plural always, in like manner, S became R in Scandinavia, or a dull vowel, or fell away, while it *remained* in England. Thus we get the Scandian gen. sing. ÞULAR, the O. E. ÞYLES, the N. I. nom. pl. ÞULIR, ac. pl. ÞULI, both in O. E. ÞYLAS.

As the heathen priests were also magistrates, at least those at the head of each Hundred, (Hundari, Härad, Herred), ÞULR might also be popularly translated SHERIFF.

O SALHAUKUM is a place which still remains after more than 1000 years! It is the present hamlet of SALØV or SALLOW, in the parish of Snoldelev. First ON SALHAUKUM, it becomes O SALHAUKUM, Á SALHAUGUM, AA SALHØVÆ, Á SALOVÆ, SALØV, SALLOW.

We have still to speak of two remarkable heathen symbols, for which see Dr. Müller's admirable treatise "Religiøse Symboler", 4to, Kjøbenhavn 1864.

Lowest down are 3 Horns (? Drinking-horns) arranged in the form of the Triskele, vulgarly called the Triquetra, a variation of the 3-armed Cross, that ancient and widespread sign which has so many localized meanings, but all which melt into the one idea — the hieroglyph of the Sun-God. Here it is doubtless THE MARK OF THOR. The employment of Horns to form this figure is here unique, and may apply to the ceremonies and festivals usual in that particular temple or rite in which KUNUÆLT was the official ÞUL(R). On the large heathen rune-stone at Helleland in Norway, *one* horn is engraved.

A little higher, and to the right, is the equally famous symbol of the Flanged Thwarts or 4-angled Cross, the token of the Highest God. Here we cannot but take it as THE MARK OF WODEN.

So on the Bracteates we often have 2, or even 3, Sacred Signs on the same piece.

Thus this block is in every way a striking memorial from the older pagan period in Denmark.

HÖRNING, NORTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 900-1000.

From p. 16 of R. H. KRUSE'S *"Andet Tillæg" to his Jutlandic Antiquities, folio, Ms. in the Archives of the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Chemityped by* J. M. PETERSEN.

Found in 1849, in ploughing a field just outside Hörning, in Hjemslev Herred, Skanderborg Amt, North-Jutland, on the highroad from Hörning to Århus. Thence moved to a bridge in the neighborhood, from which Rafn (Pirée p. 203) gave it the name Bering. Shortly afterwards, (with the consent of the finder, the peasant Jens Mortensen), the parish priest, the Rev. Mr. Schinnerup, flitted it to the porch of Hörning Church, where it will remain in safety. It is about 5 feet 9 inches high, 21 to 23 inches broad, and 17 thick. The runes are from 4½ to 7 inches long. First publisht, but incorrectly, by Prof. J. J. A. Worsaae in "Illustreret Almanak", 8vo, Kjobenhavn 1854, pp. 85-88; again, also with errors, by Rafn, Pirée, Kjöbenhavn 1856, pp. 203-4.

The present drawing, executed with great care and entirely trustworthy, shows that this is an overgang-stone. It has H twice, the first time in the later form (ᚼ), the second in the older (ᚺ), but here as a bind-rune united with A (ᚫ). Kruse's drawing is accompanied by a rubbing, clearly showing that in the centre line we have KUL, not KUÞ, and FRIHALSI, not FRIALSI. The I in the last word is not a letter by itself, but is taken from the bottom line of the Cross.

The inscription begins at the bottom on the left, runs to the top and down again on the right, and continues with the middle line up to the Cross. It is as follows:

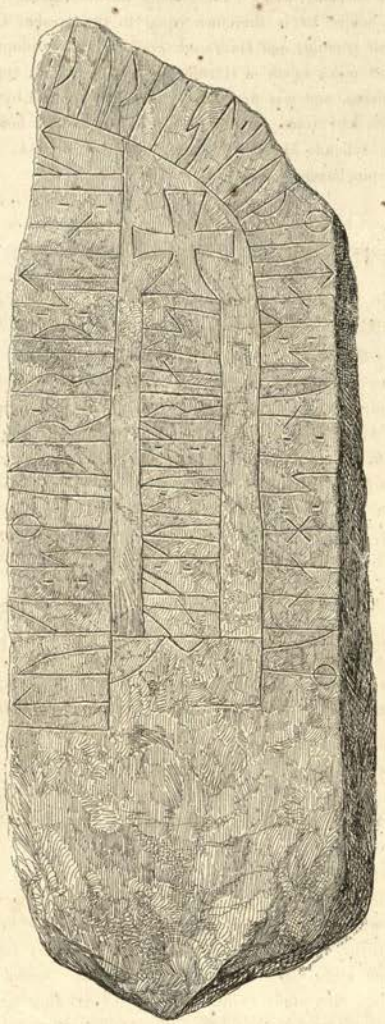
TUKI, SMIÞR, RIÞ STIN IFT ÞURKISL, KUÞMUTAR SUN, IS HANUM KAF KUL UK FRIHALSI.
S. R.

TUKI, SMITH, WROTE STONE - this AFTER THURKISL, KUTHMU(n)T'S SON, AS (who) to - HIM GAVE "COLL" EKE FREEHALSE (= who to him gave son-ship and freedom, = who bought or gave him free and adopted him as his own son).
? S... RAISED - the - block.

It will be observed that depending from the under line of the right column we have ᛚ, the usual variation for S, and that added on from the end of the middle row to the under line of the left column we have a plain R. Now both these marks are apparently runes. In this case I take them to be contractions in the usual way, S for some mansname (for instance SUAIN), and R for RAISTI, *raised*, raised and rough-hewed the block. Thus S. was here the stone-mason employed, while TUKI was the "Rune-smith", who with his own hand performed this filial duty to his adopted and generous father. Taken in son's stead, when he had now nothing more to fear or hope from him, he forgot not what he owed to the otherwise childless THURKISL.

TUKI was probably a home-thrall of THURKISL, most likely an Englishman seized and made captive on some foray to Britain, or a Dane sold into slavery for debt. He was an excellent handy clever

artist, for the word SMITH in all our Northern dialects meant a *craftsman*, master-workman, artificer in general, whether in iron, gold, silver, wood, or any other material, like as *to SMITH* signified to make, fashion, build, &c. But TUKI by his faithfulness and talents gained his master's love, and THURKISL, who had apparently no living issue, at last freed and adopted him.



For the — evidently correct — translation of KUL in this place, I am indebted to a suggestion of Prof. Carl Säve. The word is here remarkable, for it is nearly confined, *in this sense*, to *Jutland*. The O. Danish KOL (now KULD), O. Swedish KULLER, KOLLER, KULDER, KOLDER (now KULL or KULLE), prov. Engl. COLL (but in a different sense), means *Brood, Litter, Covey*, &c., as applied to the collected offspring of men or animals. From this came the properly Jutlandic technical expression in the Old Jutland Law LIUS' I KOLL OC I KYN, in later Danish LIUSE I KIØN OC KULD, now commonly phrased LYSE I KULD OG KIØN, *to adopt*, for which KULDLYSE and ÆTLEDE are now sometimes used. So the Danish AT

LYSE AF KULD OG KIØN is to *disinherit*. This proclamation of any one as his heir or child is made at the Sessions in due form. Now the above phrase is not known elsewhere in Scandinavia, where other forms are used, commonly answering to our *to take as one's child*, the shorter words older Norse EETLEDE, later Norse ÆTTLEIDE, ÆTTLEIA, older Swedish ÆTTLEDA being now rare or provincial. But Iceland still keeps its verbs ÆTTLEIÐA and ARFLEIÐA, LEIÐA I ÆTT, LEIÐA TIL ARFS, &c.

The KAF KUL here before us is therefore equal to the present Danish LYSTE I KULD OG KIØN, *announced and took into his coll (family) and kin (kind, kindred, race)*, adopted, made his heir.

About 5 or 6 Danish miles north of Hörning is another stone, apparently raised by this same grateful artist. It is at Grensten, and was first but incorrectly engraved by Worm, Monumenta, p. 313, (Liljegren No. 1513). I have had access to other copies, but give it here from the last and best by R. H. Kruse, in his "Nörre-Jyllands Mærkværdigheder", Vol. 2, p. 44, Ms. in the Archives of the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven:

ᛏᚢᚴᛁ : ᛋᛘᛁᚦᚱ : ᚱᛁᛋᚦ ×: ᛋᛏᛁᚾ : ᚦᛁᛋᛁ : ᚼᛁᚠᛏᛁᛦ : ᛦᛁᚠᛚᚼ : ᛋᚢᚾ :
ᚼᛋᚴᛁᛋ : ᛒᛁᚼᚾᚼᛦ : ᛋᚢᚾᚼᛦ : ᚴᚢᚦ : ᚼᛁᚼᛒ : ᚦᚼᛦᚼ : ᛋᚼᚴᚢ

TUKI, SMIÐR, RISÐ STIN ÞISI AIFTIR RIFLA, SUN ASKIS BIANAR SUNAR. KUÐ HIAB ÞARA SALU!

TUKI, SMITH, RAISED STONE THIS AFTER RIFLI, SON of-ASKIR BIAN'S SON. GOD HELP THEIR SOUL!

Here we have the same peculiar M as in the former carving, but there are various differences, such as AIFTIR for IFT. The use of ᛦ for R at the *beginning* of a word (in RIFLA) is noteworthy. In ASKIS (for ASKIRS) the R is slurred, as in BIANAR (for BIARNAR), HIAB is apparently for HIALB, thus with elision of the L [1]. Here, as where else several are spoken of, SALU is in the singular, SALU not SALUM.

But it is possible that we have yet a third monument erected by this same TUKI. I refer to the stone at Gylling, in Had Herred, North-Jutland, only about 3 Danish miles south of Hörning. This block is 4 feet 7 inches high and from 1 foot 2 to 2 feet 2 broad. It is inscribed on two sides. Rafn has already publisht it (Pirée, p. 206) but with a faulty text and worse translation. I here give it from a careful and exact drawing by R. H. Kruse, "Andet Tillæg", p. 18:

ᛏᚢᚴᛁ : ᚦᚢᚱᚴᛁᛋᛚ : ᛋᚢᚾ : ᚱᚼᛁᛋᛁ : ᛋᛏᚼᛁᚾ : ᚦᚼᚾᛋᛁ : ᚼᚠᛏᚱᛁᛋᛒᛁᚱ :
ᛋᛁᚾ : ᛒᚢᚱᚢᚦᚢᚱ : ᚴᚢᚦᚼᚾ : ᛁᚢᚴ

TUKI, ÞURKISLS SUN, RAISI STAIN ÞANSI AFTR ISBIR SIN BURUÞUR, KUÞAN IUK.

TUKI, THURKISL'S SON, RAISED STONE THIS AFTER ISBIR SIN (his) BROTHER, a-GOOD YOUNGER (youth).

This stone is preserved in the porch of Gylling Church, having been brought in from a neighboring burial-mound. It has not the decisive TUKI SMIÐR, but only TUKI. If raised [2] by TUKI SMIÐR, his here calling himself ÞURKISLS SUN will be an additional argument in favor of the above translation of KUL by *sonship* instead of *gold*. But there are two objections; first, that both TUKI and ÞURKISL are not very rare names, and *may* here refer to other persons; second, that this stone has no mark of Christendom, not even a Cross. We must remember, however, how often it happened in the *earliest* Christian period — in which TUKI lived — that men relapst back into heathendom. This *may* have been the case with TUKI himself. There is, however, a *third* possibility. The stone may be heathen, and yet connected with the THURKISL here before us. THURKISL, as yet a pagan, may have been out in foray, in "Western Wiking" to England or some other Christian land. During his absence his son ISBIR dies, and the remaining brother, TUKI, raises this stone to his memory. Some time after, TUKI himself dies, either abroad or at home; but his funeral stone has been smasht, like so many thousands of others. On his return to Denmark THURKISL, who in the mean time had embraced the Christian faith, — as so often happened when these adventurers went out to Christian countries, — found himself childless. After a time he adopted his favorite home-slave as his son, and this man may have assumed the name of TUKI, his master's oldest or best-loved child, on this occasion.

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[1] In his Pirée, p. 206, C. C. Rafn copies this inscription (the Runes) from this same drawing by Kruse, but he has silently changed the ᚼ (A) into the bind-rune ᚼ (AL). Worm has ᚦ. Possibly the L-mark may have fallen away. But this is not likely.

[2] Kruse gives a plain I in RAISI (thus = RAISSI for RAISTI). The bad copy printed by Rafn has RAIST.

SÆDING, NORTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

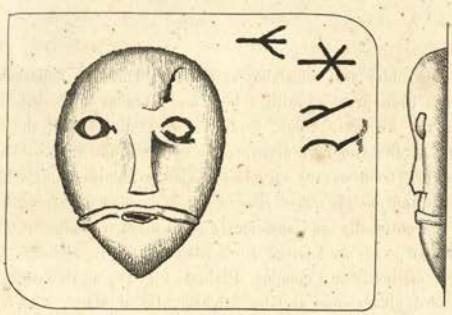
? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1000-1100.

From Drawings in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven.

As this stone is one of those monuments which cannot be dated or translated until we know the class to which they belong, I must be allowed some words of description and digression.

It is 2 feet long by 16 inches broad, and is about 5 feet above ground in the northern outside wall of the church at Sæding, Bölling Herred (Hundred), Ringkjöbing Amt. I give it here from two copies, the one older, the other later.

The first, by J. Elling, was taken July 9, 1797, is very exact, and is accompanied by a careful copy or tracing of the runes *full size*, about 3 inches high. Below the first letter the stone is slightly damaged, but this flaw, as Mr. Elling remarkt at the time, has nothing whatever to do with the rune. Whether the mark on the forehead is intended to represent the death-blow, or an old wound, or is later and accidental, we of course cannot say. The woodcut shows the head separately, in profile. This is therefore a *unique* Danish runic monument, in so far that it bears a figure carved *in relief*.

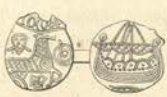


The second copy is by R. H. Kruse, 1857, in his "Andet Tillæg" to his Jutlandish Antiquities, Ms., p. 30.

Other drawings are before me, but none so good, and these will be sufficient. — The earliest copy known to me is that by Pontoppidan, in his "Marmora Danica", 2 vol., folio, Hafniæ 1739-41, vol. 2, p. 82. It is most barbarously done, quite a caricature, and the four runes are all given in one line. Pontoppidan adds, that the tradition on the spot asserted that this stone had been removed from a heathen grave-mound in the neighborhood when the church was built, and was consequently older than 1210 the date of its erection, and that the face was that of a Giant named MAHOR or MEHAR. This absurd name was of course obtained by reading the runes upside down, then taking the ᛘ as M in the usual Scandinavian alphabet, reading the 4 staves as one word, and making the last rune R, which it never was or could be. However, the tale is so far of value as it states the broad fact — if fact it be — that the block is older than the church, and brought thither from a heathen barrow. But this local assertion is not necessarily true; it must be confirmed by other evidence, and this is not at hand. All that we can say is, that the stone is exceptional in character, and that the runes are Old-Northern.

What first strikes us, is the *hairless mustachioed skull*. This is a small thing to go upon, but it is at all events a mark of antiquity. We often find, on the *very oldest* carved stones in our churches, &c., that the human head, which often stands for the whole figure, is hewn in bare outline, sometimes with and sometimes without liphair or beard.

The heads on the *Golden Bracteates* are usually both mustachioless and beardless. Very rarely have they liphair, still more rarely also beards. But on a small *Silver Coin* found in Bleking, (No. 155 in Thomsen's Atlas), supposed by Thomsen to be the very oldest monetary piece hitherto discovered of Scandinavian origin (Om Guldbracteaterne, p. 323) and to date from the close of the Heathen or beginning of the Christian period, an opinion in which I entirely agree, we have a similar conventional outline-head, but *mustachioed*. This is therefore an exact counterpart to that on the Sæding stone, so much so that I engrave it for comparison:



To judge from the solder still remaining at the top, Thomsen believes that this Coin has been treated as a Bracteate, has been provided with a loop and worn as a pendant ornament.

By referring to the KROGSTAD stone, Sweden, we shall see that the head of the man carved there is almost the same as the two here given, only so barbarous that we cannot know whether the rude mouth, which stretches from ear to ear, is intended to express mustachioes also. And as that older unclothed and *hairless head on the almost skeleton figure* signified an armed warrior, so *the head alone* on the Stone and Coin conventionally and sufficiently symbolized a whole man or a highborn chieftain.

We have a similar head on another runic monument. In Sjöborg's Samlingar, 4to, Vol. 3, Fig. 74, 75, (p. 113), less distinctly in Cumming, Plate 4, Fig. 13, d, the scale being there smaller, — is given the elegant 4-sided pillar-stone at Kirk Michael, Ile of Man. The front, back and one side are taken up with decorated Crosses, figures and ornaments; the fourth side bears a long runic inscription, No. 1 in Prof. P. A. Munch's Kirk Michael pieces. At the top of the risting, which runs upward, is the figure of IUALFIR, who raised the stone to his mother FRITHA. He is in ring-mail, the belt shown by an opening, with a halberd in his right hand and a small round shield in his left. His head is bare and hairless — the mere skull —, while he has long mustachioes. Between his legs is a sword, or maybe a Cross.

But the great feature of this piece is, that it is *in relief*. Is it therefore necessarily Christian? I trow not. My friend Archivary Herbst, who is always so willing to dispense to others from the store of his archæological acquirements, has drawn my attention to two pieces of the same kind[1], both

[1] This is of course independent of several Brooches &c. from the Early Iron Age with animal or human figures or heads in relief, the human heads always with the mustache. See for instance No. 420 in Worsaae's Nordiske Oldsager, a Bronze Fibula; No. 421, a Bronze Fibula; No. 428, a silver-gilt Fibula; No. 429, a silver-gilt Clasp. Closely allied are the hoops or thin laminas of

of them in the Danish Museum. The first, of copper or bronze and from the Iron Period, is from a pagan barrow. Its date it is impossible to fix, but, roughly speaking, we may say between 500 and 1000 years after Christ. It is, as far as I know, one-ly in Europe. Some have supposed it to be a Wizard's Staff, but it may also have been a Rod of Ceremony, or, quite simply, some rich man's "curious stick". It was found in 1823 in Lolland, Denmark, and was given to the Museum by the Chamberlain Bertouch, of Söeholdt in that iland. Its Museum-number is CMX, and it is concisely described as follows in "Antiqvariske Annaler", Vol. 4, 8vo, Kjobenhavn 1827, p. 265:

"CMX. A copper or bronze knob of a stick, at the top bearing a hoop or guard from which hangs a thick ring [all of the same metal]. The Staff, which was 4 feet long but fell to dust when taken up, had, fastened to its sides:

"a) a short figure with mustachioes, and

"b) a mustachioed head with a beard [the heads only hairless skulls].

"Found in a gravemound in Söeholdt Wood. This is the only piece of the kind yet obtained by the Museum."

Still older is the second example of such raised figures, a piece found in Vi Moss, Allesö, Fyn. It was imbedded in a turf, and was only perceived when the turf was burning on the peasant's fire. It has therefore suffered considerably, but the general features may be well made out. It is a head, in relief, with a down-combed mustachio in the way shown by a couple of the golden Bracteates. As we see by the long tung or hook behind, it has been fastened on to some article of wood.

Mr. Herbst informs me that no "bilds" of this kind have been found older than the Early Iron Age (from about the time of Christ to about the 6th century). They are unknown to the Bronze Age, which hitherto offers nothing in relief, and the few heads exhibited in that period are all shaved — have neither beard nor liphair. The Vi Moss or Allesö piece, from about the beginning of the 4th century, is therefore the oldest of this class yet discovered.

Thus a question is opened which may be of value in Oldlore, whether figures *in relief* may not be older, even *on stone*, than the Christian period, and whether it is a fact that the mustache (with or without the beard) be a characteristic of this early period. The Norman fashion was, to shave both above and below the mouth.

Certain it is, that *projected* figure-carving abounds on pieces — gold, silver, bronze, wood, &c. — from the heathen period, and why may they not have sculptured stone also in this way, occasionally? At least this must have been done a little later, when the Northmen everywhere saw specimens of *raised stone-carving* both at home and abroad, and they may as well have imitated this as they did a thousand other things.

Besides, the very earliest stone heads and other shapes found on Church-walls, Fonts, &c., are so desperately barbarous, that they can scarcely have been executed by any but *native* workmen. But, if so, why may not these pieces have been a continuation of the kind of relief-carving in stone to which these "barbarian" stone-cutters were accustomed? To suppose these earliest Christian stones the work of Roman or Italian or other "skilled" workmen, is utterly impossible. They were therefore produced by Northern and native hands. Thus there will be a gradual development and transition in this also, and the Sæding stone *may* have been heathen.

This is all very well, and we may admit that the runes and skull-like mustachioed head show that the stone is very old, while its being in relief is no absolute argument against its being pagan. — But the shape of this slab is quite unlike any other heathen rune-stone, and quite like the usual run of carved slabs in churches. So I desired further information, which Mr. Herbst kindly procured from the clergyman of the parish, the Rev. Chr. Vilstrup. Turned into English, that gentleman says, in his reply to Mr. Herbst, dated June 7, 1864:

"1. I have no idea whence the stone has come, nor has any of the parish authorities. I am inclined to think it must have been taken from some old stone building. Several other stones in the

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gold, with figures stampt or hammered up from behind, and thus in partial relief, on the Silver Goblets found at Himlingöie. On the one of these, engraved in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed" for 1862 and above p. 331, a piece probably from the 4th century, are two human heads, both with the mustachio. The heads on the Golden Horns, and on the ornament found at Thorsbjerg, are shaved, or rather entirely hairless. Either the hair was here *understood*, or the absence of the mustache may be connected with the influence of classical art on these pieces.

church seem to show they have been brought hither in the same way. There are two whose lower edge betrays their having formed the upper part of a round arch. A stone at the western end, so low down as now to be covered by the pavement, has a half-globe carved in relief upon it.

"2. The slab is of the same kind of stone as nearly all the rest of the church, a kind of coarse-grained granite, and it is also of the same shape and size. They are all nicely tooled.

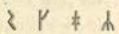
"3. It is in the northern wall, close to the western end. There is a large stone between it and an entrance now walled-up. It is to the east of this old door. At present it is not conspicuous, but formerly it must have been seen by all who entered the building.

"4. The head bulges on the stone from 1½ to 2 inches. Seen in front, the face is flat, the nose being little prominent, and the face not rising high towards the nose."

These details are decisive. The stone cannot be heathen, but has doubtless belonged to some older church or chapel, pulled down as being too small or injured by some fire or other accident.

The runes most likely refer to the older building. They are redd from below upward, to the right of the head. The first stave is the Old-Northern Y, the second the usual Scandinavian-runic K, the third the Old-Northern — provincial Scandinavian — $\frac{\text{æ}}{\text{H}}$; the fourth is the rune R, strictly speaking the R-final. I take it to be a contraction, and to stand for the usual RISTI or RAISTI, *risted*, *carved*, or *raised*, *made*, *built*. The first three, then, will be the common mansname YKÆ = INGE, the fourth is the verb. Similar runic carvings, some of them as short, are not so uncommon on buildings, church-doors, fonts, &c. In fact it is apparently the name of the master-workman who built the original chapel to which this stone belonged.

I read, then:



YK$\frac{\text{æ}}{\text{H}}$ R.

INGE RISTED (or RAISED).

Should it have been a grave-stone (which is not probable), and should the ᛦ be ᛉ upside-down, as on the VOLDTOFTE block (which is still less likely on so late a piece), we shall then have:

YK$\frac{\text{æ}}{\text{H}}$ A.

INGE OWNS (this tomb).

The stones hitherto found bearing outstanding runes or carvings in relief, or both, are very few, and are all evidently Christian. One such, very similar to this Sæding piece, is or was in the quire-wall of Skieberg Church, Smålenenes Amt, Christiania Stift, Norway, (Lilj. No. 1920). At the end of the narrowish block is a head projecting boldly from the stone. It has neither beard nor mustachio. The inscription is, according to Sjöborg, Saml. 1, fig. 124, 125, p. 137:

STEIN ÞÆNNA GERDE BOTOLFR STEINMEISTARÆ.

STONE THIS GARED (hewed) BOTOLF STONE-MASTER (stone-mason).

But the labors of Carl and P. A. Säve have of late years brought to light in the iland of Gotland a whole group of Runic monuments *evidently heathen*, and of a peculiar type (the head of the stone semi-circularly rounded), largely decorated with figures IN RELIEF. One of these blocks is so old that it bears Old-Northern letters. See the TJÄNGVIDE stone, under Sweden, and the HABBLINGBO, LAIVIDE and SANDA stones in the Appendix.

THISTED, NORTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1100-1200.

From a Drawing by R. H. KRUSE *(Förste Tillæg. p. 2) in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven. Chemityped by* J. MAGNUS PETERSEN. *— Size of the Slab 4 ft. 2. by 1 ft. 8.*

The above grave-slab, with its elegant Calvary-cross, is near the ground on the south side of the Tower of Thisted Church, in the shire called Thyland, North-Jutland. Several excellent drawings, made of late years, are in the Museum; the best is the one here engraved, a colored sketch by Kruse.

Fin Magnusen was the first to read this carving. But he made a great mistake in the second word. His own good sense told him that ᛘ could here not be ᛗ, such a word as TMDIS being im-

possible. He therefore guest at a vowel, and fixt upon Y, thus reading TYDIS, and this he translated THYLAND. But this cannot be. The oldest form for Thyland known to us is in Norse-Icel. writings, where it is ÞJÓÐ, fem., with the dative as ÞJÓÐU and ÞJÓÐI. The genitive would therefore be ÞJÓÐAR. Its middle-age name was THJUTH, THJUD. Such a genitive sing. feminine as TYDIS cannot be thought of. But the whole difficulty vanishes when we see that this is an overgang stone, the Y still lingering here in its old power of A. All is then clear. The name is TADIS, the genitive of the well-known mansname TAT or TAD.

We also see that the stone, tho so young, is old-fashioned in its letters, from the fluctuation in its use of the ᛁ. It is evidently Æ (ᛅᛁ) in the first word, but H afterwards. Just in this way *we* show *our* learning by carving or painting crabbed and unintelligible "black-letter" and "medieval" staves in our modern churches, — theoretically for the edification of others than ourselves!

We have *also* 2 uncommon Bind-runes here, the OL in SOL and the ER in HUILER. I read:

THORᛅᛁ, TADIS SOL, HUILER HÆRÆ.

THORÆ, TAD'S SOL (sun), WHILES (rests) HERE.

(= Here reposes Thorœ, the sun of Tad.)

TAD was thus the beautiful THORÆ'S Father or Husband or Lover, and she was his *Sun*, his *Darling*. This is a poetical and feeling way of expressing tender affectation, of which more or less similar and equally striking examples occur on other runic monuments. — Still TAD not impossibly may have been the name of a place, tho none now exists with which it can be identified. The *sun* or *pride* of her village or province[1] is a boast during life, and a funeral formula after death, even now in use.

See BJÖRKÖ, (EKE), KROKSTAD, in the Appendix.

As we see, our third Northern Province, Old Denmark — once so mighty and still so noble — boasts not a few "Yore-Runic" Relics of her former greatness. And these laves are peculiar in character and mostly of surpassing interest. Here also we may hope for fresh discoveries: out of the above 21 pieces 14 have been found or identified since this work was commenced! The whole array now is, besides a crowd of BRACTEATES:

RINGS.	SHIELD-BOSSES.	SCABBARD-CLASPS.	BROOCHES.
1. Dalby.	1. Thorsbjerg.	1. Thorsbjerg.	1. Himlingöie.
		2. Vi Moss.	

ARROWS.	COMBS.	PLANES.	? KNIFE-HANDLES.	? AMULETS.
1. Nydam.	1. Vi Moss.	1. Vi Moss.	1. Kragehul.	1. Kragehul. (Lost.)

? LIDS.	HORNS.	STONES.
1. Kragehul. (Lost.)	1. Gallehus. (Lost.)	1. ? Veile. (Lost.)
		2. Voldtofte. (? Overgang.)
		3. Vordingborg. (Overgang.)
		4. Helnæs. (Overgang.)
		5. Kallerup. (Overgang.)
		6. Snoldelev. (Overgang.)
		7. Hörning. (Overgang.)
		8. Sæding. (Overgang.)
		9. Thisted. (Overgang.)

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[1] The death of Hakon Jarl (Yarl, Earl) of Norway, in 995, was caused by his lust after the beautiful Guthrun, daughter of Bergthor of Lund in Gaulardal, where she dwelt with her husband Orm. She was therefore called LUNDA-SÓL, *the Sun of Lund*. "Guþrún var kallut Lundasól, þviat hún var kvenna fríðust". (Guthrun was called Lunda-sol, for that she was of queens [women] frithest [fairest]). Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, Ch. 102. — In the same manner the Landnama mentions the Icelandic beauty ÞÓRBJORG HÓLMA-SOL, *Thorbeorg the Sun of the Holms (Ilands)*. — So of the yeoman Thorkell the Bjarnar Saga says (H. Friðriksson, Sagan af Birni Hitdœlakappa, Kjöbenhavn 1847, 8vo, p. 4): "Hann átti dóttur, er Oddný hét, kvenna vænst ok skörungr mikill; hon var kölluð ODDNÝ EYKYNDILL". (He had a daughter who Oddny height, of women wenest [fairest] and noble in her bearing; she was called *Oddny Ike-Candle.*) — We have yet another example in the Droplaugarsona Saga (Sagan af Helga ok Grími Droplaugarsonum, besörget og ledsaget med en Analyse og Ordsamling af Konrad Gislason, udgivet af det nordiske Literatur-Samfund, Kjøbenhavn 1847, 8vo), p. 19: "Fara þeir þá um heiði austr ok koma til Þorkels á Torfastaðe; dóttir hans var TÓFA, er kölluð var HLIÐARSOL: hón var hjalskona Helga Droplaugarsonar". (Fare they then along the heath eastwards, and come to Thorkel on [of] Torfastead; daughter his was TÓFA, who was called LITHE-SOL [*the Sun of the hill-side*]; she was the friend [Sweetheart] of Helgi Droplaugarson).

ENGLAND.

IN MINNE

OF

THE RUNE-SMITHS OF ENGLAND;

WITH MANY GREETINGS

TO

THE REV. DANIEL HENRY HAIGH,

OF ERDINGTON.

ASPATRIA, CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

We now come to ANGLE-LAND, whither flockt for so many centuries the flower of the Scandian population, especially from the lands now called Denmark and South-Sweden[1]. The Roman-Britains and other clans gave way before them. In the north and south and center of the iland they

[1] Confirmation of this has just reacht us from an unexpected quarter — the science of Botany. The great Swedish Flower-King, Prof. Elias Fries of Upsala, has just publisht a paper ("Jemförelse mellan inhemska växternes namn i Skandinaviska och Engelska folkspråken" in "Upsala Universitets Årsskrift" for 1866) on the Names of Plants in the Popular Dialects of England and Scandinavia, with comparative tables, from which I beg to translate a sentence or two (pp. 3, 4):

"The Plant-names, those of Trees excepted, which occur in English dictionaries and the book-language are still more than the Swedish derived from Romance sources, tho some few are Keltic; but those used in the folk-talks are mostly of Germanic [= Scando-Gothic] (Anglosaxon [= Old-English or Anglic] and Scandinavian) origin. Prior includes them all in his work, but omits several in the English middle-age literature. But of course many Plant-names in common to the English and the Swedish tungs cannot be therefore spoken of as derived from Scandinavia, for many are common to all the Arian daughter-dialects, and some have their root in Anglo-saxon. But I cannot help expressing what may perhaps be thought an unguarded hypothesis, — that 1000 years ago or more the language of Southern Sweden, Sealand, &c., was almost the same as what we call Anglosaxon. It has already been observed (for instance by Allvin) that the folk-speech of retired districts in the most southerly Sweden is remarkably like Anglosaxon, both in words and in pronunciation, and I can myself vouch that the same is the case with the western dialects. It is said that the Bleking runic stones are in Anglosaxon, and many places in Scania, such as Engelholm, Engeltofta, still remind us of the Angles. But the most important argument for this view is the declaration [to King Alfred] of the Norwegian Other in the 9th century, that in his voyage to Slesvig, which is regarded as the chief homeland of the Angles, he sailed past Scania, Sealand and other smaller ilands, and he adds expressly — "in these lands dwelt the Angles, before they came over to England"."

The whole valuable passage referred to by Prof. Fries is in King Alfred's Old-English Orosius, Book I, Ch. 1, Sec. 9, (p. 5 of Prof. Bosworth's splendid facsimile edition in folio of "A Description of Europe, and the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan", London 1855; p. 21 of the same scholar's "King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Compendious History of the World by Orosius", 8vo, London 1859; and p. 253 of Mr. Thorpe's edition appended to Dr. Pauli's Slesvig-Holstein "Life of Alfred the Great", 8vo, London 1853). To be as accurate as possible, I copy from the facsimile folio plates of Prof. Bosworth, page 11 b.

I will first premise that *Sciringesheal* has been identified by Prof. P. A. Munch (Hist. geogr. Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge, p. 30; and Det Norske Folks Historie, Vol. 1, p. 380) as = SKIRINGS-SALR (properly SHERRING-HALL, the Hall or Temple of Purification), a heathen Temple-place and Kings-seat and Harbor in a district of the same name in the southwest of Westfold, the present Thjoling Parish, between the mouth of the river Lågen and Sande-fjord, at the eastern entrance to Christiania-fjord, South-Norway. This *Skirings-Salr* was afterwards represented by *Kaupang* (KAUPANGR), Cheaping, Market-town, on the Viks-fjord, and afterwards, as this latter fell away, by *Tunsberg*, a little further to the north in the same fiord of Christiania. — As to *Sillende*, by almost all authors taken as the iland of *Sealand* in Denmark, it is sometimes regarded as meaning *South-Jutland*. In either case the sense is the same, as far as the present argument is concerned.

There can be little doubt that the words "*in these lands earthi the Angles ere they* HITHER *on land came*" are those of King Alfred himself, and not of his spokesman the Norwegian Magnate Ohthere (Ottar).

And of sciringes healc hé ewæð þæt he séglode on fif dagan to þæm porte þe mon hæt æt hæþum. se stent betuh winedum and seaxum and angle, and hyrð in on dene. ða he þiderweard séglode fram sciringes healc, þa wæs him on þæt bæcbord dénameare, and on þæt steorbord wid sæ þry dagas; and þá twegen dagas, ær he to hæþum come, him wæs on þæt steorbord gotland and sillende and iglanda fela; on þæm landum eardodon engle ær hí hider on land coman, and hy[m] wæs ðá twegen dagas on ðæt bæcbord þa igland þe in denemearce hyrað.

And from Skirings-Hall he quod that he sailed in five days to that Port which is called Hedeby; this stands between the Wends and the Saxons and the Angles, and belongs to Denmark. When he thitherward sailed from Skirings-Hall, then had he on his larboard (left) Denmark, and on his starboard (right) wide sea for three days; and then for two days, ere he came to Hedeby, was on his starboard (right) Jutland and Sealand and ilands many; on those lands dwelt the Angles ere they hither to this land came; and then for two days he had on his left those ilands which belong to Denmark.

Thus Ottar sailed from the fiord of Christiania along the Cattegat and the Sound, past Halland and Scania (then Danish), between Mön and Sealand and thro the Langeland Belt, to the famous sea-port Hedeby (also Danish) now called Slesvig. On this last part of his voyage the "Danish ilands" on his left were Mön, Falster, Lolland, &c.

made good their footing, and continued from a date at least as early as the 4th century in successive waves — first commonly known as Angles, then as Wikings, then as Normans — to hold their own, till all, conquerors and conquered, colonists and Kelts, have now become fused into one noble race. And this was no mere triumph of "Barbarians", a thing in itself physically impossible. The new-comers had many advantages of arts and arms and their native high civilization and discipline, and they carried with them from their Northern homes not only mighty hearts and keen and costly weapons — but also their mother-tung and their olden letters — the RUNES. But in England as elsewhere the inscribed Runic monuments have almost disappeared, destroyed by time and by Christianity and the Roman culture which they everywhere met. For a time indeed the "heathen staves" were adopted by the Church, but the Latin alphabet eventually triumpht with far greater rapidity than in the so late Christianized Scandian countries. Hence the common Old-Northern Staverow only lived long enough in England to admit a couple of minor modifications, and had been nearly laid aside ere the later provincial Scandinavian futhork assumed its altered and impoverisht form. "Scandinavian" runes in England are therefore chiefly found on objects belonging to or made by the men who came in during what is vulgarly called the "Danish" or Wiking period, which was so largely Norwegian in character, especially in the North and West of Britain.

Still, in England as in the Scandian hive, we have memorials sufficient for our argument. The chain of evidence is unbroken. Endless changes and improvements and fires and wars — civil and uncivil —, the fury of fanaticism and the rapid progress of tillage and the plough and road-making in a flat and rich corn-country, and the 'spare-not'! instincts of a population which has multiplied ten-fold since these runic times, have done their worst. Notwithstanding all, some Old-Northern pieces still remain to us. Besides Coins — which as I have said elsewhere[1], I do not dwell upon — and Bracteates — most of which have been melted down —, England can still show its Runic Stones, as well as Jewels, and other inscribed "minnen of the past".

If the statement made to Aubrey be correct, it is likely enough that 2 or 3 Runic stones may have existed in Wiltshire down to 1640, and if Runic they must have borne Old-Northern runes. The British Barrows in Wiltshire seldom or never had standing pillars or foot-stones or the like; the Romans and Roman-Britains in that province seldom or never buried in Barrows at all. Therefore the Lows referred to must — if there were no mistake — have been the graves of English settlers. Sir Richard Colt Hoare says[2]: —

"Passing through Vespasian's Camp, I deviate on the left to the little hamlet of West Amesbury in search of some antiquities thus recorded by Mr. Aubrey, in his [Ms.] *Monumenta Britannica*: "There is a place called the *King's Grave*, where is now the sheep penning of West Amesbury. Here doe appeare five small barrowes, at one corner of the Penning. At the ends of the graves there were stones, which the people of late (about 1640) have fetch't away: for stones, except flints, are exceedingly scarce in these partes. 'Tis said here there were some letters on these stones, but what they were I cannot learne." ..... In vain I searched for all these matters, for the remembrance of them exists not even by tradition."

The Aspatria GOLDEN ARMRING, found in December 1828, is now hidden in some private Cabinet or else melted down. I can hear nothing of it. Mr. Hamper redd its runes GEROT, which is not likely. So I pass it over. See pp. 160, 161, above.

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[1] In my chapter on BRACTEATES.

[2] The Ancient History of South-Wiltshire, fol., London 1812, p. 198.

THAMES, LONDON, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

From an exact copy of the original, Ornaments and Runes full size, obligingly executed by Mr. PANIZZI, *Chief Librarian of the British Museum, and obtained for me by his Excellency Mr.* GORDON, *British Minister, Stuttgart, Würtemberg.*

This precious piece, a large iron Knife or smallish Sword, or perhaps a costly Carving-knife for high state, was found in the bed of the river Thames, and was added to the collections of the British Museum in 1857. Its entire remaining length is 2 feet 4½ inches. The small woodcut shows the general appearance of the blade, the larger one gives the whole inscribed part full size.

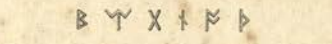
The characters and ornaments are inlaid in the thick part of the blade, and consist of gold and silver wire twisted together, cut into proper lengths, and beaten into the incisions. Of this method some other very ancient examples have been found. In the Danish Mosses, from the 3rd to the 5th century, several weapons have been met with here and there decorated with similar inlays of golden or silver wire, and other examples of this kind of damascening with the precious metals have been found in Germany of a date scarcely inferior. It is said that this kind of work was unknown to the Romans, and was peculiar to the "barbarian" metal-smiths. But it was by no means confined to the Gallic and Keltic races, unless those elastic words are also meant to include the Northern peoples. Thus, from the unperishable nature of the "writing materials", the scorings are as fine and clear now as they were some 1500 years ago.

We have first the Futhorc or Alphabet:

F U Þ O R C G W H N I Y yO P A S T B E NG D L M Œ Á Æ Ú eA

Then comes the ornamentation, of peculiar but simple and early patterns.

Thereafter is the name of the Maker or Owner:



BeAGNOTH.

Names of the Maker or of the Owner, or both, or sometimes a pious or loyal or warlike motto, are not uncommon on swords from the most ancient times. Occasionally, as on the Bronze

Sword which once belonged to the Emperor Vespasian, and which is now in the Cabinet of M. Raoul-Rochette, Nancy, there may not only be a long inscription of ownership, but also a formula of Dedication or talismanic Protection.

But blades with more familiar carvings, such as the above Stave-row, anything to be "sung or said", are very rare. That we should find the Alphabet on such a piece is not so surprising as might appear at first sight. Letters were at this time no mystery: on the contrary, they were carved on all sorts of objects. See the remarks on the Charnay Brooch and Bracteate No. 22.

As a happy example of something very similar even from a late period, I copy the beautiful Knife in the Louvre, as given by Charles Knight in his excellent edition of Shakespear, Comedies, Vol. 2, London 1851, 8vo, p. 422:

Mr. Knight thus speaks of his woodcut:

"We subjoin a drawing of an ancient *knife*, upon the blade of which a Latin metrical grace is engraved, with the notes to which it was to be sung. This very curious specimen of ancient musical taste is to be found among the miscellaneous collection of early French antiquities preserved in the Louvre. The blade of the knife is of steel, upon which is engraved the "Blessing of the Table", or Grace before Meat, which may be literally translated thus: — "What we are about to take, may Trinity in Unity bless. Amen." This is accompanied by the musical notes of the *bass* part only, so that there must have been a set of four or five knives, upon each of which the other parts necessary to make the composition complete were engraved."

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